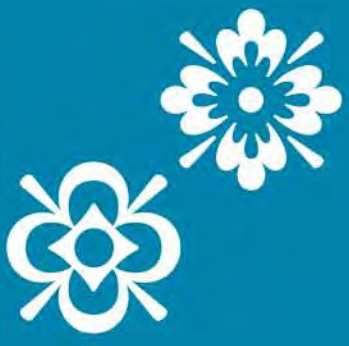
The Spanish Language of New Mexico and Southern Colorado

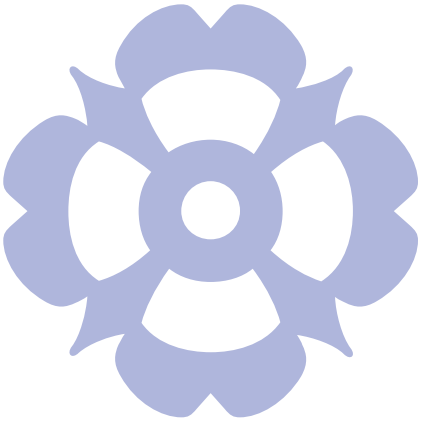
A Linguistic Atlas



GARLAND D. BILLS

NEDDY A. VIGIL

THE SPANISH LANGUAGE OF NEW MEXICO AND SOUTHERN COLORADO



The Spanish Language of New Mexico and Southern Colorado

A Linguistic Atlas

GARLAND D. BILLS
NEDDY A. VIGIL

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

WITH LOVE TO

CHRISTIANE G. VIGIL

AND TO THE MEMORY OF

JUDY C. HADDON BILLS

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Spanish Language of New Mexico and Southern Colorado: A Linguistic Atlas reports on the first large-scale systematic survey of a unique Spanish generally referred to as New Mexican Spanish. This book explores the evolution of this variety of Spanish from its origins in Spain to the present. Its development from its origin in Spain begins in the contact with Native Americans, first in the Caribbean and then in the highlands of Mexico, and in the intermingling of speakers from varied parts of Spain. This early New World Spanish became the first European language spoken by a community on soil that is now within the United States. It was introduced into New Mexico by colonists under the command of Juan de Oñate in 1598, and reinforced by later colonists who accompanied Diego de Vargas in the reconquest of New Mexico in 1693. Isolation from mainstream Spanish in this remote colony facilitated the development of special characteristics in the local language. Subsequently, that language evolved to a greater degree as it came into contact with English and suffered further isolation from the Spanish-speaking world as a result of political incorporation of the region into the United States. Finally, contact with modern Mexican Spanish through ever-increasing immigration in the twentieth century has been a contributor to the distinctive character and geographical variability of New Mexican Spanish.

This study is based on data from the New Mexico–Colorado Spanish Survey (NMCOSS), a project that involved interviews of 357 native-born Spanish speakers representing communities across New Mexico and sixteen counties of southern Colorado. The atlas analyzes these data and provides maps that comprehensively describe the present linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of New Mexican Spanish. Further, in elucidating the factors that have contributed to the historical development of the language, the analysis provides a foundation for predicting its future.

The content for a good portion of this book has grown out of a series of professional presentations and published articles. Most of the publications are referenced in the body of this work; in the interest of full disclosure, we must mention several other works: Bills (1996, 1997) and Vigil and Bills (1997, 2001, 2002). Our analyses and interpretations have been enriched by feedback from numerous colleagues and friends who heard or read these earlier efforts. Our editor at the University of New Mexico

Press, Lisa Pacheco, has provided invaluable assistance in substantive as well as stylistic matters. Getting this book in published form was made possible by a number of other members of the team at UNM Press as well as Susan Silver, our copy editor, and Richard Comfort, who carried out most of our indexing.

Our research owes a tremendous debt to the many other persons and institutions that have provided support and encouragement for our efforts. It is not possible to individually acknowledge all those supporters, but a few specific cases require mention.

The National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency in the United States, supported this project for three and a half years, 1991–95, as grants RT-21263-91 and RT-21502-9 entitled "Linguistic Atlas and Archive of the Spanish of New Mexico and Southern Colorado." We gratefully acknowledge this generous support.

We wish to express our deepest gratitude to nine research assistants who carried out virtually all of the interviews and contributed importantly to entering data into our computerized database: Ysaura Bernal-Enríquez, María Dolores Gonzales Velásquez, María Cristina López, Javier Ochoa, Gilberto Pérez, Franklin Romero, Primo Torres, Rodney Ulibarrí, and Lucy C. Vigil. At the time of their participation, Gonzales and Vigil were PhD graduates of the University of New Mexico, Ochoa and Torres were graduate students at New Mexico State University, and the remainder were graduate students at the University of New Mexico.

We also thank the following persons for direct contributions to the project: Walter Archuleta, then a graduate student at the University of New Mexico; Patricia Armendáriz, adjunct professor of Spanish at Coastline Community College and Santa Ana College in California; June A. Jaramillo, then a teacher in the Albuquerque Public Schools; Enrique Lamadrid, professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of New Mexico; and Daniel Villa, professor of languages and linguistics at New Mexico State University.

We also wish to acknowledge with thanks the contributions in data entry that Julie Chalk, Renee Harton, and Verónica Vargas performed while they were students at the University of New Mexico.

Finally, a very special expression of our gratitude goes out to the 357 Coloradans and New Mexicans who served as consultants for this project. They selflessly gave their time and expertise in subjecting themselves to interviews, a couple of which lasted up to eight hours. They made this study possible. *Les agradecemos con todo corazón y con mucho respeto.*

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

¡El español de Nuevo México! New Mexican Spanish! For lovers of language, lovers of the Spanish language in particular, the name evokes emotions of intrigue, mystery, and romance. Made widely known from the beginning of the twentieth century by the linguistic and folklore studies of native son Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa, this variety of Spanish has become famous for its distinctiveness, for having survived so well on a remote fringe of the Spanish-speaking world.

This book is designed for lovers of language, for lovers of language contact and language change, for lovers of the Spanish language in particular, and most especially for lovers of New Mexican Spanish. It is a linguistic exploration, delving broadly and deeply into the Spanish language as spoken today by the Hispanic population of New Mexico and southern Colorado. For the authors, it is a linguistic love affair.

This book is a study of variation in language. Spanish is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. And partially as a consequence of that distribution, it varies considerably from place to place. Beans are called *frijoles* in Mexico but *judías* in Spain and *porotos* in Peru. A strawberry is called *fresa* in Spain but *frutilla* in Ecuador. An avocado is called *aguacate* in Guatemala but *palta* in Peru. A pumpkin is called *auyama* in Colombia but *calabaza* in New Mexico.

This book is a linguistic atlas. It explores the geography of linguistic variation. It presents language facts on maps. But it is not the typical traditional linguistic atlas that presents material accessible only to the specialist. We provide a lot of technical information, but our overriding intent has been to make this information available to any interested person. Our desire has been to share with all kinds of readers a multitude of facts about New Mexican Spanish: its beauty, its diversity, its history, its present state, its societal conflicts, its prospects for the future.

Historical Note

The Spanish language and Hispanic culture have left indelible impressions on the landscape of the southwestern United States. These imprints date back to the earliest European explorations of the region in the sixteenth century. Just fifteen years after Hernán Cortés's conquest of Mexico in 1521, Cabeza de Vaca made his well-known trek through part of the region. A little later, in 1540, Francisco de Coronado led a discovery expedition into the region, and in the following decades there were other organized incursions, all of which had a disruptive but momentary impact on the native populations.

Then, toward the end of that century, in 1598, a small group of settlers, soldiers, and priests under the leadership of Juan de Oñate established the first permanent Spanish colony near the Tewa-speaking Native American village that they named San Juan, at the confluence of the Río Grande and the Chama River, some thirty miles north of

the present city of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Over the next eighty years, Hispanic colonists dispersed along the upper Río Grande and founded a number of tiny settlements and missions, including Santa Fe itself, which was founded in 1608 and elevated to capitol of the province in 1610.

Since that original 1598 settlement of some five hundred persons, the Hispanic presence in el Nuevo México has been continuous except for a brief twelve-year interlude. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, a general uprising of the local Native American Pueblos, sent the Spanish scurrying three hundred miles to the south, to El Paso del Norte, the settlement in the El Paso–Juárez area that had itself been established only in 1659. However, by the end of the seventeenth century the colony was permanently reestablished with a substantial Spanish-speaking population composed of prior colonists and new immigrants, totaling more than a thousand individuals.

During the eighteenth century, the Hispanic population gradually increased and spread out along the waterways in what is now New Mexico. Albuquerque, for example, was founded in 1706. At the same time, the Spanish presence was becoming prominent throughout the Southwest. In Arizona, the San Xavier del Bac mission was established in 1699 and the nearby Presidio of Tucson in 1775. In Texas, the mission that would become the Alamo and the town of San Antonio came into being in 1718. And in California, the San Diego mission (San Diego de Alcalá) was founded in 1769. In Colorado, however, no Spanish settlement occurred until 1851, when settlers from northern New Mexico followed the Río Grande up into the San Luis Valley of south-central Colorado to establish the town of San Luis.

During this early colonization period, growth of the Hispanic populace was slow. By the end of the eighteenth century—two hundred years after Oñate's first settlement—the European (that is, Spanish-heritage) population was estimated at only twenty-five thousand in the region that now comprises the four border states of the United States. Most of these people were in Texas and New Mexico, with well over half of the total living in the latter area.

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, as Mexico was adjusting to independence from Spain gained in 1821, the economic monopoly that Chihuahua, a regional capital of northern Mexico, held over New Mexico was relaxed and trade routes were established with the United States. At the same time, the westward U.S. expansion was bringing Anglo interlopers into increasingly intimate contact with the Hispanic population. For example, the same year that Mexico became independent, Stephen F. Austin led a group of settlers into Texas to establish residence. The ultimate result of the alien incursions into this remote and poorly protected remnant of the Spanish empire was the transfer of these lands to the United States. Texas declared its independence in 1836 and was welcomed into the United States in 1845. Most of the Mexican territory west of Texas was gained by the United States in 1848 as a result of the Mexican-American War. At this juncture, Anglo-Americans poured into the region, rapidly overwhelming the Hispanics and Native Americans in numbers, except in New Mexico where the invasion was much slower. In 1880, Anglos still were less than 10% of New Mexico's population (Williams 1986, 126), and they remained a minority until the middle of the twentieth century. By the 1940s only half of the state's population was Hispanic (Simmons 1977, 163).

For three hundred years, the Spanish speakers of the Southwest endured in isolation on the northern fringes of the Spanish-speaking Western Hemisphere, and the routine immigrants were absorbed, culturally and linguistically, into the existing communities. A quite different group of Hispanics arrived in the twentieth century via massive immigration from Mexico. This immigration may be divided into two major components. The first big wave was economic and political in nature, persons escaping the turmoil of the Mexican Revolution that began in 1910. A subsequent wave of immigration followed World War II and continues to the present. This second wave is entirely economic in nature—immigrants seeking employment on the farms and in the cities of the burgeoning neighbor to the north.

This quick overview of the historical situation permits us to draw a basic distinction among the Spanish speakers of the Southwest. The overwhelming majority are the result of recent immigration during the last hundred years or so. They speak a variety of Spanish much like that of their Mexican neighbors across the border. A tiny minority, descendants of pre-twentieth-century settlers, speaks a quite different variety, which Juan M. Lope Blanch, the dean of Mexican linguistic scholarship, has called "Traditional Southwest Spanish." This other variety has all but disappeared everywhere except in New Mexico and southern Colorado. Moreno de Alba and Perissinotto (1988, 177) explain the situation in California:

> (1-1) *Es muy probable que hacia 1840 sí hubiera muchas afinidades entre estos dos dialectos [de California y de Nuevo México], pero el californio . . . prácticamente desapareció a finales del siglo*

XIX y el que hoy se habla tiene como base el de los mexicanos que comenzaron a llegar durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX y las siguientes inmigraciones. 'It is very likely that around 1840 there was considerable affinity between those two dialects [of California and New Mexico], but the California dialect . . . practically disappeared toward the end of the nineteenth century and that which is spoken today has as its base the dialect of the Mexicans who began to arrive during the first decades of the twentieth century and the subsequent immigrations.'

Data and Maps

This book is an exploration of the Spanish language as it is spoken across New Mexico and the southern third of Colorado. The data reported herein come from the New Mexico–Colorado Spanish Survey (NMCOSS), which is described in detail in chapter 3. Briefly, the objective of the survey was to document as comprehensively as possible the range of Spanish spoken by natives of this region at the end of the twentieth century. The project involved carrying out tape-recorded interviews in the 1990s with a large number of native speakers of Spanish. Several criteria went in to the selection of these consultants. First, they had to have been born and raised in the survey region. Second, they had to have been exposed to Spanish as children and to have developed sufficient skill in the language (even if largely receptive) to participate in a lengthy interview that usually lasted two to three hours. Third, they were selected to provide broad geographical distribution, both sexes, and varied ages.

Our exploration is based on the speech of 357 Spanish speakers scattered across the region as illustrated in map 1-1, Sample Distribution. Each black dot on this map indicates the approximate geographical location of 1 consultant. That location represents the speaker's lifelong residence or at least residence during the speaker's formative years. The appendix provides a complete list of these consultants, ordered by interview number with age, gender, and location represented; this list also includes the person's name when permission to do so was granted. We provide the interview number whenever we cite a comment made by a consultant, so if additional basic information about the speaker is desired, it can be found in the appendix.

All of the linguistic maps presented in this book display speaker locations in the same way. The data for the maps are extracted from a major component of the interview in which the consultants provided verbal responses to specific stimuli, usually a picture illustrating a concrete object. For some stimuli real objects were used and in other cases the stimulus was verbal. In each of the following maps, each different response to the same stimulus is represented with a distinct symbol and the responses are plotted on the map at the speaker's location, as in map 1-1.

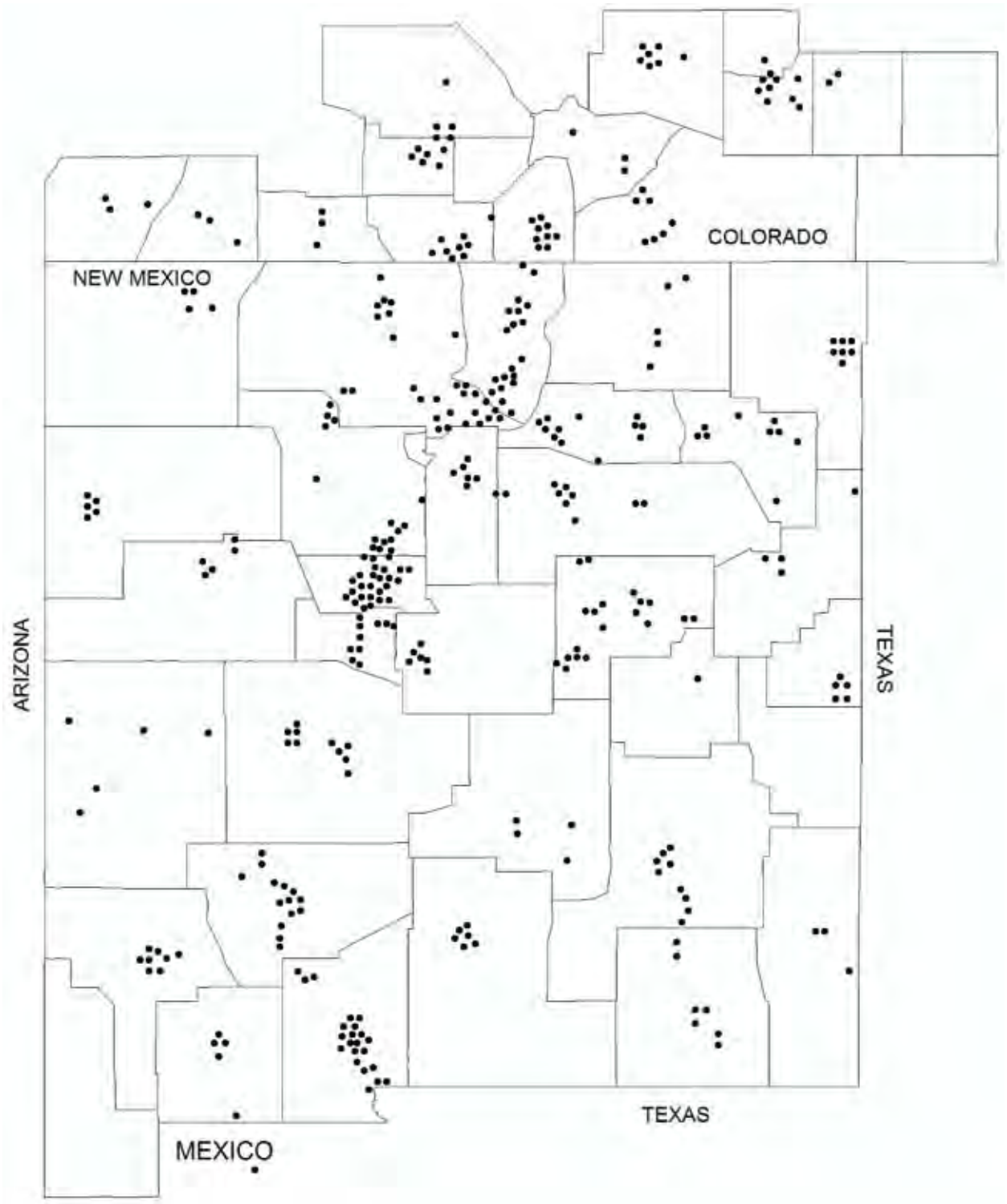
Of course, people often gave two or more responses for a particular case. However, unless otherwise explained, only the consultant's preferred or first response is plotted on a map or included in our analyses.

Terminology

A principal characteristic of human language is labeling. We determine that a collection of things in the real world (or in our imaginations) seems to form a class, and we impose on that class a convenient label. Although our labels, our words, snugly cover much that is out there, other things are elusive. Our labels tend to be pretty fuzzy around the edges. Our word *bird* works well for, say, a robin. If a large group of American English speakers were asked to make a list of *birds*, "robin" is likely to show up on many lists. But "ostrich" would doubtless be quite rare at best on those lists. The ostrich doesn't match easily with whatever we have in mind for the term *bird*. On the other hand, those not too hung up on zoological precision, might well put "bat" on the list of birds. Similarly, a label like *bug* may not serve well in scientific realms, but it functions quite well as a category for everyday conversation. Our linguistic labels always seem to leak a bit, but they are nonetheless very useful. Indeed, they are essential devices for communication.

This book is about language and people. Both occur in the real world as isolated individual things that need to be grouped into categories so that we can talk about them efficiently. *People* is a useful label, a class of things distinct from *bugs* or *horses* or *snakes*. The label *people* is a cover term for a group of isolated individual things each of which is unique. At the other extreme, we can use a label for each individual member of that group, *Garland Bills*, say, or *Neddy Vigil*.

We also find it necessary to have labels for groups of individuals that are still smaller than *people*. Those intermediate labels may be based on varied criteria: nationality (*Italian* versus *German*), hair color (*blondes* versus *brunettes*), sex (*men* versus *women*), age (*adult* versus *child*), and so on. One thing we notice immediately in



1-1. Sample Distribution

using those labels is that unclear cases invariably crop up. What about those northern Italians who don't speak Italian but rather a variety of German? Is she a *real* blonde? Boys will be boys, but so will men. There are always fuzzy cases that are not so easy to decide. But the labels are essential for our purposes.

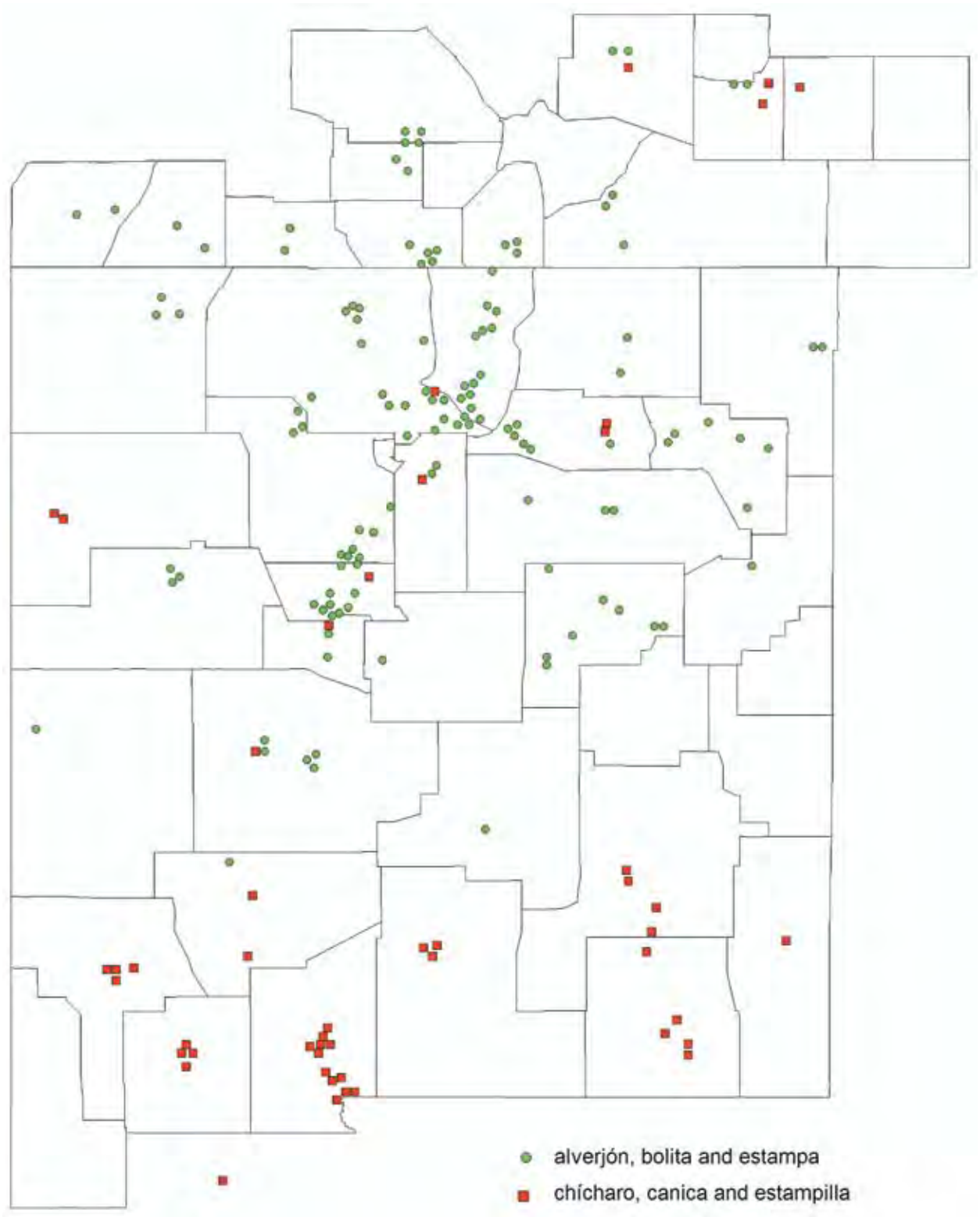
The same problem surfaces in talking about language. Language is the ability to produce and understand an essentially infinite number of sentences, and that ability exists as an isolated individual thing that can be objectively located only in the mind of an individual. Language scientists (linguists) know that each person's language is distinct from that of any other person. No two people, for example, have the same command of exactly the same vocabulary. *Idiolect* (think idiosyncrasy) is the label that linguists use to refer to that individual phenomenon. Thus, we might have occasion to talk about *Garland Bills's idiolect* versus *Neddy Vigil's idiolect*. Well, maybe not in ordinary conversation! Few may feel the need for the term *idiolect*, but we all need intermediate labels to contrast groups of linguistic things that fall in between *language* and *X's idiolect*. For example, the labels *English* and *Spanish* work fine for most purposes. You may have serious problems understanding a conversation between two speakers of some varieties of "English." Objectively, some "Spanish" is closer in linguistic features to the *Portuguese* class. And let us not get into the terminological squabble of referring to several clearly distinct languages with the single label *Chinese*, or of giving distinct labels for *Hindi* and *Urdu* (or for *Serbian* and *Croatian*) as if they were distinct languages.

The challenge in this book is to establish labels for the varieties of "Spanish" that are prominent in the New Mexico and southern Colorado region. In the first place, it would be useful to have a label shorter than *the Spanish of New Mexico and southern Colorado*! With no disrespect at all intended for the Spanish speakers of southern Colorado, we are going to label this over-arching package **New Mexican Spanish**, as we did at the beginning of this chapter. It's a convenient label for which a bit of historical support can be adduced. Colorado was part of the New Mexico territory until it became a state in 1876; Spanish speakers from New Mexico were the first settlers in southern Colorado; and probably a majority of Spanish-speaking southern Coloradans today can trace their ancestry to New Mexico.

More crucially, we need to distinguish two principal varieties of this *New Mexican Spanish*. Consider map 1-2. People in the survey region employ two different sets of words for the three lexical variables: 'Pea,' 'Marble,' and 'Stamp.' The NMCOSS consultants who labeled these items with the variants *chícharo*, *canica*, and *estampilla*, respectively, are marked with red squares on the map. Let us for the moment call these persons speakers of *Y-Spanish*. The map shows that they are generally arrayed across the southern part of New Mexico near the Mexican border, as well as in a few other areas that represent substantial immigration from Mexico during the past hundred years or so. In contrast, those who preferred the variants *alverjón*, *bolita*, and *estampa* are marked with green circles on the map. Let's call them speakers of *Z-Spanish*. These persons dominate in the remainder of the region, the traditional heartland of the Spanish-speaking population that traces its presence in New Mexico to the arrival of Oñate's colonists in 1598 or de Vargas's recolonizers at the end of the seventeenth century. (About two-thirds of those who responded for all three variables were consistent in selecting all three variants from one set. Another third provided mixed responses, one or two from set Y and one or two from set Z, and are not included on the map; they tend to represent areas of contact between Y-Spanish and Z-Spanish.)

In the preceding paragraph we have introduced two more terms that we will use with frequency in this book. The linguistic feature that varies is called a **variable**. We will usually employ the English translation as the name of a variable and consistently introduce each variable in single quotes with an initial capital. Thus, 'Pea' is a variable of interest. The distinct realizations of a variable are called **variants** and will always be presented in italics. So, *chícharo* and *alverjón* are the two major variants of the variable 'Pea' in New Mexican Spanish.

Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa, the distinguished New Mexico linguist of the early twentieth century, makes clear in his commentary and map that the "New Mexican Spanish" he studied specifically excludes the Spanish of the lower third of New Mexico (1909, 47, 52–53). Ornstein (1951) provides a broad range of examples to make explicit how the two kinds of Spanish differ. The distinction between these two varieties is one of the strongest linguistic demarcations we'll see in this book. We need convenient labels to refer to these two linguistic objects, something more memorable than *Y-Spanish* versus *Z-Spanish*. For the Z-Spanish, Lope Blanch (1987) uses the term "Traditional Southwest Spanish," whose speakers represent early settlement prior to the twentieth century and who today reside primarily in the upper Río Grande drainage area of central and northern New Mexico and south-central Colorado. This label is useful even though it is true, of course, that *all* manifestations



1-2. Combined 'Pea,' 'Marble,' and 'Stamp'

of Spanish are "traditional." In past publications, we adopted the Traditional Spanish label, and we referred to Y-Spanish as "Mexican Spanish" because this variety owes its presence primarily to immigration from Mexico during the twentieth century, and its speakers tend to have closer contact with the Spanish spoken on the other side of the international border. However, this latter label doesn't serve us well, in part because *all* of New Mexican Spanish is "Mexican" (an assertion that we will back up with facts throughout this book). More important, in the present more comprehensive study we need to reserve the term **Mexican Spanish** specifically for reference to the Spanish spoken in Mexico.

In this book, for reference to the two major categories of New Mexican Spanish, we have somewhat reluctantly settled on the special terms **Traditional Spanish** and **Border Spanish**. Naturally, the terms may present some cognitive discord for some readers, but we will use them consistently. The reader should have no problem understanding the general point being made in every case.

In the preceding discussion we have consistently selected a neutral term in referring to *varieties* of a language. Throughout this book, however, we will often be using the linguist's technical term, **dialect**, to mean just that, a variety of a language. Again, no disparagement is intended. Everybody speaks a dialect of English, for example, whether it's the Cajun dialect of Louisiana, the southern dialect of rural Alabama, the Chicano dialect of East Los Angeles, the Yankee dialect of New England, or the standard dialect of American English that many educated people aim for. And dialect differences there are! There are great dialect differences among speakers of English and great dialect differences among speakers of Spanish, as one would expect of two of the most widely spoken languages in the world. As with all things in life, beauty rests in diversity. Dialects that may be jarring, difficult to understand, or even ugly to some people will be languid, logical, and lovely to others. Most people find a nurturing comfort in the sounds of the dialect they were exposed to as a child. Every variety of English or Spanish, every dialect of any language, is valid and lovely, at least to its users and to linguists. Here we will celebrate the dialects of New Mexican Spanish as we celebrate diversity in all things.

We also require labels for the groups of people that we discuss in this book. These groups are socially defined, and any term we use is likely to be found objectionable by someone. The 357 people who provide the data for this language exploration may be reasonably lumped into one big group based on ancestral ties to the Spanish language. Because all of these individuals also have ancestral ties with Mexico, and indeed all tend to refer to themselves as *mexicano* when speaking Spanish, the label "Mexican" or "Mexicano" might be most appropriate. However, we will be reserving **Mexican** as a nationality label to refer to citizens of Mexico. Our group of U.S. citizens has been variously labeled "Hispanic," "Mexican American" (with or without a hyphen), "Chicano," and "Latino." Some influential persons, including prominent New Mexican scholars such as Estevan Arellano (e.g., 2006) and Enrique Lamadrid and Miguel Gandert (e.g., 2003), prefer the term "Indo-Hispano" (sometimes "Indo-Hispanic") to emphasize the mestizo nature of this population. Anybody familiar with the local situation knows there is no safe way out here! (For the results of a couple of pertinent surveys about local ethnic labels, see Metzger 1974 for Albuquerque; Villa and Villa 1998 for New Mexico State University students in Las Cruces; and especially Gonzales 2005, who examines the self-identity labels preferred by 85 of the NMCOSS consultants.) We will henceforth use what we perceive to be the most neutral (though still quite controversial) term, **Hispanic**.

We will also have occasion to refer to non-Hispanic groups in the region. Here we will follow local standards. For reference to the descendants of the original human inhabitants of the region, we will usually employ the label **Native American**, though **Indian** will also suffice. For purposes necessary in this exploration, but also conforming substantially to local custom, we will cram all other individuals, however much they might protest, under a single label tagged as **Anglo**. In doing so, no disrespect is intended toward those who would insist with appropriate pride that they really should be labeled "African American," "Greek," "white," and so on.

Finally, we find it necessary to identify and label subgroups within the Hispanic ethnicity. For our purposes, only two categories need to be distinguished: those who tend to speak Traditional Spanish and those who tend to speak Border Spanish. These groups are not just linguistically different, however. Although both groups usually label themselves *mexicanos* when speaking Spanish, the ethnic difference shows up in their self-identifications in English. Those in the south typically call themselves "Mexican" or "Mexican American" while those in the north tend to prefer "Hispanic," "Spanish American," or "Spanish" (for a discussion of the sociopolitical underpinnings of this use, see Gonzales-Berry and Maciel 2000, 5–6 and especially Nieto-Phillips 2000, 116–34; 2004).

This difference in self identification shows up clearly in the findings of the U.S. Census. In the 2000 Census

(and similarly in the 1980 and 1990 censuses), Hispanics were asked to further identify themselves in one of four categories: (1) Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano; (2) Puerto Rican; (3) Cuban; or (4) Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino. In the southern county of Doña Ana, 71% of Hispanics placed themselves in the first category and only 28% chose the "Other" option. In contrast, in the northern New Mexico county of Río Arriba, 87% of Hispanics chose the "Other" category and just 13% identified themselves in the "Mexican" category. In New Mexico's largest city, Albuquerque, which is in the northern half of the state but which draws immigrants from northern towns as well as from Mexico and border areas of the United States, the identity selections are more leveled: 38% prefer the "Mexican" category and 59% the "Other" category (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000).

Clearly, any labels we try to put on ethnic groups are also going to show leakage. Rather than rely on any of the existing emotionally loaded terms, we have decided to adopt neutral labels associated loosely with geography. We will use as the two ethnicity labels: (1) **Northerners**, for those associated with the Traditional Spanish heartland of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, and (2) **Southerners**, for those associated with the Border Spanish of southern New Mexico, even though this ethnic group too is found across the northern areas. No doubt our attempted easy way out accords with the Spanish saying, *Salimos de Guatemala y caímos en Guatepeor* (for which we offer a literal translation that loses much: 'We left *Guate*bad and fell into *Guate*worse', or sort of 'Out of the frying pan and into the fire').

PART I

The Study of New Mexican Spanish

CHAPTER TWO

New Mexican Spanish

Myths and Realities

Few people have a sophisticated understanding of the nature of human language. Most people are quite unaware of how their own language works. As in other areas where the systematicity lies beyond the limits of our understanding, myths and legends come to the rescue. They make the unknown less ominous. Myths are valuable cultural resources because above all else their purpose is to provide reassurance to the community. Consequently, every culture seems to hold dearly to beliefs that have little basis in reality. And on the basis of those beliefs, communities make judgments about the quality of all sorts of behaviors, including language behavior. Societies can be quite cruel, rigidly imposing their norms of acceptable behavior. But paradoxically, having that guide to behavior, however devoid of a basis in reality, can be comforting. Myths about language are the police that try to keep the citizenry adhering to the accepted norms of linguistic behavior.

However much solace they may provide, language myths also have a dangerous side. The normative control tends to be applied not just to the language manifested but also to the people who speak that kind of language. Thus, speakers of a "good" variety tend to be considered "good" people, and speakers of "bad" varieties are often seen as "bad" people. The historical origin of these judgments, however, is usually just the reverse: the class of people who are most admired come to be regarded as those who use the best language, and the most socially disadvantaged come to have their way of speaking devalued.

In short, beliefs about language reflect the usual societal inequalities, inequalities captured in seemingly universal fashion in the observation of a well-experienced ninety-six-year-old woman from northern New Mexico (interview 219):

(2-1) *El hombre rico siempre quiere tener en un puño al pobre.* 'The rich man always wants to hold the poor fellow in his fist.'

Or to quote the earthier chicken coop analogy offered by a younger eighty-six-year-old woman from Trinidad, Colorado (interview 60):

(2-2) *Bien dicen que la gallina de arriba caga a la de abajo.* 'For good reason they say that the chicken on the upper perch shits on the one below.'

The Hispanics of New Mexico and southern Colorado are well aware of both social differences and language

differences. And like all languages, New Mexican Spanish is burdened with its share of linguistic myths. We will touch on just five of those myths here. Our intent is not so much to wipe out those myths (not a bad objective, but myths are not easily smote) as to reveal how those myths help us understand the complex interactions of language, society, and culture in this setting.

Myth 1: "Standard Spanish is good; nonstandard Spanish is bad." Speakers of New Mexican Spanish are often told that their Spanish is deficient. Thus, for example, an eighty-one-year-old woman (interview 320) from Hobbs, New Mexico, reports on the effect of the attitudes of her Mexico-born husband:

(2-3) *Hasta me da a mí pena hablar mi español que hablo, porque* ***sometimes*** *él me dice que si hablo chino o japonés.* 'It even makes me sad to speak the Spanish I speak, because sometimes he asks me if I'm speaking Chinese or Japanese.'

(In citing conversational examples from the tapes, we strive to represent this spontaneous speech exactly as spoken, leaving out only occasional stutters and hesitations.)

Of all our 357 consultants, the woman who uttered example 2-3 is 1 of only 11 who have a spouse born in Mexico. This in spite of the fact that 55 consultants have at least 1 parent born in Mexico. We can only wonder if language differences might play a role in this apparently low rate of marriage between two Spanish-speaking groups.

The major nurturers of the myth that New Mexican Spanish is "bad" are people from Mexico or other Spanish-speaking countries who have been educated in Spanish and imbued with the strong prescriptivist tradition of the Real Academia Española (Royal Academy of Spanish). They tend to have strong feelings about what is proper Spanish and find the local Spanish to be lacking, even to the point of being a corrupt and degenerate means of communication. Anglos who have acquired a good command of standard Spanish may share those attitudes for the same reasons.

But you can't just blame the Academy for these sentiments. One of the most universal language myths is that there exist in absolute terms good ways of speaking and bad ways of speaking. But honestly, there are no angels and no devils in human language. In its linguistic structure, one language variety is no more angelic or demonic than any other. Presidents can use language as vile and devious as that used by convicts. On the other hand, the colloquial language of the home can inspire as easily as the cultivated language of Gabriel García Márquez or William Faulkner. It all depends on the context.

Context, of course, is the key to recognizing the linguistic equality of all languages and all dialects. Each way of speaking has a valid and important function. We all use different ways of speaking when talking to the baby or to the boss, in writing a business letter or a poem. We speak with our spouse one way and with a judge in another. And on and on. The distribution of ways of speaking according to context and function is related to membership in distinct groups, ranging from small groups of family and friendship to larger groups that extend communication beyond the home and local community. On one side we find the nostalgic language of our most intimate group. On another side we may find the utility and even power of a variety that allows us to operate with confidence among members of a broader community.

Yet we frequently encounter other situations and other communities where our way of speaking feels different and inadequate. Our inability to communicate appropriately in those situations makes us uncomfortable, sometimes extremely uncomfortable. We interact comfortably only in those communities we most identify with. That is, language and identity go hand in hand. Where there exist differences in identity there tend to be differences in language. And vice versa.

A complex case of language mythology and identity construction is found in the area of the NMCOSS survey. As we noted earlier, the Spanish heritage inhabitants of the region tend to see themselves as belonging to two principal groups: (a) those from northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, whose ancestors arrived in the region prior to the twentieth century and (b) those residing principally in southern New Mexico, who have closer ancestral ties with Mexico. The ethnic difference shows up in their self-identifications in English. Northerners tend to call themselves "Hispanic," "Spanish American," or "Spanish" while Southerners prefer "Mexican" or "Mexican American."

In Spanish, on the other hand, both groups label themselves as *mexicanos* (very occasionally Northerners will refer to themselves as *españoles* 'Spanish'). That use of the same label does not signal commonality of ethnicity, however. In talking about local foods, a particularly astute and careful nonagenarian living in Medanales in Río Arriba County, in northern New Mexico, caught herself about to say something that she thought might confuse the interviewer, so she attempted to explain:

(2-4) *La comida mex—de nojotros. No quiero decir que mexicano, porque no semos mexicanos nojotros. Dicemos mexicanos, pero no semos.*

México está al otro lado. 'The food of us Mex—of us. I don't mean Mexican, because we're not Mexican. We say Mexicans, but we're not. Mexico's over there on the other side [of the border].' (interview 219)

The one thing clarified by this explanation is the palpable consciousness of two groups, regardless of the arbitrary label conventionally employed.

If a need to differentiate is felt, a Northerner will often resort to labeling the other group as *mexicanos de México* (roughly equivalent to saying, 'Mexican Mexicans'), as in the following observation by a woman from Santa Fe:

(2-5) *Mi ayuda era una muchacha mexicana de México.* 'My help [in taking care of my husband] was a Mexican girl from Mexico.' (interview 108)

Finally, each group has a Spanish term, more or less private, more or less derogatory, to designate the other. Northerners have long used a traditional title of respect that is somewhat more intimate than the more formal terms *Don* and *Doña*, which are also used. This usage employs a person's first name preceded by *Mano* or *Mana* (shortened forms of the sibling terms *hermano* and *hermana*), for example, *Mano Ramón* and *Mana Luisa*, a usage epitomized in the folk characters of countless jokes and stories, *Mano Cacahuate* 'Brother Peanut' and *Mana Cebolla* 'Sister Onion.' In direct address, the title alone in diminutive form—*Manito*, *Manita*—is often used. Picking up on this frequent epithet, Southerners (and many others) adopted the term *Manitos* to refer to members of this distinctive group. The granddaughter of Mexican immigrants, consultant 237 grew up in the Southerner territory of La Junta, Colorado, on the Arkansas River but at the time of being interviewed had lived a dozen years in the Northerner territory of the San Luis Valley. She describes the first time the title was directed at her:

(2-6) *La primera vez que me noté yo que alguien me había llamado manita, ¡Ay manita! ¡Yo no soy manita! ¡Jai, grama, me llamaron manita!* 'The first time I noticed that someone had called me Manita, Oh Manita! I'm not a Manita! Hey, Grandma, they called me a Manita! (interview 237)

On the other side of this ethnic coin, perhaps the most common Northerner term for the Southerners is *Surumato* (sometimes *Serumato*). Attributions of an origin for this label seem to be apocryphal. Most speculation suggests it derives from a Mexican place name associated with a group of immigrants, identified as Surumuato by Cobos (2003) and Suruma by others. In her study of the Pachuco argot, Coltharp (1965, 261) includes the apparently related form *surrumato* as an adjective meaning "unsophisticated, countrified," and Galván and Teschner (1975, 86) treat this word in Texas as a variant of *zurumbático* meaning "daffy, screwy, slightly crazy; dumb, stupid, ignorant." Whatever the form of the word or its origin, this label for Southerners is clearly not laudatory.

Two other labels for Southerners—*Mateo* and *Chúntaro*—surfaced in the NMCOSS interviews. Example 2-7 comes from a seventy-eight-year-old man from Chama, Colorado, and example 2-8 from a thirty-four-year-old man from Pastura (near Santa Rosa), New Mexico.

(2-7) *Mateo les dicen porque vienen del otro lado y ellos a nosotros nos dicen los manitos.* 'They're called Mateo because they come from the other side [of the border] and they call us Manitos.' (interview 211)

(2-8) *Todos nos dicen manito y nosotros shúntaro.* 'They all call us Manito and we [call them] Chúntaro.' (interview 43)

Obviously, then, our consultants see themselves as different kinds of Hispanics. And as in all societies, perceptions of social difference are reflected in an array of linguistic differences. For example, Southerners favor the label *chícharo* for the legume 'Pea' while Northerners favor *alverjón*. Map 1-2 clearly illustrates this point.

It is also to be expected with two such sharply delineated groups that there exists a bit of competition. The Northerners tend to feel socially superior by virtue of their longer history of landownership and access to economic and political power. The Southerners, those representing more recent immigration, tend to have less tradition of such material status. On the other hand, they tend to have closer contact with Mexico and consequently often have more advanced skills in Spanish and access to the idea and reality of standard Spanish. That is, the near-universal acceptance of myth 1 that nonstandard Spanish is "bad" can give them an aura of possessing "good" Spanish. Myth 1 bestows on them a less material but no less powerful manifestation of status.

It is the Northerners, then, who are apt to display a kind of inferiority complex about their speech. The Southerners, with their stronger links to Mexico, often have greater linguistic status, at least if they are

sufficiently self-confident to recognize this power. It is perhaps a reaction to this feeling of linguistic inferiority that Northerners tend to dress up their variety in another myth, a historicity myth—the belief that the Spanish they speak is a noble and pure descendant of Golden Age Spanish, the language of Cervantes.

Myth 2: "New Mexican Spanish is the Spanish of sixteenth-century Spain." This myth is rampant. It is reflected in such popular literature as John Nichols's novel, *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1976, 225):

> (2-9) Pacheco could not stand the way Onofre, reading aloud in Spanish pronounced his *c*'s and *z*'s. He pronounced them with the Castilian *th* sound, that is, with a lisp, an affectation peculiar to many of the Miracle Valley's old-timers, whereas it could not be found farther south in Mexico. The reason for this being that Onofre's and Seferino Pacheco's ancestors had come from Spain four centuries before, traveled to this godforsaken place in the high Rockies, and then been cut off from civilization for three hundred years, thus maintaining many of the purities in their Spanish language and in their Spanish customs.

Such romantic ideas about the Castilian "purity" of these people and their language are heard daily in New Mexico. Those ideas are sadly in error.

Even the renowned Spanish linguist Manuel Alvar could allow his lyricism to overwhelm his objectivity in stating about New Mexican Spanish (2000, 27):

> (2-10) *La lengua es aquí arcaizante, como lo son los cristos de palo con sus brazos articulados o los santos vestidos de remotos soldados españoles, o la emoción medieval de los romances religiosos o las misiones—ya en ruinas—o tantas cosas como evocan el occidente leonés o las tierras luminosas de Andalucía. Todo supervivencias de un pasado que se hermana en la lengua o en la fe.* 'The language here is archaic, as are the wooden figures of Christ with articulated arms or the saints dressed like Spanish soldiers of old, or the medieval emotion of religious ballads or the mission churches—now in ruins—or so many things in the way they evoke the western part of León or the luminous lands of Andalucía. All are survivals of a past that harmonizes with the language or the faith.'

More objective is the interpretation of Juan Antonio Trujillo, evincing his more personal connection to the region: "[T]he romanticized image of New Mexico Spanish as proof of a noble European cultural origin coexists with increasing linguistic insecurity" (1997, 3–4).

The reality of New Mexican Spanish is much more complex and quite different from a magical association with Spain. That reality is accurately reflected in the everyday labels that speakers of New Mexican Spanish ordinarily employ to describe their ethnic and linguistic identity: *somos mexicanos* 'we are Mexican,' *hablamos mexicano* 'we speak Mexican.'

The Spanish-heritage people of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado have no more direct bloodline links to Spain than do the inhabitants of Mexico or other regions of the Americas. The majority of the first colonizers who came to New Mexico in 1598 were born not in Spain but in Mexico or elsewhere in the Eurocentrically labeled "New World." And most of those who returned to New Mexico after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt were also "Americans," natives of the New World. J. A. Trujillo's research leads him to conclude "that despite the New Mexico Hispanics' insistence, the majority of the original colonist groups were not of European Spanish origin, but rather mestizo immigrants of modest means recruited along the colonial highway leading north from Mexico City" (1997, 132). Indeed, the majority of those recruited in Mexico City for this enterprise not only were born in Mexico but also "were certainly the product of miscegenation" (Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge 1995, 10). And they were already speakers of a hybrid American Spanish that had developed over nearly two centuries of what John Lipski calls the "linguistic alchemy" (1994, 45) that melded the varied dialects of persons brought together from all over the Iberian Peninsula.

Moreover, there was a sometimes weak but always continuous stream of Mexicans into Nuevo México throughout the colonial period, during the Mexican period, through the sixty years of status as a U.S. territory, and since the incorporation of New Mexico as a state in 1912. Although the Northerners lived for centuries relatively secluded from the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, their isolation was not absolute. Their Spanish ties in both culture and blood have been principally with Mexico.

Just as Northerners are not Spaniards, Traditional Spanish is neither more Iberian nor more archaic than other New World Spanishes. You can, of course, find an occasional piece of linguistic evidence that supports the myth. For example, the usual word for 'Cabbage' is *col* in Spain, whereas it is the very different *repollo* in parts

of Mexico, according to Lara et al. (1996) and numerous people we consulted (although we have been told by several other people that the norm in Mexico City is *col*). In our survey, we received 254 preferences for *col* versus only 61 for *repollo*. Map 2-1 shows that the Traditional Spanish dialect prefers Spain's term *col* (marked with green circles). In contrast, the more common term in Mexico, *repollo* (marked with red squares), is popular only in the Border Spanish dialect area, that is, in those areas with ties to northwestern Mexico, where it seems that *repollo* is the norm and the term *col* is largely unknown.

But most of the linguistic reality is quite distinct from the myth of an Iberian Spanish. The typical word for 'Skirt' in Traditional Spanish is *nagua* or *naguas*, one of the earliest borrowings from a Native American language, the Taino language of the Caribbean. An 'Owl' is a *tecolote*, a borrowing from the Aztec (or Nahuatl) language of Mexico; hardly anyone in the NMCOSS region knows the peninsular Spanish term *buho*. Like the rest of Latin America and unlike Spain, the second person plural pronoun *vosotros* and the verb forms associated with it are never used in everyday speech. Like most of the rest of Latin America and unlike central Spain, there is no sound distinction for the written symbols *y* and *ll* nor for *s* and *z/c*. *Se cayó* 'he fell' and *se calló* 'he became silent' are pronounced alike in Mexican and New Mexican Spanish, as are *coser* 'sew' and *cocer* 'cook.'

Nor is Traditional Spanish particularly archaic. Archaisms are typically defined as forms that occurred in earlier periods of a language and that are no longer considered acceptable in the "standard" language. There are, in fact, lots of these archaisms in New Mexican Spanish. But that is typical of colloquial Spanish everywhere. All varieties of Spanish derive from the peninsular Spanish of the sixteenth century, and all nonstandard dialects retain features that have since been changed or replaced in what is generally considered standard Spanish. Archaisms heard in the speech of the common people in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world are also heard in New Mexico. Some examples of such pan-Spanish archaisms are *cuasi* instead of the now standard *casi* 'almost' (illustrated in example 2-11), *onde* instead of *donde* 'where,' *trujo* for *trajo* 'she brought,' *vide* for *vi* 'I saw,' and *creiban* for *creían* 'they used to believe.'

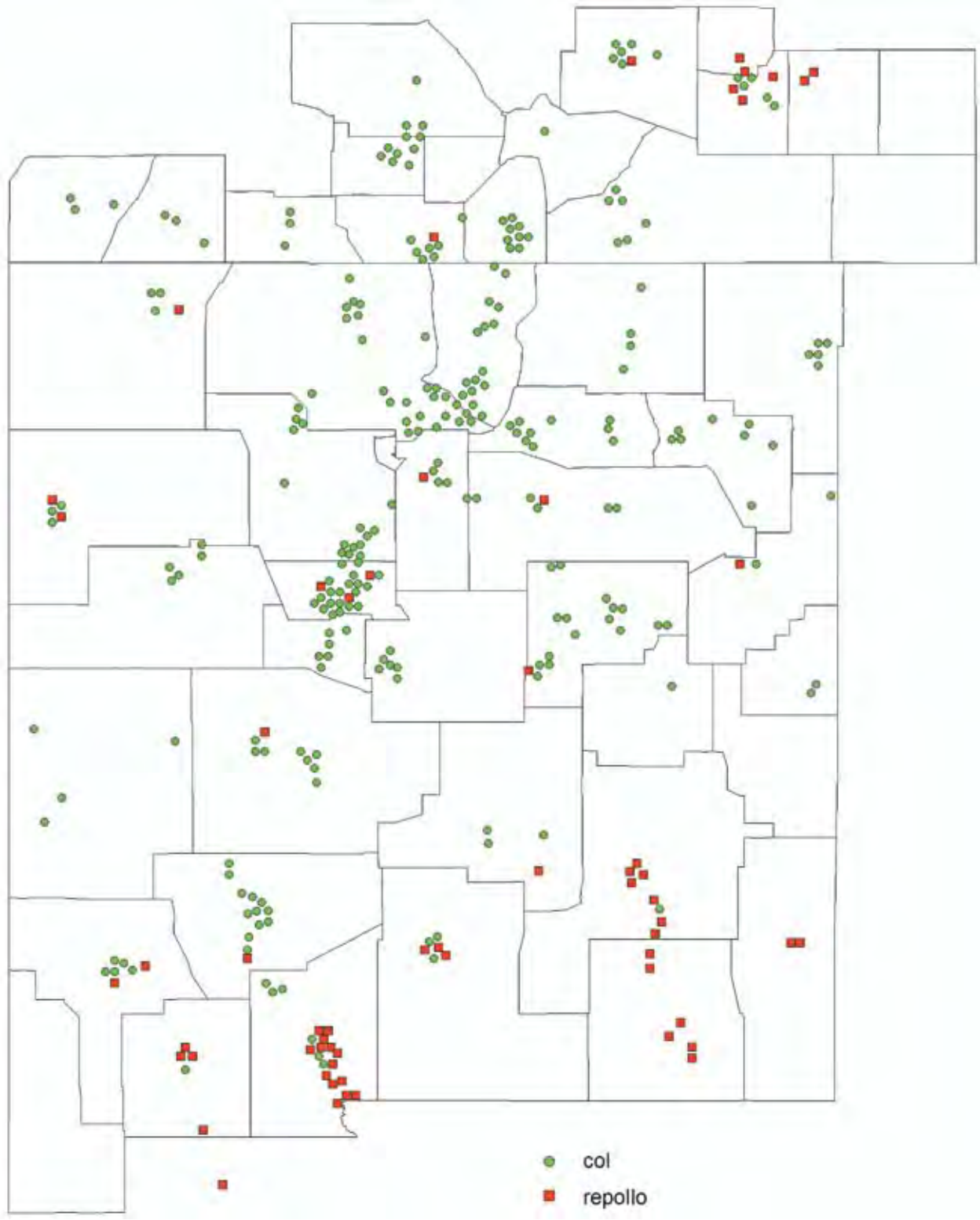
But you'll find in New Mexican Spanish just as many or more "new" forms as "archaic" forms. You'll find newly created labels such as *ratón volador* (literally 'flying mouse') instead of *murciélago* for 'bat' and altered forms such as *pader* instead of *pared* for 'wall.' You'll find words borrowed from English such as *flate* 'flat,' from Aztec or Nahuatl such as *cuates* 'twins,' from French fur traders such as *puela* 'skillet,' and from local Pueblo Indians such as *oshá* 'a medicinal root.'

It is the contribution from Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec Indians of central Mexico, that provides the most palpable demonstration that New Mexican Spanish is really Mexican Spanish, not "pure" Castilian Spanish. Nahuatl contributed substantial numbers of lexical items, which were brought to New Mexico by the early colonists, as well as by subsequent immigrants. Many of these **Nahuatlisms** are virtually the only labels used in our survey area for such commonplace encounters as *chapulín* for 'grasshopper,' *chile* for 'chile pepper,' *cuates* for 'twins,' *quelites* for 'wild spinach,' *tamal* for 'tamale,' *tecolote* for 'owl,' *zoquete* for 'mud,' and *zacate* for 'grass.'

Beyond Nahuatlisms, however, the close relationship of Mexican Spanish and Traditional Spanish, the profoundly "Mexican" nature of Traditional Spanish, is evident throughout the linguistic system. Among many other clear manifestations of this relationship are the grammatical characteristics identified by Moreno de Alba (1992b). Speakers of New Mexican Spanish do not manifest *leísmo* and *laísmo*; they say *lo vi* 'I saw him,' not *le vi*, and *a ella le di la manzana* 'I gave the apple to her,' not *la di*. They use the *-ra* form of the imperfect subjunctive to the exclusion of the *-se* form; they say *querían que saliera* 'they wanted him to leave,' not *saliese*. Moreover, the absence of the second person singular pronoun *vos* ties Traditional Spanish to mainstream Mexican Spanish, distinguishing both from much of the rest of Latin America. In brief, New Mexican Spanish belongs to what Lozano (1977) labels a Mexican Spanish "macro-dialect."

But in Traditional Spanish there are linguistic features that are neither particularly Castilian nor particularly Mexican. There are many independently developed words and constructions, such as *ganso* for 'turkey,' *santopié* for 'centipede,' *vivemos* instead of *vivimos* 'we live,' and *cantábanos* instead of *cantábamos* 'we were singing.' A typical feature of Traditional Spanish pronunciation is called the "paragogic /e/," a vowel that is occasionally added to the end of words, for example, *hablare* for *hablar* 'speak' and *ratone* for *ratón* 'mouse.' Also typical is the routine pronunciation of /s/ at the beginning of a syllable or at the end of a word, as an aspiration like the English *h*, which we represent with the equivalent Spanish letter *j* in the following examples:

(2-11) *Cuaji todoj loj amigoj míoj hablan loj doj idiomaj*. 'Almost all of my friends speak both languages.' (interview 214)



2-1. 'Cabbage'

(2-12) *Yo bebo té de oshá, de manzanilla, de todoj ejos remedios bebo yo*. 'I drink tea of wild celery root, of chamomile; I drink all of those remedies.' (interview 20)

(2-13) *No máj anda buscando de hajer mal*. 'He just goes around looking to make trouble.' (interview 20)

The Spanish of Cervantes? This myth does not stand up to scrutiny. The Traditional Spanish of New Mexico and southern Colorado is a very special, unique dialect of Spanish. Like all dialects, it is not exactly like any other dialect. And like all dialects, it is perfectly suited to the needs of the particular community of speakers. For talking with grandparents. For telling jokes and stories involving Mano Cacahuate and Mana Cebolla. For praying before those wooden figures of Christ. For explaining recipes for *sopa* and *burruñates*. It is, in brief, the distinctive linguistic heritage of most Hispanics of the NMCOSS region.

Myth 3: It is widely assumed that, in recognition of this distinctive heritage, "Spanish is an official language of New Mexico." Many, many people, both Hispanics and Anglos, believe that the state constitution gives Spanish special legal status in perpetuity. This belief, too, is a myth.

The myth that Spanish enjoys some advantaged position in New Mexico seems to be based on two sections that deal explicitly with language in the constitution that the state of New Mexico adopted upon admission to the United States in 1912. Article XII, Section 12 of that constitution specifies that

(2-14) [t]he legislature shall provide for the training of teachers in the normal schools or otherwise so that they may become proficient in both the English and Spanish languages, to qualify them to teach Spanish-speaking pupils . . . and shall provide proper means and methods to facilitate the teaching of the English language and other branches of learning to such pupils. (Adams and Brink 1990, 322)

Focusing on just the first two clauses of this section might lead one to believe that all teachers are required to know Spanish. However, a careful reading of the entirety of the section, all of the important content of which is excerpted in example 2-14, leads to a very different interpretation. The intent of the framers of the constitution, as supported by two attorney general opinions in 1968 and 1971, was to assure that (a) all students learn English, not Spanish, and (b) teachers of Spanish-speaking children be given the opportunity to become proficient in Spanish. There has never been a constitutional requirement that any teacher must speak Spanish.

The second part of the constitution that deals with language is Article XX, Section 12, which provides for the publication of laws in both languages:

(2-15) For the first twenty years after this constitution goes into effect all laws passed by the legislature shall be published in both the English and Spanish languages.

Note the time restriction of this requirement to the first twenty years. In fact, however, the regulation was extended in 1931 for another ten years and in 1943 for an additional ten years, but without any funding authorized (S. P. Nichols 1989, 42–43). There is now no New Mexico requirement that laws (or anything else) be published in Spanish (although a federal law, the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975, now requires that voting materials be available in Spanish and other minority languages under certain conditions).

In brief, although the Spanish language surely holds a special place in the hearts and minds of the majority of New Mexicans and southern Coloradans, it enjoys no official status and no special legal protection in the state of New Mexico. It has to fend for itself. Unfortunately, it hasn't been able to fend for itself very well, as we see in dealing with the next myth.

Myth 4: "English is good; Spanish is not good." Regardless of the stature of Spanish as one of the world's major languages with respect to number of speakers and documented history, in the NMCOSS area and in the United States more generally, some people proclaim and many others harbor the sneaky suspicion that the Spanish language is decidedly inferior to English.

This myth has no basis in any kind of linguistic measure, of course. Like myth 1, it is based solely on social judgments, judgments directed not at the language but at the group of people who speak that language. Even the most casual observer of human society in the U.S. Southwest will note that the typical Spanish speaker manifests less valued material trappings and lower social status than the typical English speaker. Ergo, that magnificent human capacity to establish contrastive categories leads some to conclude that the English language must be superior to the Spanish language. That English is good and Spanish is bad. That English speakers are good and Spanish speakers are bad.

The social inequalities associated with speaking Spanish foster this dangerous myth and feed its norm enforcement role. Many Hispanics, particularly the young and impressionable, buy into the power of the myth and perceive Spanish as loaded with all sorts of negative baggage. Thus, a twenty-one-year-old woman from Las Cruces, New Mexico, reports in her interview on a support strategy she adopted with friends in high school for dealing with new acquaintances:

(2-16) *Yo decía, "No les digan que sé español." . . . Si ya sabías el español es que tus padres eran mojados*. 'I would say, "Don't tell them I know Spanish." . . . If you knew Spanish it meant your parents were wetbacks.' (interview 149)

Mojado and its English equivalent *wetback* are highly derogatory labels that originally referred to those who entered the United States illegally by swimming (or sometimes just wading) across the Río Grande, but the terms are sometimes generalized to refer to legal immigrants as well. For this young woman, the desire to avoid such labeling led to the desire to deny Spanish.

Denial of Spanish is, of course, just one response to the denigrating force of myth 4. The more frequent response is probably a mixture of positive and negative feelings toward Spanish. Such ambivalent attitudes are expressed in the following excerpt from a letter to the editor of the *Albuquerque Journal* by a confident but somewhat misinformed Hispanic (May 19, 1994):

(2-17) I am bilingual, and my life would not be any different, if I did not speak Spanish. I am glad, however, to be able to speak two languages. My daughters do not speak Spanish, and I have no guilt feelings about it. My wife and I wanted them to speak good English, since this is the official [*sic*] language of our country.

Does this man buy into the myth? Partly. Well, he might say, "I don't think Spanish is bad, though some of you folks do, but I agree that English is better." In addition, he is off-base in bringing up another linguistic myth. English is *not* the official language of the United States—at least not yet in spite of the many misguided efforts to make it so. (See Marshall 1986 and Adams and Brink 1990 for a broad discussion of official languages versus national languages and the attempts to make English the official language of the United States.) English is without doubt, however, universally recognized as the national language of the United States. It is the dominant language of power and prestige and the biggest threat to the survival of Spanish (and all other languages) in this country.

Reinforcement of the myth of the inadequacy of Spanish vis-à-vis English crops up in all aspects of life. Most U.S.-born Spanish speakers in the NMCOSS region have been educated exclusively in English and therefore feel less comfortable, less competent, speaking Spanish in many situations. Besides, they hear outsiders put down their Spanish as uneducated and deficient. Still sadder is the fact that proficient speakers within the local community often laugh at those, the young in particular, who for whatever reason have failed to develop decent communicative competence in Spanish. For more and more Hispanics, English becomes the safer language, Spanish a language to avoid.

Myth 5: Well, even so, Spanish has been strongly rooted in this area for four centuries. "New Mexican Spanish is in no danger of being lost." *Au contraire*! The use of Spanish and fluency in the language both locally and across the United States is declining before our very eyes. Only a quarter of the NMCOSS consultants (79 of 299) were willing to rate their ability in Spanish as "good." Over half (180 of 329) were unable to come up with a Spanish word for 'Dragonfly.' Nearly a third (102 of 311) could provide no Spanish label for 'Ankle'! And the NMCOSS consultants are a restricted subsample of the Hispanic population; only Spanish speakers are included.

The positive evaluation of English and the negative evaluation of Spanish, together with the social inequalities that seem to go hand in hand with Spanish, conspire to cause many to give up Spanish entirely. Even for most who retain fluency, English is their most commonly used language and Spanish serves as a communicative tool only for intimate situations associated with family and close friends, and sometimes the immediate neighborhood or small village. Naturally, a decline in use of a language leads to a decline in ability to speak it. With each successive generation, proficiency in Spanish and the contexts for its use dwindle, eventually to zero. A central piece of as much as four centuries of local ethnic heritage, the ethnic language, is lost to increasing numbers of Hispanics.

The fact that the 2000 U.S. Census shows that persons of Hispanic *ethnicity* have grown to 42% of the New Mexico population (a major factor in the reduction of the Anglo population once again to minority status) and to 17% of the Colorado population does not mean that the Spanish *language* is being maintained in this region. Maintenance of Spanish requires historical stability in

the use of the language, the consistent transmission of the language from one generation to the next. That has not been happening for a couple of generations in New Mexico and southern Colorado. Utilizing information about a large number of the NMCOSS consultants, Bernal-Enríquez (2002) provides a dramatic demonstration of shift across the generations in both Spanish ability and the actual use of Spanish.

The rapidity with which Southwest Hispanics over the past half century are shifting to English and abandoning Spanish rivals the loss of the ethnic mother tongue by practically any ethnic group in documented history. This shift is attested in small community studies such as the research by Roger Thompson in East Austin, Texas (1971), by Leroy Ortiz in the village of Arroyo Seco, New Mexico (1975), by Alan Hudson-Edwards and Garland Bills in the Martíneztown neighborhood of Albuquerque (1982), and by Lucinda Pease-Alvarez in a California community (1993). The abandonment of Spanish is also demonstrated in large-scale investigations based on U.S. Census figures such as those by López (1978), Veltman (1988), Solé (1990), Bills (1989), Bills, Hernández Chávez, and Hudson (1995), Bills, Hudson, and Hernández Chávez (2000), Hernández Chávez, Bills, and Hudson (1996), Hudson, Bills, and Hernández Chávez (1995), and Hart-González and Feingold (1990). As Yolanda Solé concludes (1990, 72), "The evidence of actual large-scale, on-going language shift is obvious."

The U.S. Census provides information on language use only in the home. These data can be used in several ways to measure the maintenance or loss of Spanish. One measure could be called "language loyalty," which represents the proportion of the ethnic group that continues to use the ethnic heritage language. The 2000 Census, for example, reveals that 70% of the Hispanics in New Mexico claimed to speak Spanish at home. Impressive as this proportion may seem, it is important to recognize that maintenance of Spanish is not absolute. Nearly a third of Spanish-heritage New Mexicans have abandoned any use of Spanish in the home. In Colorado, the situation is worse, with only 64% of Hispanics reporting Spanish as a home language. Moreover, a study by McCollough and Jenkins (2005) of the last three decennial censuses for Colorado shows an especially sharp decline in Spanish language loyalty across the southern third of Colorado that includes the NMCOSS area.

Remember that these census figures refer to language use at home. The home is typically the last domain of an ethnic language that is being abandoned. As New Mexico poet and historian E. A. "Tony" Mares noted at a presentation a few years ago, "If you confine Spanish to the home, you consign it to its death."

Still using 2000 Census data, we can gain a sharper perspective on the attrition of Spanish by measuring language loyalty separately for youth and adults, a simulation of generational behavior showing change over time. In New Mexico, for example, while 78% of Hispanics age eighteen and older claim Spanish in the home, only 49% of those younger than eighteen do so, a precipitous drop. The situation is no better in Colorado, where only 70% of adults and 50% of the young speak Spanish at home. Thus, not only is there widespread loss of Spanish, but abandonment gains momentum among the young, those who will figure prominently in determining the mother tongue of the succeeding generation.

How can myth 5 hold sway in the face of such facts? Well, first of all, ignorance is the hotbed of mythology. But the appearance of language maintenance that so many think they see can be ascribed to one factual phenomenon: the continuing heavy immigration from south of the border. Thus, the examination of data from earlier censuses led Hudson, Bills, and Hernández Chávez (1995, 182) to conclude that

> (2-18) maintenance of Spanish in the Southwest . . . is heavily dependent upon a steady transfusion of speakers from Mexico to communities in the United States, and [our findings] offer no warrant for the survival of Spanish beyond a point when such speakers are no longer available to replace speakers north of the border lost through mortality or linguistic assimilation.

The same conclusion appears still more obvious in figures from the latest census concerning the foreign-born. Of those Hispanic New Mexicans claiming use of Spanish in the home in 2000, more than one in five (22%) were actually born in other countries. In Colorado nearly half (44%) were. The census does not provide information on subsequent generations, but we can reasonably assume that the immigrant generation and its children (who are almost certain to speak some Spanish at home with their parents) account for the majority of Spanish speakers in this region. This interpretation accords very well with the findings of other researchers such as Pease-Alvarez (1993) and López (1982).

Furthermore, research by Bills, Hudson, and Hernández Chávez (2000) indicates that the loss of Spanish begins with the very addition of English to the

linguistic repertoire of the individual, typically initiated in the immigrant generation itself. Although two studies by Mora, Villa, and Dávila (2005, 2006) are focused on showing that Hispanic children maintain their heritage language more strongly than other ethnic groups, their careful census-based research also demonstrates that acquisition of English and indeed some loss of Spanish occurs already among immigrant children.

The shift process has become particularly acute among the Northerners, who see themselves as very distinct from the immigrant population, due in part to myth 2. As one sophisticated fifty-one-year-old man from Pueblo, Colorado, who had been raised fully steeped in the "Manito" culture confesses,

> (2-19) *Sabía que no era español, pero también no quería ser mexicano.* 'I knew I wasn't really Spanish, but I also didn't want to be Mexican.' (interview 304)

The too-frequent unwillingness of native-born Hispanics, especially Northerners, to adopt an attitude of solidarity with the immigrant population deprives them of one important opportunity to maintain use of their heritage language (see Bills 2005 for a fuller discussion of this issue).

We see, then, that even with an influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants, the shift to English is inexorable. The reasons for the shift are moderately clear in broad outline: social inequalities. The census research by David López uncovers "clear associations between using Spanish and low socioeconomic status" (1982, 66), and such findings are repeated in study after study. Hispanics who claim Spanish as a home language tend to be less educated and have lower income than those who speak only English at home. These facts are not just derived from scientific research, but are apparent to everyone. They are influential facts that drive the shift to English.

In sum, the Spanish language is fading fast in New Mexico and southern Colorado. Prospects for its survival over the next two generations except in the speech of immigrants cannot be enhanced by complacent belief in its good health. It demonstrably is not healthy. Traditional Spanish in particular is a dying dialect.

CHAPTER 3

The New Mexico–Colorado Spanish Survey

This book derives from our long-held fascination with the Spanish language of this region. Vigil is a long-time resident of Albuquerque. His connection to Spanish was forged while spending summers with his grandmother in Clayton, New Mexico. His interest intensified at the University of New Mexico when he was introduced to Aurelio Espinosa's exceptional pioneering work on early twentieth-century New Mexican Spanish. He has had the privilege of being able to pursue that interest. When Bills arrived at the University of New Mexico in 1969, one of his first assignments was to assist in developing a placement test for the series of Spanish courses designed for regional Hispanic students who had acquired some Spanish at home. This experience with New Mexican Spanish led to a career-long research interest in this variety. His passion included publication of an early proposal for a sweeping dialect survey (Bills and Ornstein 1976) that was finally realized in the New Mexico–Colorado Spanish Survey (NMCOSS) project.

Our aspirations converged in the late 1980s when, after two decades together in the same department at the University of New Mexico, we put our heads together to plan and carry out a pilot study, which resulted in several funding proposals. We were finally able to initiate the New Mexico–Colorado Spanish Survey in June of 1991 with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities that supported data collection and analysis for three and a half years. Our intent with this project was to document as comprehensively as possible the Spanish language spoken by U.S.-born Hispanics throughout the state of New Mexico and across sixteen counties of southern Colorado.

We had two central objectives in mind as we planned the NMCOSS project. One objective was to establish at the University of New Mexico a public archive containing all the primary data—tape recordings and paper documents—as well as other materials produced by the project. We wanted this archive to present a realistic sampling of New Mexican Spanish as spoken at the end of the twentieth century. To meet this objective, we needed to assure that the consultants represented regional and social diversity, that they displayed a variety of performance styles, and that they described individual cultural experiences and interpretations.

The second objective was to produce this single-volume nontraditional linguistic atlas. This objective is

concerned with documenting variation in the Spanish of the region, primarily geographical variation. The important steps were to specify the spatial distribution of the target sample, to characterize the kinds of persons to be interviewed, to collect sufficient identical linguistic data to permit explicit identification of similarities and differences, and to establish procedures for efficient analysis and interpretation of the data.

The following paragraphs describe the major procedures and methodologies adopted to realize the two objectives.

Determination of Localities

Beginning with our earliest planning, the geographical focus for the project has been the Spanish-speaking population of northern New Mexico that traces its roots to the original settlement in 1598. We wished to include all of New Mexico, however, to permit us to explore not only the spread of this Traditional variety but also the presence of the Border Spanish that has resulted from more recent immigration, as well as the contact between the two dialects. Coverage of the entire state also brings in the metropolitan areas of Albuquerque, Las Cruces, and Santa Fe and other urban areas where the impact of both English and the Spanish of Mexico is particularly manifest.

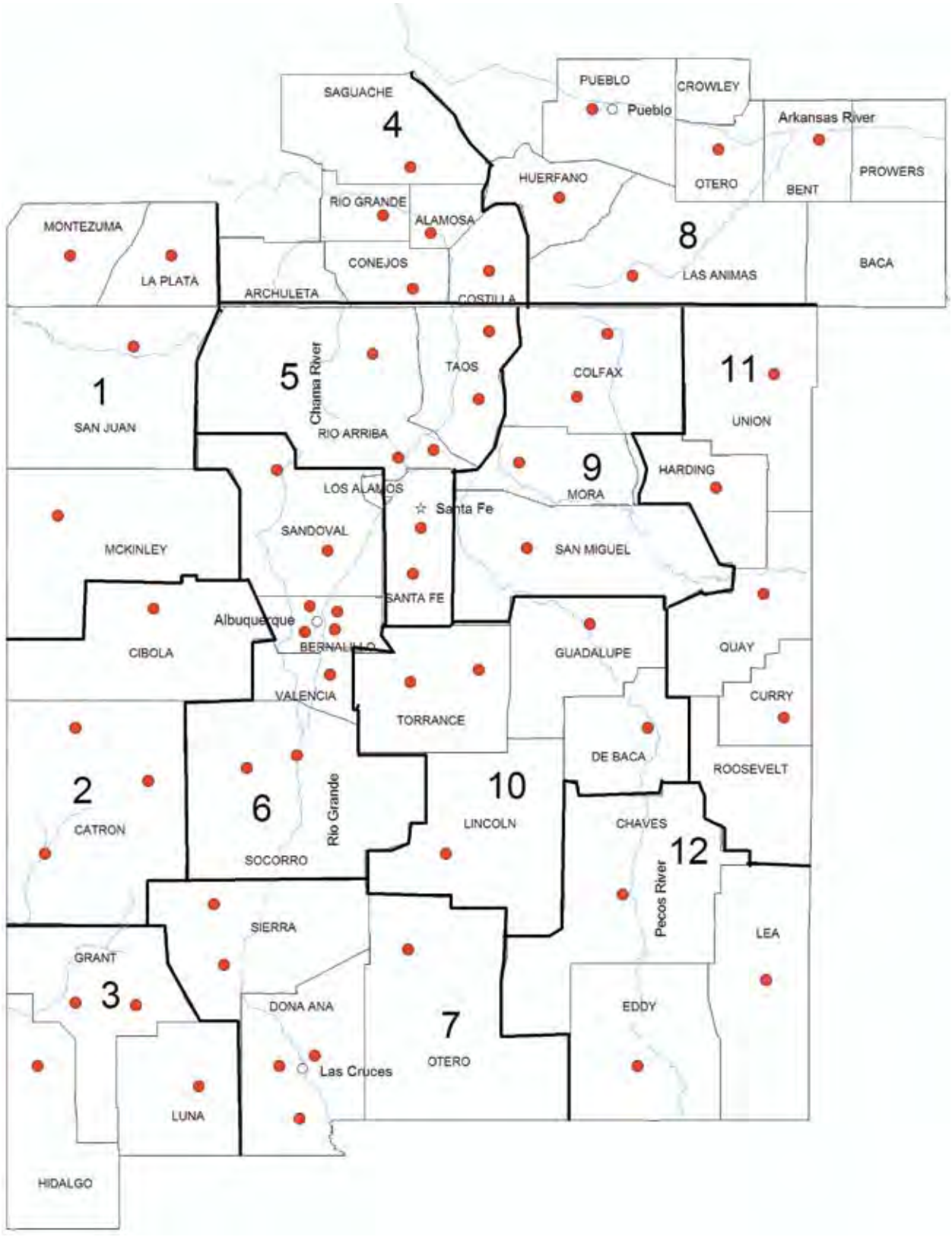
Coverage of Colorado was constrained by practical considerations. On one hand, the Spanish of many areas of the southern third of Colorado represents fairly recent settlement, beginning only in the mid-nineteenth century, by speakers of Traditional New Mexican Spanish. This fact necessitates its inclusion in the study. On the other hand, nearly half (twenty-eight) of the sixty-three counties of Colorado had fewer than 200 individuals above age eighteen who reported Spanish as a home language in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983, the most recent census data available when the project was designed). We decided to limit the survey to sixteen counties across the southern part of the state (see map 1-1). These sixteen counties had sizable Hispanic populations and included all but two of the Colorado counties with more than 10% who claimed to speak Spanish in the home. Although these sixteen counties are predominantly rural, the area contains one major metropolitan area, Pueblo, and several smaller cities with strong Hispanic concentrations.

The geographical scope of the project allows us to study not only the surviving dialect of Lope Blanch's "Traditional Southwest Spanish" (1987) long established in northern New Mexico, but all other manifestations of the Spanish language in a region that covers more than 150,000 square miles of conservative rural areas and dynamic metropolitan centers. According to the 1990 Census, which describes the situation closest to the time of the NMCOSS data collection, the total area contained some 355,000 persons above the age of eighteen who were reported to speak Spanish at home (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990). The 357 persons interviewed in our survey, therefore, provide a sampling ratio of approximately 1 in 1,000. The sampling ratio is actually even better because we interviewed only native-born adults and the census's home-language figure also includes the foreign-born.

Map 3-1 presents the grid that served as a basis for sampling. We divided the entire area into three regions: a central region roughly representing the Río Grande drainage area, and western and eastern regions on each side. We then divided these regions into a total of twelve sectors of roughly comparable geographical size (ranging from approximately nine thousand to fifteen thousand square miles each) based on county boundaries. We took into consideration geography and settlement history as interpreted from such standard sources as Erickson and Smith (1985) for Colorado and Williams (1986) for New Mexico. Happily, the political boundaries of counties tend to reflect social history and, in turn, the settlement patterns of that social history tend to be closely associated with linguistic variation.

The initial Hispanic colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took place along the Río Grande in sectors 5 and 6, with most of the population located between the present-day town of Socorro and the Río Grande's confluence with the Chama River just north of Santa Fe, although there were some *ranchos* (small farms) as far north as Taos. The Hispanic population remained small through this period. Oñate's original band of colonists numbered only several hundred. During the first eight decades of colonization, the Hispanic population is generally considered to have reached no more than 2,500 at any one time (see Williams 1986, 97; Gutiérrez 1991, 92, table 2.1), although Knaut (1995, 134) affirms that it could have grown only to about 1,000 by the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. For the 1693–94 resettlement, more than 100 additional families were recruited in the Zacatecas and Mexico City areas to join the diminished number of settlers returning to their homeland.

During the course of the eighteenth century, the Hispanic population gradually increased to nearly 20,000 (Gutiérrez 1991, 167, table 4.2) or perhaps 25,000 (Williams 1986, 101) and spread out to include larger portions of sectors 5 and 6. Ranchos were established in sector 7, and there were also expansions into the eastern



3-1. Geographical sectors and targeted locations

plains (sector 9). Finally, mining enterprises led to the establishment of a couple of settlements in the southern part of the western region (sector 3). Expansion into other areas was held in check by the paucity of reliable water sources, the need for defense from nomadic Indian incursions, and the Spanish Crown's stranglehold on trade that permitted commerce solely through Chihuahua, Mexico, via the Río Grande corridor.

The replacement of Spanish authority by Mexican authority in the early nineteenth century broke the trade monopoly held by Chihuahua. Trading routes were established with the United States, and settlers spread out in all directions from the original core areas of colonization. By 1850 the Spanish-speaking population in New Mexico had increased to 60,000 (Abbott 1976, 38; Gutiérrez 1991, 167).

Acquisition of the region by the United States in 1848 accelerated the opening up of new areas to settlers. Hispanic colonization of Colorado in sector 4 was undertaken by people moving north from sector 5, with the "first permanent Hispano settlement . . . at San Luis in 1851" (Abbott 1976, 42). In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Homestead Act, the pacification of marauding Indian tribes, increased mining interest, and the establishment of railroad lines stimulated Hispanic expansion into all parts of the territory, with the exception of Indian and government land.

The twentieth century brought the local Spanish into increasingly close contact with two powerful linguistic forces: English and Mexican Spanish. The greatest impact of the English-speaking population has been in sector 1, in the eastern plains of sectors 8, 11, and 12, and in and around the larger urban areas. Non-Hispanics far outnumber Hispanics in the northwest and in the southeast plains. On the other hand, the strongest influence of Mexican immigration has been along the southern border with Mexico (sectors 3 and 7), along the Arkansas River in eastern Colorado (sector 8), in the large urban areas, and in the cities in the eastern plains region, especially sector 12.

Having established the geographical grid based on these historical considerations, the next step was to identify more specifically the areas we felt needed to be documented. To ensure geographical breadth in the sample, we determined to identify at least four localities as sampling targets within each of the twelve sectors. But of course, these sectors are far from evenly populated. Large areas of both states are mountainous or desert regions that are completely uninhabited or only sparsely populated. And approximately one-fifth of the region is comprised of Indian reservations. Moreover, in New Mexico, a single small county, Bernalillo (which includes the city of Albuquerque), contained at the time of our survey over one-third of the state's population.

In addition, the Hispanic population is itself quite unevenly distributed. It represents over 90% of the total population in some areas and only marginal concentrations in others. There were, for example, fewer than 7,000 adult Spanish speakers in sector 10 but nearly 113,000 in sector 6, where Albuquerque is located. Sector 6 had twice as many Spanish speakers as any other sector in the survey. Because the sectors vary so greatly with regard to the size of the Spanish-speaking population, we decided to select an additional fifteen localities in the more populous sectors.

The targets selected in each sector represent areas showing the highest proportions of Spanish speakers; we assumed that in areas of high Hispanic density, individuals may use Spanish with a variety of people in diverse situations and, therefore, potentially have a moderately well-developed repertoire in Spanish. The target areas were identified using information from the 1980 Census supplemented by educated guesswork. That census provides Spanish-home-language data only for counties, cities, and towns with populations of 2,500 or more. It also provides information on the Hispanic *origin* population (which is not necessarily Spanish *speaking*) for all incorporated places, as well as for "county divisions." Such information proved very helpful in targeting rural localities.

Several examples will illustrate our use of census information. McKinley County (bottom of sector 1) had 4,200 Spanish-home-language claimants. Following a rough criterion of identifying one locality per 5,000 Spanish speakers, we definitely wanted a site in McKinley County. Fully 87% of this county's Spanish speakers lived in Gallup, so it was easy to set this city as a target. Similarly, in Luna County (bottom right of sector 3) 80% of the 5,500 Spanish-home-language claimants lived in Deming. Moreover, in the two-thirds of the county south of Deming there were only 476 persons of Spanish origin. Deming had to be a target. On the other hand, in Taos County (top right of sector 5) only 17% of the 11,500 Spanish speakers lived in Taos, the largest town in the county. Of the seven county divisions, the two in the extreme south had the highest Hispanic density (about 90%). Accordingly, we targeted one locality in the far south and another in the north, possibly the town of Taos or preferably the somewhat more densely Hispanic village of Questa north of Taos.

We used the same procedure in counties where there were no towns with a population of at least 2,500. Mora County (middle of sector 9) is entirely rural. The single

incorporated place, Wagon Mound, had a total population of just 416. We wanted to identify a locality in Mora County, since it contained 3,343 Spanish speakers. Besides, fully 86% of its population was Spanish speaking. Of the county's two census divisions, the one covering the western quarter of the county contained nearly 75% of the Hispanic population. Consequently, western Mora County was targeted for inclusion in the survey.

In this way, then, we identified sixty-three general localities in which to conduct interviews. Fifty-two of these localities are in New Mexico and eleven in southern Colorado. These targets are indicated by red circles on map 3-1.

Selection of Consultants

The next task was to specify the characteristics of the people to be interviewed. We set as requirements for all interviewees that they were to meet three basic criteria. First, they had to be adults. One reason for this requirement is that a person's dialect is quite malleable through childhood but tends to become fairly well fixed by adulthood. In addition, adult status is required for purposes of providing informed consent to have recorded speech used for research and placed in a public archive. In fact, however, the final tally of persons interviewed does include 1 minor (consultant 329), a fifteen-year-old whose consent was provided by her mother, who was also interviewed.

Second, every consultant had to have been born and raised in the region they represent. In traditional dialect geography, it was considered desirable to interview only those who had spent their entire lives in the immediate vicinity of their birthplace. It becomes increasingly difficult to find such persons in a highly mobile society such as that in the United States. Furthermore, it is a too restrictive requirement for a survey such as ours that seeks to document all aspects of the reality of New Mexican Spanish. Being born and raised in one locality was considered sufficient for the formation of one's basic dialect.

It needs to be noted, however, that one non-native slipped in as an interviewee. She is a sixty-five-year-old woman who was born across the Mexican border in the state of Chihuahua. She came to the United States only as an adult, at the age of twenty-two. However, she has lived in New Mexico in the far southern town of La Mesa for forty-three years. Also, her husband was born and raised in La Mesa. As it happens, her linguistic behavior blends in perfectly with her neighbors in the Mesilla Valley, so we decided to leave this exceptional person in the database. Nevertheless, we have highlighted this woman in every map, marking her location at the bottom of the map just across the border.

The third criterion was that the consultants had to have acquired Spanish to some extent in their homes during childhood. Our intent here was to exclude persons who learned Spanish strictly as a second language via classroom instruction or foreign experience. As we will see, the extent to which Spanish was acquired at home is highly variable and many consultants had broadened their Spanish through study and travel, but both facts reflect important parts of the reality of New Mexican Spanish.

In addition to these basic criteria, we desired to have broad representation for age and sex. Recognizing that age differences often reflect language change over time, and wanting to have some balance in the sexes, we set a goal to interview 6 consultants in each target area: 1 female and 1 male in each of three age groups (18–39, 40–60, and over 60). In practice, however, interviews were arranged informally through the project team's networks of contacts. Consequently, there were deviations from the desiderata in coverage of localities as well as in the age and sex distributions. To cite a couple of extreme examples, we never managed to secure an interview with anyone representing the Lordsburg area (the most southwest target in sector 3), and all 5 persons interviewed in Catron County were males and none were in the youngest age group.

We did not include any socioeconomic considerations as specific criteria for consultant selection. Social class, income, and such are often strongly associated with language variation in monolingual areas, as documented, for example, in such classic studies as Labov (1966) for the English of New York City, and Cedergren (1973) for the Spanish of Panama. However, in the bilingual population of our study, socioeconomic factors appear to be weakly associated with variation in Spanish, which has the status of a minority language. Here, the use of more careful speech for more formal circumstances tends to be associated with English. Colloquial Spanish, the Spanish of home and community, is adequate to most needs of the average Hispanic.

This is not to say, nevertheless, that there are no value judgments associated with the different varieties of Spanish available. There are indeed such perceptions of "goodness," as we previously discussed regarding linguistic myths and as Kravitz (1985) has demonstrated in her study of the Spanish of an Albuquerque barrio. And these linguistic values are certainly manifest in the NMCOSS recordings.

The 357 persons interviewed represent a wide variety of backgrounds and socioeconomic levels. Furthermore, the interviews collected a broad range of information on

education, occupation, income, other indicators of social status, and attitudes toward English and Spanish. We tap into some of these characteristics for analysis in this book, especially in part 4.

The Interview Schedule

The interview is, of course, the critical part of any data collection process concerned with language. We took pains to design an interview instrument that would provide control yet allow flexibility, giving the field workers considerable latitude to adapt to the needs and interests of the person being interviewed. The interview begins with a brief list of questions about the consultant's background and language use. It concludes with a short Spanish reading task and a switch to English for a couple of minutes, both intended to secure some secondary information on range of linguistic proficiency. In between is the linguistic core of the interview, designed to secure two kinds of data in alternating segments: specific linguistic elicitation and free conversation.

The production of a linguistic atlas requires that the consultants provide comparable data, that is, the same linguistic features produced under the same circumstances. The collection of such highly comparable data in a way that permits easy tabulation is the purpose of the specific elicitation component. This component includes just over 800 items, which is comparable to that of other atlas projects, for example, 1,000 for the *Atlas lingüístico de México*, or *ALM* (Lope Blanch 1970b; Lope Blanch et al. 1990–2000), 1,350 for the *Atlas lingüístico-etnográfico de Colombia*, or *ALEC* (Montes Giraldo 1964, Flórez et al. 1983), 445 for the excellent survey of Puerto Rico by Navarro Tomás (1948), and 711 for the *Linguistic atlas of the Gulf States* (Pederson 1974, Pederson et al. 1974, 1986).

The specific elicitation questionnaire for the NMCOSS was designed to primarily get information about word choice, but features of the sound system and grammatical constructions are also included. The questionnaire items represent a selection from three major sources: (1) those we knew from experience to show variation within the region; (2) those contained in the questionnaire of the *Atlas lingüístico de México*, as adapted in 1988 for the proposed Southwest Spanish Project (see Lope Blanch 1990b); and (3) those documented for earlier periods by Hills (1906), Espinosa (1909, 1911–13, 1914–15), and other works cited in Teschner, Bills, and Craddock (1975). Many items are, of course, represented in all three sources.

Most of these items were elicited by means of pictures and real objects, which were grouped into semantic categories (colors, birds, domesticated animals, foods, clothing, etc.). Visual elicitation assures that consultants respond to the same stimulus. It's also considerably more efficient than the traditional oral elicitation that results in the investigator producing ten words or so for each word elicited from the subject whose speech is being investigated (Underwood 1972, 216). Some items, however, especially those concerning grammatical phenomena, were elicited by traditional verbal techniques such as sentence completion (e.g., *Una persona que tiene barriga grande es . . .* 'A person who has a big belly is . . . ' to elicit the derived form, either *barrigudo* or *barrigón*) and direct choice among alternatives (e.g., *¿Dice usted el mar o la mar?* 'Do you say *el mar* or *la mar*?' to determine gender assignment for specific words). Furthermore, taking advantage of the bilingual character of this population, we occasionally employed translation from English where other methods would have been too unreliable or inefficient.

The second major source of primary linguistic data is the "free conversation" component. Throughout the interview session, the consultant was encouraged to expound on topics of their greatest interest and knowledge. The flexible interview schedule permitted the interviewer to pursue topics according to their interest to the consultant, although there were also specific topics to be covered in every interview. The kinds of topics pursued were personal history, childhood games, leisure activities of youth, adult work activities, dangerous and humorous moments in the consultant's life, foods and food preparation, and prospects for the maintenance of New Mexican Spanish.

It was expected that the specific elicitation component would require about an hour and a half, and we hoped that each interview would include at least an hour of guided conversation speech. In practice, however, although the typical interview did indeed last two and a half to three hours, the length of the individual interviews was highly variable. Some lasted only an hour or so, sometimes due to laconic speakers, or the unwillingness or inability of the consultant to focus on the specific elicitation procedures. At times, the interview was stopped in midstream and the interviewer could not schedule a return interview to complete the questionnaire. To exemplify with an extreme case, one elderly man had to cut the interview short because he was ill, and he died before a follow-up session could be scheduled.

On the other hand, many interviews far exceeded the average length. A couple of interviews lasted a full eight hours of tape-recorded material! The longer interviews with particularly loquacious speakers often had to be carried out in two or more sessions. For example,

María Dolores Gonzales recalls the following incident that occurred as she was interviewing her father (interview 6, native of El Bonito, New Mexico):

> (3-1) At the time he was eighty-two years old and was fairly alert. Because my father was from the *cuento* ['story, tale'] generation, the interview took eight hours to complete. He loved telling his stories about the *brujas* ['witches'], the dance contests, and his life as a rancher. It must have been after the first two hours—we had not covered quite a bit of the material, when suddenly he motions to me to turn off the tape recorder. He looked rather serious, so I did. He says to me, *Estas nalgas ya no son mías; no quiero hacer más* ['This butt is no longer a part of me; I don't want to do any more'].

Interviewer Lucy Vigil remembers another memorable interruption of one of those longer sessions with the feisty nonagenarian of interview 219:

> (3-1) Perhaps my most interesting interview was with Agueda Martínez, a famous weaver from Medanales, New Mexico, whose work is displayed at the Smithsonian Institution. She was ninety-six years old when I interviewed her in her home in Medanales, where I was able to observe her *bailando en el telar* 'dancing on the loom,' a phrase she used to describe her weaving activity. After several hours [of the interview, she] indicated that I had overstayed my welcome. I thought that I had tired this little old lady and I apologized for my insensitivity and said that perhaps I could return tomorrow, after she had rested. She retorted that I had not tired her but rather that I was keeping her from earning a livelihood, as she was accustomed to working on the loom a certain number of hours per day and this day her schedule had been interrupted. . . . I often remember this remarkable lady . . . who was still paying her own way in the world. "Dancing on the loom" looked like hard work to me.

Data Analysis and Mapping

The information reported in this book is limited almost exclusively to the specifically elicited data. We focus largely on lexical (word) variables, but we also periodically mention grammatical and phonological phenomena as well. With regard to the kind of linguistic variation, although we deal occasionally with social variation, particularly in part 4, our major concern is geographical variation.

For the purposes of this linguistic atlas, the data collected through the interviews have been entered into two databases, one for biographical information and the other for the responses to the specifically elicited items on the questionnaire. The biographical database includes for each consultant the personal information (name, address, age, etc.), biographical details (education, parents' birthplaces, etc.), assessments of language use and proficiency, interviewer's observations regarding the interview setting, and of course the locality represented (including latitude and longitude coordinates). The response database contains the item key word (which is usually the English gloss for the item), each Spanish response offered, and whether that response was the person's first choice or one of three alternatives ("coequal choice," mentioned after the first choice but considered to be used equally often; "second choice," considered less used than the first choice; or a form reported to be "used by others" but not by the consultant).

Information from these two databases is exported (a) to the MapInfo software program for generation of all maps presented here and (b) to the SPSS software program for production of all tables and statistical analyses. As noted previously, all maps and tables presented here are based exclusively on the consultants' first choice responses unless we specify differently for a particular display.

CHAPTER 4

Historical Overview of the Spanish Language and Culture in New Mexico

New Mexico was first exposed to the Spanish language and culture just thirty-six years after Christopher Columbus set foot in the Americas. In 1528, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his shipwrecked companions arrived on the coast of Texas. He wandered through the area that is now the southwestern United States for seven years, finally managing to reenter Spanish-speaking territory on the Pacific coast of Mexico. The fascinating tales he told upon reaching Mexico City stimulated interest in those remote northern lands and led to the explorations of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, beginning in 1540. Other Spanish expeditions, both legal and illegal, were carried out in the 1580s and 1590s. These transient activities, however, left few traces.

It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that Spanish language and culture gained a permanent foothold in the northern territory. A small band of colonists, soldiers, and priests numbering perhaps five hundred persons (Simmons 1991, 96–97) under the command of Juan de Oñate set out in January of 1598 from near Santa Bárbara, the northernmost settlement in Nueva España 'New Spain,' the colonial period name for Mexico. After an arduous journey of six months covering seven hundred miles, they arrived at a Pueblo Indian community in northern New Mexico that they immediately christened San Juan (a name the pueblo endured until September of 2005 when the tribal council officially restored its traditional original name, Ohkay Owingeh). Here they established the first permanent European settlement anywhere in territory that would eventually become a state of the United States.

As the discussion of myth 2 in chapter 2 emphasizes, it is important to recognize that while these first settlers were subjects of the Spanish Crown and some degree of Spanish blood flowed in their veins, they brought to New Mexico a Spanish language and culture already modified by a century of "Americanization" (in the hemispheric sense, not in the restricted United States sense) and a couple of generations of "Mexicanization." Although settlers from Spain were continually arriving in the New World, by the end of the sixteenth century, a new variety of Spanish had developed:

(4-1) *Se puede constatar durante los primeros 50 años de presencia española en México un proceso de nivelación y simplificación de la lengua en aras*

de una efectiva comunicación por parte de la comunidad pluridialectal representada por los diferentes grupos de inmigrantes españoles y por la participación de los grupos amerindios bilingües. (Acevedo 2000, 34–35) 'It can be established that during the first fifty years of the Spanish presence in Mexico there was a process of leveling and simplification in the interest of effective communication on the part of the multidialectal community represented by distinct groups of Spanish immigrants and the participation of bilingual Native American groups.'

Many of the first colonists in New Mexico, including Oñate himself (Simmons 1991, 32), were born in the New World. It is misleading to use the label "Spaniards" to refer to these bearers of a hybrid culture and language enriched by American experiences and the Native American cultures of the Caribbean and Mexico. We use the term **Hispanics** instead.

Although the area encompassing Mexico was called "New Spain" (Nueva España), the newly established northern colony was in fact referred to as "New Mexico" (el Nuevo México, or sometimes la Nueva México, as in Villagrá's epic poem of 1610 describing the founding of the colony; see, for example the bilingual edition by Encinias, Rodríguez, and Sánchez (1992). Diego de Vargas, the man who led the Hispanics back into the province in 1693, called the colony "remote beyond compare," a characterization memorably preserved in the title of the first volume of the Vargas Project (Kessell 1989). Indeed it was. At its founding, the colony was fully 750 miles from any other Spanish-speaking town in Mexico. It was one of the most isolated settlements in the vast Spanish Empire. "Commerce and communication with New Spain, during the seventeenth century, depended entirely on the caravans which at no less than three year intervals, brought supplies to the mission from Mexico City, along the 1500 mile Camino Real, to Santa Fe" (Weber 1967, 126).

First as a distant outpost on the extreme northern edge of the Spanish Empire, later as an outlying part of independent Mexico, and ultimately as a possession of the United States, the New Mexico and southern Colorado region has experienced for four centuries a degree of insularity from the main currents of Hispanicity that is unmatched in the Americas. Although the colony was but an extension of colonial Mexico in its early formation, this detachment contributed to the formation of a unique Hispanic culture and dialect, which we call **Traditional Spanish**.

There were, of course, regular arrivals from Mexico. For most of New Mexico's history, however, contact with Mexico was sufficiently restricted that newly arriving settlers tended to adapt to the frontier dialect and way of life of the majority who had already established themselves in the region. The principal exception to this adaptation has occurred with the heavy Mexican immigration of the twentieth century, one of the forces that is leading the long-marginalized New Mexican dialect back into the mainstream of Mexican Spanish.

The uniqueness of the Traditional Spanish spoken in New Mexico and southern Colorado has stimulated a robust history of linguistic study. E. C. Hills published his "New Mexican Spanish" article at the beginning of the twentieth century (1906, reprinted in his 1929 collected works). Shortly thereafter came the published versions of the doctoral dissertation research of native son Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa (1909, 1911–13, 1914–15), with subsequent highly influential translations into Spanish (1930, 1946) that led respected Hispanist Amado Alonso, in his preface to the 1946 edition (vi), to describe New Mexican Spanish as "*la variedad regional del español más minuciosamente estudiada*" ('the most meticulously studied regional variety of Spanish'). Meticulous research on this variety was continued in later excellent studies such as those of Rael 1937, Bowen 1952, Ross 1975, and Jaramillo 1986, among many, many others. (For a comprehensive listing and assessment of works on New Mexican Spanish and other varieties of U.S. Spanish prior to 1975, see Teschner, Bills, and Craddock 1975).

Because the unique nature of New Mexican Spanish has become so well known, it is also widely believed to be a homogeneous dialect of Spanish. Even that superb scholar Espinosa reported back in 1909: "Within the territory covered by our study [that is, New Mexico north of Socorro and the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado] the language is fairly uniform, the differences being few, and as a rule unimportant" (53). A century later, Rubén Cobos notes that "New Mexico and southern Colorado Spanish [is] quite uniform over the whole geographical area" (2003, ix). But note the appropriate hedging in these quotes: "fairly," "few," "as a rule," "quite." As we document throughout this book, the dialect variation that occurs within our area of study is far greater than is generally supposed.

The history of a language reflects the historical experiences of its speakers, especially with regard to its vocabulary. The distinctiveness and variability of New Mexican Spanish are attributable primarily to four characteristics associated with the history of its speakers: (1) the retention of archaisms, (2) independent developments,

(3) the influence of English, and (4) contact with Mexican Spanish and standard Spanish. New Mexican Spanish has linguistic features that reflect the original Spanish brought into the region. Most of these features continue in the language worldwide. Some are now characteristic only of rustic or untutored speech. Other features reflect the early need to adapt to New World circumstances that were radically different from European culture and experiences. Moreover, restricted opportunities for interchange with the rest of the Spanish-speaking world naturally favored the rise of independent linguistic developments. Close contact with English since the mid-nineteenth century has contributed further to both innovation and variability in the language. Finally, twentieth-century immigration from Mexico has had a profound impact that is determining the future direction of New Mexican Spanish.

The historical evolution is mirrored beautifully in the 9 different words the NMCOSS consultants used to label the concept 'Turkey': *gallina de la tierra*, *ganso*, *torque*, *guajolote*, *guajalote*, *cócono*, *cócano*, *güíjalo*, and *pavo*. The turkey is a New World bird for which a Spanish label had to be developed, and the solutions to the problem vary widely. For example, of the 9 NMCOSS variants, only *pavo* appears among the 5 words for 'Turkey' encountered in the *Atlas lingüístico-etnográfico de Colombia* (*ALEC*) (vol. 2, mapa 118). In this overview chapter, we will examine the 9 NMCOSS words for 'Turkey' as the principal exemplification of the four historical characteristics previously stated. (We provide a more detailed treatment of the 'Turkey' lexicon in Vigil and Bills 2004b.)

We make frequent reference in this discussion to three other works. Foremost is the survey of words for 'Turkey' in New Mexican Spanish by Lawrence Kiddle, which is based on data from 172 speakers (164 from New Mexico and 8 from just across the border in Mexico). These data were collected between 1936 and 1938 but not published until 1951–52 (although a preliminary report was published ten years earlier as Kiddle 1941). He discusses the etymology and use of each variant and plots their distribution in the 1930s on two maps in the 1951–52 publication that is the source for all discussion here.

Second, a monumental research effort that we will be drawing on throughout this book is the *Atlas lingüístico de México*, or *ALM* (Lope Blanch et al. 1990–2000). The data for this atlas were collected primarily during the 1970s from 610 persons interviewed in 193 communities across Mexico. The data are displayed without summary information or interpretation on 952 maps of large size (sixteen by twenty-four inches). Each map simply plots every response for a given variable using a different symbol for each variant. Neither interpretive comments nor summary statistics are provided, making it somewhat difficult for the atlas user to assess relative frequencies of the variants. We drew heavily from the *ALM Cuestionario* (Lope Blanch 1970a) in designing the NMCOSS questionnaire, so there are many points for comparison. Mapa 643 of the *ALM* displays the distributions of the 47 different variants for 'Turkey' encountered in Mexico, though these variants appear to correspond to only 9 or so distinct words of importance.

Finally, of more limited value but providing a somewhat broader Southwest perspective, two recent books by Manuel Alvar (2000) and Amalia Pedrero González (2002) report on data collected for 25 "Southwest" communities by Manuel Alvar beginning in 1987 for the massive *Atlas Lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* (see Alvar 1991a, 1991b, Alvar and Quilis 1984). Those data come from a total of 52 informants: 23 from New Mexico, 4 from Colorado, 5 from Arizona, 19 from Texas, and 1 from Louisiana (Alvar 2000, 127–31). Alvar provides the responses in phonetic transcription for 798 variables; item 361 deals with 'Turkey' (283). Pedrero (2002) analyzes and discusses the responses for 400 variables (for 'Turkey' see 329–31). Regrettably, neither provides numerical details. Alvar simply lists the variants used in each community and Pedrero reports the variants only as overall percentages across the five states. Determining exact numbers for a given variant is made difficult or impossible since not all informants provided responses to every item and some provided multiple responses (e.g., it seems that there must have been 61 responses for 'Turkey'). Moreover, the two studies do not always list exactly the same variants. In spite of their many flaws, these works are valuable contributions, especially in showing that the Spanish of the NMCOSS region is often very different from that of the other three states, and we will regularly refer to these works throughout this book.

Retentions

With the founding of the New Mexico colony, the limits of Spanish occupation were extended hundreds of miles northward through a harsh region that had no roads and limited sources of water and whose Native American inhabitants had not yet yielded to the Spanish Crown's territorial ambitions. The colony was located far from the Spanish power base in Mexico City and communication required a long and arduous journey of many months. Indeed, the closest Spanish-speaking village was over seven hundred miles away, the town of Santa Bárbara

on the southern edge of the state of Chihuahua, a town that had been established only thirty years earlier, in 1567 (Hammond and Rey 1966, 4).

New Mexico was a distant and isolated outpost, and isolation always has linguistic consequences. Many forms characteristic of sixteenth-century Spanish remained entrenched in Traditional Spanish through the centuries while mainstream Spanish went veering off to altered meanings, altered forms, alternative forms, or entirely new words. Such retentions are generally called **archaisms** and typically defined as usages that are obsolete, at least with respect to the standard language. For example, Buesa and Enguita (1992, 215) define archaisms in meaning as *términos que no se han perdido en el español medio peninsular, aunque han abandonado su sentido antiguo que, sin embargo, ha perdurado en América* ('terms that haven't been lost in the Spanish of the central [Iberian] peninsula, although they have lost the older meaning that has nevertheless endured in America').

Isolation in that remote location for a couple of centuries, apart from mainstream changes elsewhere, helps explain the existence of many archaisms in Traditional Spanish today. Forms such as *cuasi* 'almost' (standard *casi*), *mesmo* 'same, self' (standard *mismo*), *trujieron* 'they brought' (standard *trajeron*), and *vido* 'he saw' (standard *vio*) were described as archaic for Traditional Spanish by Aurelio Espinosa (1911, 9) a hundred years ago and are still the norm for the dialect. These forms were routine in early Spanish literary works such as the fourteenth-century *Cantar de mio Cid* (e.g., the edition of Marcos Marín 1997), the fifteenth-century *La Celestina* (Rojas 1960), and the sixteenth-century *Lazarillo de Tormes* (e.g., the edition of Cejador y Frauca 1969).

We may also consider as archaisms other now-obsolete forms that are not retentions from older peninsular Spanish but rather were first created to deal with previously unknown New World phenomena. One such novel entity for Europeans was the turkey. How do you come up with a label for a new thing? A commonplace way is to create a new form using existing resources of the language, for example, by combining two words to carry a new meaning, a process known as **compounding**. Whereas English tends to coin new words by compounding two words side by side (*wheelchair*, *washing machine*), the usual procedure in Spanish is to create phrasal compounds with the preposition *de* (*silla de ruedas* 'chair of/with wheels,' *máquina de lavar* 'machine of/for washing'). Turkeys were commonly domesticated by the Native Americans. The comparable domesticated bird in European experience was the *gallina* 'chicken.' So just as a wheelchair was considered a special kind of chair, this new bird was perceived as a special kind of chicken, a New World chicken, or as the Spanish were wont to say for American novelties, *de la tierra* 'of the land.' Thus, the compound form *gallina de la tierra* ('chicken of the land') was created to refer to a turkey. Whenever it became necessary to clarify the distinction between the two fowl, the phrase *de Castilla* 'of Spain' could be added to *gallina*. Thus the turkey was labeled *gallina de la tierra*, and *gallina de Castilla* could refer unambiguously to 'chicken.' (Alvar 1990, 27–28 describes a number of such early uses in his study of Americanisms in a sixteenth-century manuscript.)

The phrasal form was clearly prominent in Mexico for several hundred years. Peter Boyd-Bowman documents *gallina de la tierra* (as well as related forms such as *gallo de la tierra* 'New World rooster' and *gallo de papada* 'wattled rooster') as the dominant turkey label for Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1987, 1983) and as a label still in competition with the up-start *guajolote* in the eighteenth century (1982). He does not document it at all in the nineteenth century (1984). Francisco Santamaría includes both *gallina de la tierra* and *gallo de la tierra* in his *Diccionario de mejicanismos* (1959), but he was recording past, not current, use of these labels. They do not appear in Ramos y Duarte's 1895 *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, and they are not recorded among the forty-seven distinct variants for 'Turkey' in the *Atlas lingüístico de México*. It appears, therefore, that this priceless lexical item has disappeared from Mexican Spanish or at best has become vanishingly rare.

For New Mexico, *gallina de la tierra* is evident from the earliest records. Kiddle (192–93) gives a number of examples of this term for the Native Americans' domesticated turkey in documents of the sixteenth-century expeditions of Coronado, Rodríguez and Chamuscado, and Espejo, as well as in colonial writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The 1602 testimony of soldiers of Juan de Oñate's New Mexico colony made frequent reference to this native bird and consistently used the *gallina* form, with or without the *de la tierra* delimitation (Craddock 2002, 90–91):

> (4-3) *crian gallinas de la tierra, de las quales no se aprobechan porque las crian para valerse de la pluma para hazer mantas* 'they raise turkeys, which they don't take full advantage of because they raise them to make use of their feathers to make blankets.' (our translation)

A plains Indian brought down to Mexico City for the same

TABLE 4-1. Responses for 'Turkey' in Kiddle and NMCOSS

	KIDDLE		NMCOSS	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
gallina de la tierra	22.7	(39)	2.4	(8)
gallina de la sierra	3.5	(6)	0.0	(0)
ganso	16.3	(28)	25.0	(85)
guajolote	5.2	(9)	10.0	(34)
guajalote	0.0	(0)	2.9	(10)
cócono	10.5	(18)	14.7	(50)
cócano	17.4	(30)	10.9	(37)
güíjolo	5.2	(9)	0.0	(0)
güíjalo	0.0	(0)	1.8	(6)
torque (*terque*, *turca*, ***turkey***)	11.0	(19)	23.8	(81)
pavo (*pavón*)	8.1	(14)	7.6	(26)
Other (*cocodrila*, *guájalo*, *güíjalote*)	0.0	(0)	0.9	(3)
N		(172)		(340)

interrogation was questioned by means of signs about the two kinds of *gallina* (115–16):

> (4-4) *Mostraronsele gallinas de Castilla y rrespondio que no las ay en su tierra. . . . Mostraronsele gallinas de la tierra y dijo que las ay en su tierra y en todas las partes que el andubo* 'He was shown some chickens and he responded that there aren't any in his land. . . . He was shown some turkeys and he said that there are some in his land and everywhere he had traveled.' (our translation)

Eighty years later, in 1682, reporting on the situation following the revolt of the Pueblo Indians, Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain general of the New Mexico province, shows that the phrasal descriptors *de Castilla* and *de la tierra* continued to be used to distinguish between chickens and turkeys:

> (4-5) *el dicho Pueblo de la Alameda esta bien abastecido de maíz y frixol y gallinas de la tierra y en Puaray hay de Castilla* 'the aforesaid Alameda Pueblo is well stocked with corn and beans and turkeys and in Puaray there are chickens.' (Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México n.d.; our translation, which differs from the translation by Shelby provided in Hackett 1942, 220)

Julyan (1998, 143) reports that the Geographic Names Information Service gives 45 New Mexico place names containing *gallina*, noting that "it usually refers to the *gallina de la tierra*, the wild turkey."

Table 4-1 shows the frequency of response for each of the 'Turkey' words in the Kiddle and NMCOSS surveys. We may note at this point that the final "Other" forms are obvious mispronunciations, offered by youngish (ages twenty-three, forty-nine, and thirty-five, respectively) natives of urban areas (Albuquerque, Las Cruces, and Truth or Consequences, respectively). It's also relevant to note that all 341 of the NMCOSS consultants who were asked to identify this photograph of several live turkeys provided at least 1 response. As is usually the case throughout this book, only the individual's preferred or first-mentioned label is represented in this table.

As table 4-1 indicates, Kiddle documents that the term *gallina de la tierra* continued to thrive in New Mexico in the 1930s. He also reports several cases of a derived form, *gallina de la sierra* ('chicken of the mountain'), apparently a folk etymology that developed independently in New Mexico. The 2 *gallina* forms together represent the

most common term in the 1930s, over one-fourth (26%) of his responses. But the decline in use over sixty years is dramatic, with *gallina de la tierra* accounting for only 2% of the NMCOSS responses. The *gallinas* are not coming home to roost. Rather, they seem to be trotting off along the same path to extinction as they already did in Mexico. Our survey has found no cases of *gallina de la sierra* (not even as an alternative form). Moreover, of the 10 consultants who offered *gallina de la tierra* (8 first choice plus 2 other mentions), all were advanced in age (only 1 younger than seventy-five) and all but 1 represent very rural areas. The only 2 cases reported by Pedrero (2002) and Alvar (2000) were also from rural New Mexico—and probably elderly since almost three-fourths of the participants in that survey were over sixty years of age (xix).

Map 4-1 shows the geographical distribution of the *gallina* forms in the Kiddle survey of the 1930s and in the NMCOSS sixty years later. A striking feature of this display is the clustering of these forms in the northern three-quarters of the region. Such patterning led Kiddle to place on his maps a dialect boundary (or **isogloss**) separating the state into a small southern dialect area and a larger northern dialect area, an early recognition (along with Ornstein 1951) of what we here refer to as Border Spanish and Traditional Spanish, as demonstrated earlier with map 1-2. We display this isogloss on the map, as Kiddle did, at about the latitude of 33.5 degrees north. Several maps that follow demonstrate the validity of this major dialect division for the 1930s as well as for the 1990s.

The quasi-archaism *gallina de la tierra*, then, is a distinguishing feature of Traditional Spanish. However, it now finds itself on its last legs, not just endangered, but moribund. Its demise is but one glimpse of what the future holds for this special dialect.

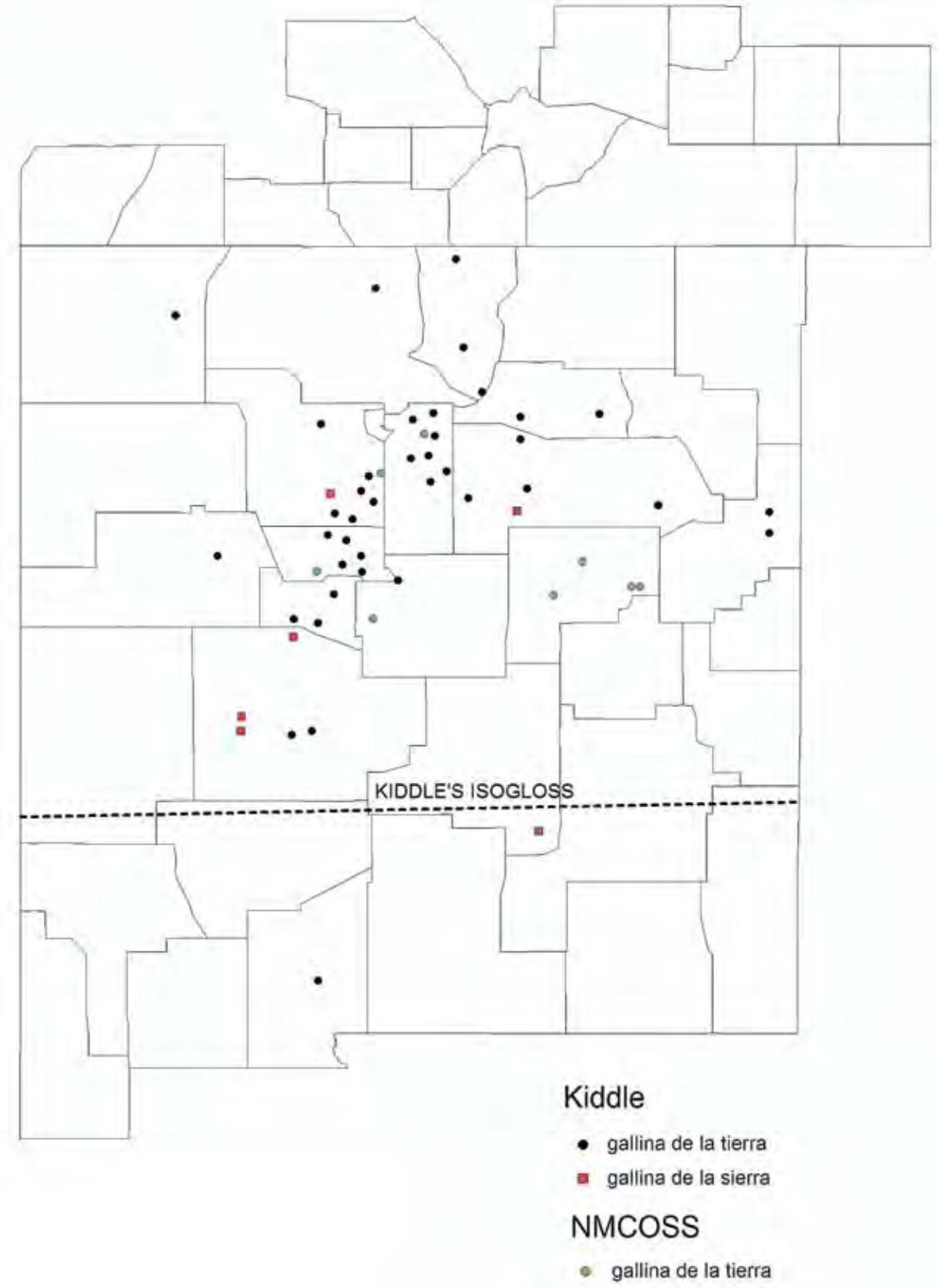
Independent Developments

Linguistic seclusion from the rest of the Spanish-speaking world favored not only the maintenance of archaisms. It also contributed to the development and retention of innovative changes. As one example, while the general word for 'Bat' in Spanish is *murciélago*, the preferred term in Traditional Spanish is the descriptive compound *ratón volador*, literally 'flying mouse.' We have not found this innovation in any dictionary other than those dealing with the dialect of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado (e.g., Cobos 1983, 2003; L. Trujillo 1983). Even more telling is the fact that this term for the flying mammal is not recorded among the variants documented in mapa 618 of the *Atlas lingüístico de México*. It appears to be an independent development in New Mexican Spanish.

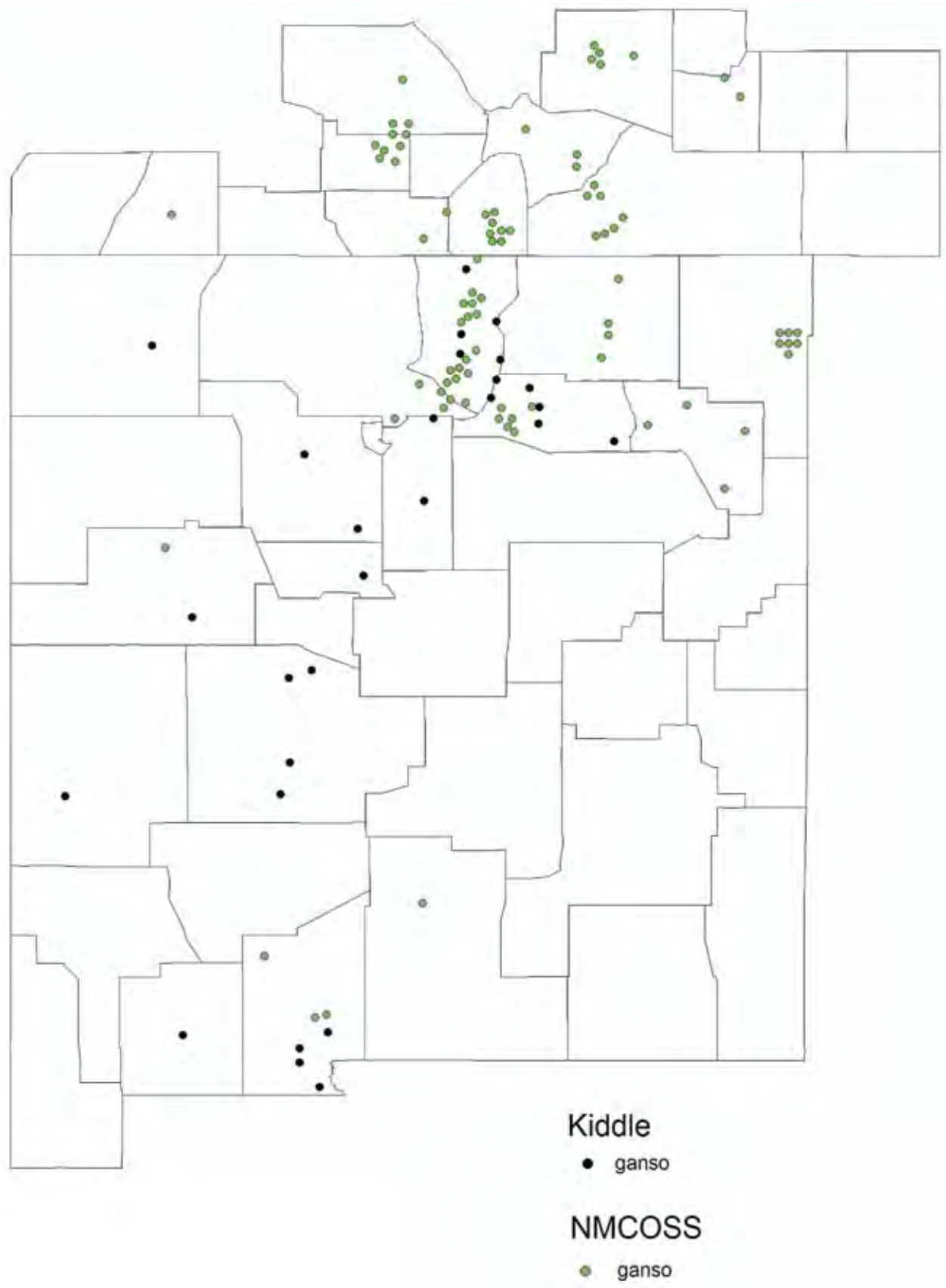
We saw in the preceding section that one way to create a name for a new phenomenon is to make a compound with existing words. Another way is to extend the meaning of an existing word, as in my present use of a "mouse" to "save" this computer "file" now and to "open" it later. In addition to chicken, a domesticated fowl more comparable in size to the turkey is a goose, *ganso* in most of the Spanish-speaking world. The extension of the meaning of *ganso* to cover 'Turkey' seems to be a uniquely New Mexican phenomenon. Kiddle is content to consider its origin as simply "unknown" (194). There would appear, however, to be two plausible speculations. First, it might have been a semantic extension utilized by the earliest Spaniards in the New World, a proposal that we have made, perhaps too hastily, elsewhere (e.g., Vigil et al. 1996, 654). Nevertheless, Boyd-Bowman (1982, 1983, 1984, 1987) fails to document this form except in instances where it would seem to have the standard reference of 'goose,' and we have found no other early references to such a form. The second possibility is that the semantic extension took place only later, in New Mexico, and that the form is not in fact an archaism but rather an independent development.

Whatever the historical explanation, *ganso* for 'Turkey' came to be a major characteristic of New Mexican Spanish in the twentieth century. This term occupies the third position among alternates in the 1930s, representing 16% of Kiddle's responses. But unlike *gallina de la tierra*, this other unique label based on existing Spanish resources abounds in the 1990s as the most frequently occurring NMCOSS variant at 25%. Its expansion is all the more surprising since the term of preference for 'Goose' among the NMCOSS consultants is also *ganso*. However, only 11 persons in our survey gave *ganso* as their preferred form for both 'Goose' and 'Turkey.' Others use *ánsara* for 'Goose,' but these are not always the same persons who use *ganso* for 'Turkey.'

In Kiddle's survey, *ganso* was distributed across New Mexico and was not a north-south dialect distinguisher, but it has certainly become so today. As we see on map 4-2, not only has this form retreated toward the north, it has become tightly concentrated in the northeastern part of New Mexico and adjacent southern Colorado. All 4 persons that Lope Blanch interviewed in Mora County in the southern part of this region reported the use of *ganso* (1990a, 78). Similarly, Alvar (2000) and Pedrero (2002) find that all 6 occurrences of *ganso* in the *Atlas lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* survey come from the northern one-third of New Mexico.



4-1. 'Turkey' – gallina



4-2. 'Turkey' – ganso

English Influence

Although the ties to the homeland, whether Spain or Mexico, were always loose because of distances, the invasion of New Mexico in 1846 by U.S. troops under General Stephen Watts Kearny's command and the subsequent incorporation of the territory into the United States in 1848 further reduced contact with the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. It also opened up a new storehouse of lexical supplies. At least as convenient as compounding or semantic extension to create a new word is simply to "borrow" the label employed by another language. Such new words are called **borrowings** or **loanwords**. (These kinds of words are not really "borrowed" or "lent" since they also remain with the source language; the term "clones" might be a better description of the process, but the older terms are firmly established in linguistics).

The effect of borrowings from English, called **Anglicisms**, on the local Spanish lexicon was swift and profound. The establishment of United States authority was followed by the wholesale adoption of English terminology for a new political and social reality. For most speakers of New Mexican Spanish today, the law enforcement officer for the county is the *cherife* 'Sheriff,' and the chief administrator of the town or city is the *mayor* 'Mayor,' both of whom often work in the *casa de corte* 'Courthouse'; Espinosa documents all three of these Anglicisms already at the beginning of the twentieth century (1914–15, 310, 253, and 252, respectively).

Also, the New Mexico territory became a part of the United States just as the industrial revolution was gaining momentum and agrarian New Mexico was effectively severed from its Spanish source for acquiring new lexical items. English naturally became the source for most terms of modern technologies. Thus, such innovations as the 'Brakes' on an automobile became *brecas* (Espinosa 1914–15, 245), 'trucks' became *trocas* (311), and the 'Telephone' became *telefón*.

The impact of English increased in the twentieth century, particularly after New Mexico gained statehood in 1912. Universal education in English was established, resulting in commonplace Anglicisms such as *principal* 'school principal' and *escuela alta* 'high school.' The process of Anglicization continued apace as Hispanics became an ethnic minority in mid-century and the rapid urbanization that began following World War II resulted in major demographic changes.

Even long-established words were susceptible to the English infection: even turkey. The borrowing from English is normally realized as *torque*, though Kiddle records 1 case each of *terque* and *turca*. With a total of 65 first choices, *torque* was also the usual form of the Anglicism in the NMCOSS as well, but 2 other variants occurred: 9 instances of *terque* and 7 instances of the English word ***turkey*** pronounced without integration into the Spanish phonological system, phonetically [t^hərkɪy]. Curiously, Alvar (2000) transcribes the Anglicisms he encountered (from apparently 2 speakers, from Albuquerque) as [túrki], which Pedrero (2002) writes as *turqui* and *turky*, a spelling-based pronunciation that we have never encountered.

This Anglicism was already well established in New Mexico when Kiddle carried out his survey in the 1930s. At that time, just ninety years after New Mexico became a territory of the United States and just twenty-five years after finally gaining statehood, 11% of those surveyed used an Anglicism to refer to this bird (table 4-1). Sixty years later, the fully integrated variant *torque* had become the second most common variant in the NMCOSS, at 19%. When the other 2 variants (*terque* and ***turkey***) are added in, the percentage of the Anglicism rises to 24%.

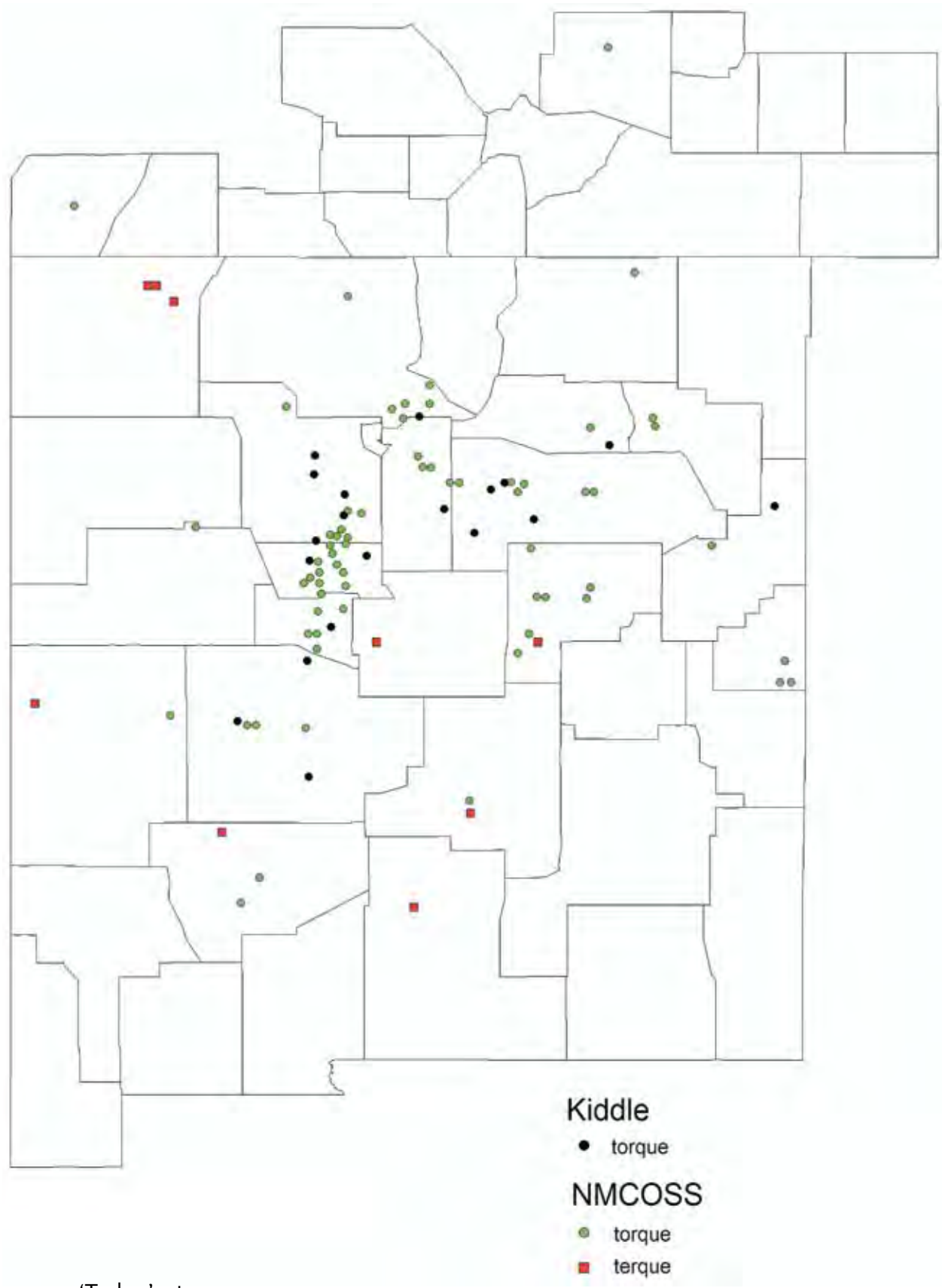
Map 4-3 for *torque* (which excludes the English ***turkey***) shows that the Anglicism is most definitely a characteristic of Traditional Spanish. Kiddle reports no instances of *torque* below the latitude 33.5 north, and the NMCOSS has found just 2 cases below that line, but both on the northern edge of that Border Spanish region, 1 of them *torque* and 1 of the alternative form *terque*.

It is probably not too surprising that not a single instance of the Anglicism is cited in the *Atlas lingüístico de México*. Pedrero (2002) and Alvar (2000) report the 2 instances for New Mexico and none for elsewhere in the Southwest.

Popular Mexican Spanish Influence

The Spanish of Mexico has been the single most powerful force in the linguistic history of New Mexico and southern Colorado, despite their four centuries as one of the most isolated bastions of the Spanish-speaking world. Traditional Spanish was born of Mexican Spanish. The Spanish language had already been passed across three generations in Mexico, and it was that Spanish that was brought up to the new territory. Juan de Oñate, who led the original settlers into New Mexico, was born and raised in Zacatecas, and it is likely that the great majority of those who accompanied him were natives of Mexico.

After the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Diego de Vargas led the Reconquest that resettled the Province of New Mexico in 1693. Many of those who returned with Vargas were the remnants of the former colony, and virtually all of these



4-3. 'Turkey' – torque

of course had been born in New Mexico or in exile in El Paso. In addition, he brought in perhaps a thousand new settlers recruited from Mexico City, Zacatecas, and other parts of Mexico. A list naming nearly two hundred individuals in fifty-six families recruited in Mexico City is provided in Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge (1995, 257–91, and also in Twitchell 1914, 92–105). The birthplaces of most of these new recruits are designated. They were overwhelmingly Mexican natives, mostly born in Mexico City; perhaps only as many as 5% were natives of Spain (see Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge 1995, 10).

The first century of the New Mexico colony was characterized by very limited communications with Mexico and only modest infusions of new settlers until the Reconquest, but the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a period of gradually expanding contact with interior New Spain, bringing new colonists into New Mexico and other territories of the Southwest. Communication was by no means easy, however. Vargas had advised the settlers recruited in 1693 that they would face a "long journey, which was expected to last four months" (Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge 1995, 5). Trade and communication increased in the first decade of the eighteenth century when the town of Chihuahua was established in northern Mexico along the Camino Real (the Spanish Crown's "royal road" that began in Mexico City, ran through Chihuahua and El Paso, and paralleled the Río Grande to end in Santa Fe). By the middle of the century, Chihuahua had become the major trading hub for goods to and from New Mexico. Even then, however, trading ventures between Mexico and northern New Mexico, where the majority of the Hispanic population lived, was counted in months instead of days.

The linguistic consequences of the continuous contact with the independently changing Mexican Spanish is the propagation of such typically Mexican forms as *papalote* for 'Kite,' *cuates* for 'Twins,' *cacahuate* for 'Peanut,' *chicote* for 'Riding crop, whip,' and *chuparrosa* for 'Hummingbird.' Such **Mexicanisms**, some arriving in the first century of the New Mexico colony, some only later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are so widespread and prominent in the Spanish of New Mexico and southern Colorado today that they are also a defining quality of this dialect.

But a still stronger impact of Mexican Spanish began to be felt in the twentieth century, when Mexican immigration to the United States began to accelerate significantly, especially in the latter half of the century. Certain features characteristic of the popular speech of modern Mexico prevail mostly in the southern part of New Mexico where the United States shares a border with Mexico and in other areas where immigrants have been most likely to find employment. The spatial constraints on this most recent Mexican influence are the basis for our distinguishing the two major dialects we label Border Spanish and Traditional Spanish.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of Mexican Spanish is the abundance of words borrowed from the Indian languages of Mexico. Prominent among these "word lenders" were the Aztecs, the advanced civilization that Cortés encountered upon reaching highland Mexico in 1519. The language of the Aztecs is called Nahuatl, a language that is still widely spoken in central Mexico today. Borrowings from that language are called **Nahuatlisms** (often called *aztequismos* in Spanish). The prominence of Nahuatlisms is a particularly clear demonstration of the role of Mexico in the establishment and continued development of New Mexican Spanish. Several of the words for 'Turkey' illustrate this legacy.

The apparently first and quite early borrowing of a Native American word for 'Turkey' is *guajolote*, adapted from the Nahuatl *huehxolo-tl*. Kiddle considers the form to have "spread in the late colonial period from a focal area in Central Mexico where Nahuatl was commonly spoken" (197). The study of four centuries of Mexican Spanish by Peter Boyd-Bowman (1982, 1983, 1984, 1987) seems to support this conclusion, suggesting that *guajolote* did not become common in written documents in Mexico until the eighteenth century. Its use in the spoken language, however, must have been initiated earlier. We find an apparent reference already in 1582 in the diary of a soldier named Diego Pérez de Luxán, who served in the expedition of Antonio de Espejo to New Mexico. One of the pueblos the expedition visited was given the name Los Guajolotes presumably because of its many turkeys. Luxán reports:

(4-6) *En el hallamos munchas gallinas y bastimento y tiene toda esta nacion munchas mascaras con que hacen sus danzas y bailes. Y llamamosle el paraxe de los guajolotes.*
'Here we found many turkeys and abundant provisions. Throughout this nation the people have many masks which they use in their dances and ceremonies. We named this place Los Guajolotes.' (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato n.d.; translation of Hammond and Rey 1966, 177)

This citation with fully integrated Spanish spelling appears to give evidence for the very early incorporation

of this Nahuatl loanword even if it was still not widely used in Mexico.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Ramos y Duarte (1895) characterizes it as general across the Republic of Mexico. For the twentieth century, Lope Blanch finds the term to be among the 74 Native American loanwords (almost entirely Nahuatlisms) that in Mexico City are ubiquitous, *de conocimiento absolutamente general* (1979, 35). The *Atlas lingüístico de México* clearly confirms this status; mapa 643 shows *guajolote* to be the most common label in all sectors of the country except in the Yucatán Peninsula, where the standard *pavo* prevails.

But in New Mexico, Kiddle's investigation in the 1930s found *guajolote* to be one of the least frequently occurring variants, at just 5% (or just 4% if we exclude the 2 cases from across the border in Mexico). Still, it was 1 of the principal competing forms in the south, representing almost a quarter of the southern tokens. As shown in map 4-4, he encountered this form only in the southern part of the state, a defining term for his north-south distinction. These findings suggest that the quickly spreading Mexican Nahuatlism had made a still fairly recent entrance into the NMCOSS region.

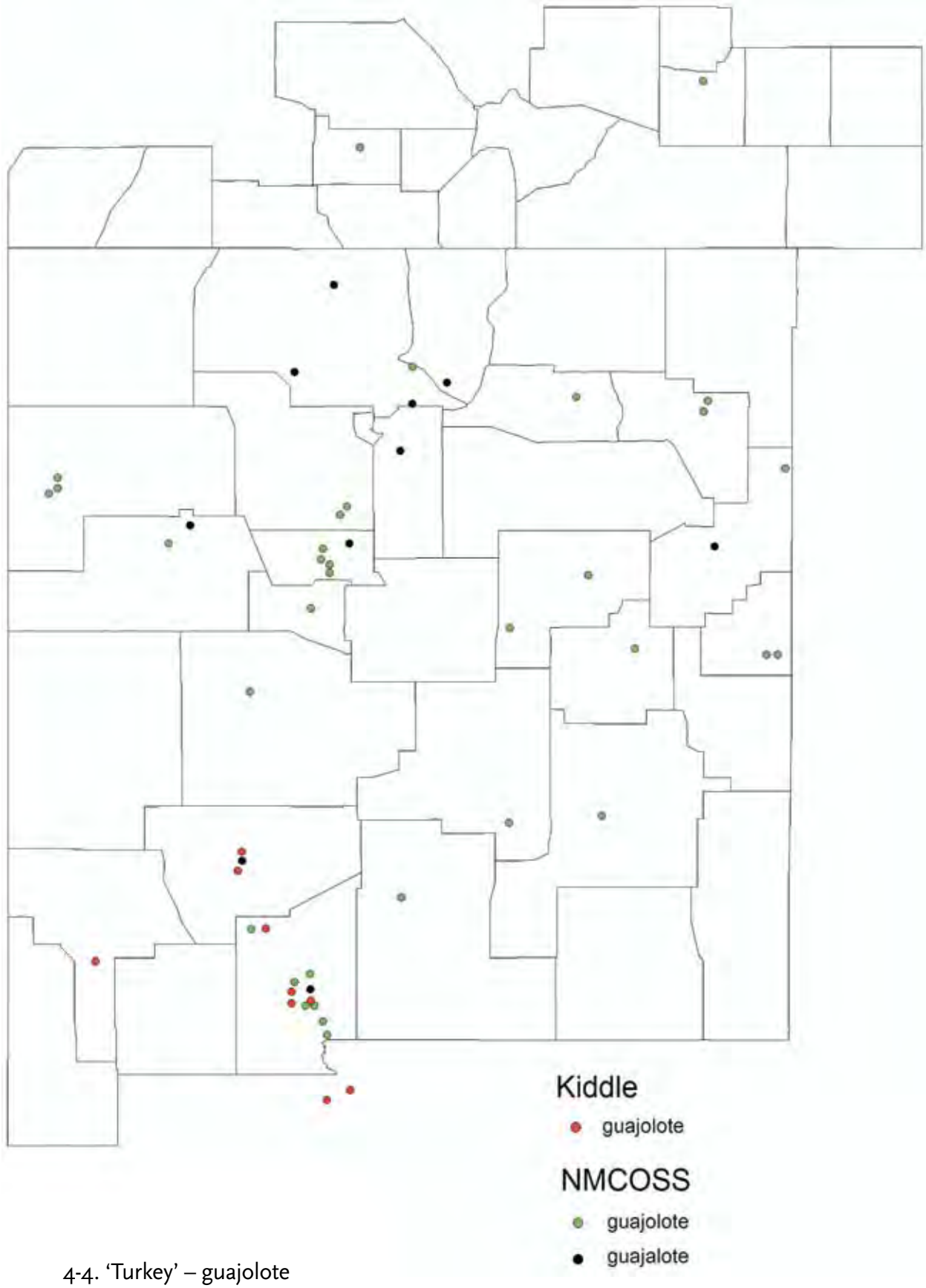
Sixty years later this Nahuatlism had spread broadly across New Mexico and southern Colorado and appeared in 2 forms, usually with /o/ in the second syllable, *guajolote*, less commonly with /a/ in the second syllable, *guajalote*. (Although the Mexico atlas does not report the second variant and neither does Kiddle, Boyd-Bowman (1984) provides information that it occurs in nineteenth-century Mexican documents.) The 2 variants together account for 13% of the NMCOSS cases, tripling its proportion in sixty years and making it appear to be a competitive player in the current lexical game in the territory of our study. But while map 4-4 shows that it has expanded quite impressively into the north, its proportion of the lexical market in the south has actually declined.

We may surmise that *guajolote* came into southern New Mexico in the nineteenth century and that its further spread is attributable to the increasing influence of Mexican Spanish via immigration in the twentieth century. This assumption is supported by the distribution of the NMCOSS responses in map 4-4. The bulk of the *guajolote* forms occur either in the southern sector or on the eastern and western margins of the north, the principal areas of Mexican immigration in the twentieth century. Other southwestern states have had much heavier immigration from Mexico, which no doubt accounts for the fact that *guajolote* tallies fully 62% of the responses in Pedrero's broader study (2002) that includes Texas and Arizona.

One reason for the lower showing of *guajolote*/*guajalote* in New Mexico may be a lexical conflict pointed out by Kiddle (197). The shift in form of another word has resulted in a clashing meaning for the same form. 'Water salamander' in Mexico is *ajolote* (yet another Nahuatl borrowing), but in the NMCOSS this label was the first choice of only 6 persons. The overwhelmingly preferred label for this reptile is *guajolote* or *guajalote* (the 2 variants occurring in equal measure). So, is *guajolote*/*guajalote* a bird or a lizard? The semantic conflict might well impede the spread of this form from Mexico. A minor bit of support for this supposition rests in the facts of usage: of those for whom 'Turkey' is *ganso*, for example, 6 out of 10 (61%) report *guajolote*/*guajalote* for 'Water salamander'; contrariwise, of those for whom 'Turkey' is *guajolote*/*guajalote*, only 38% use that same form for 'Water salamander.'

A yet clearer reason for the relatively low productivity of *guajolote* in New Mexican Spanish is the competition from an even stronger import from Mexico, *cócono*. Although it is generally considered to be another borrowing from Nahuatl, the Spanish history of the form *cócono* for turkey remains a bit mysterious. Santamaría (1959) and others (see Kiddle 194) suggest that this term was used for a turkey chick and derives from the Nahuatl plural form *coconeh* of the word for 'child (used by females),' *cone-tl*. This etymology seems to us to be a bit far-fetched. Siméon (1977) does note that in Nahuatl this word can be added to animal names to form the diminutive. But why should the plural form of a noun functioning as a generalized suffix be borrowed to mean 'Turkey' with a change of the final *e* to *o*? Loanwords from Nahuatl are generally transparently close to the original Nahuatl word in both form and meaning. It may well be that *cócono* is a borrowing from some other Mexican language, but until that alternative is established, we'll grudgingly accept the Nahuatl origin.

Not a single example of *cócono* occurs in Boyd-Bowman's *Léxicos* for the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The lack of documentation suggests that the form developed and spread in Mexico as a regional minority variant of little prestige, not used by those who did much of the writing. The 1895 *Diccionario de mejicanismos* by Ramos y Duarte reports *cócono* to be typical of the states of Zacatecas and Aguascalientes. Guerrero Romero (1996) lists the word as typical of the state of Durango. To the west in the state of Sinaloa, Mendoza Guerrero reports 6 cases of *cócono* (among 117 responses for turkey) in three localities that have close ties with the states of Durango and Chihuahua (2002, 82). Thanks to the *Atlas lingüístico de México*, however, we now know that *cócono* enjoys a much more conspicuous presence.



4-4. 'Turkey' – guajolote

4-5. 'Turkey' in Mexico

Map 4-5, extrapolated from the data of mapa 643 of the *ALM*, illustrates the geographical distribution in Mexico of *cócono* (and another minority variant to be treated next). This word occurs across a broad swath of the interior of central and northern Mexico from Colima and Jalisco in the south to Chihuahua on the U.S. border across from New Mexico and western Texas. Throughout this area it competes quite strongly with *guajolote*.

All of the sources for Mexico agree that the word is *cócono*, and while the Mexico atlas also documents several related forms such as *cúcono* and *cúcuno*, it lists none with /a/ in the second syllable. In New Mexico, the different form *cócano* was already found to be widespread in the 1930s. Indeed, the latter occurred almost twice as commonly in the Kiddle survey, representing 17% of the total New Mexico cases for 'Turkey,' while the /o/ variant *cócono* accounted for only 11% (or only 9% if the Mexico cases are not included). Together, these 2 variants account for over a quarter of Kiddle's cases and share with the 2 *gallina* variants the distinction of being the favored 1930s responses.

In our more recent survey, these 2 variants continue their prominence, collectively ranking as the most widely used way to refer to 'Turkey' and still comprising over one-fourth of the responses. However, the proportions have changed. *Cócano* has declined to just 11% while *cócono* has increased to nearly 15%. Whatever the origins of the /a/ variant, it appears that the spread of the /o/ variant is due to more recent immigration from north-central Mexico, where it abounds. Alvar (2000) records *cócano* for northern New Mexico and *cócono* for southern Arizona (a total of 5 cases according to Pedrero's 2002 statistics). It seems significant that those are the two states adjacent to the *cócono* area of Mexico.

Consider now the New Mexican Spanish distributions of the *cócono* and *cócano* forms on map 4-6. Kiddle

found that while both occurred across the region, the /o/ variant was more common in the southern region and the /a/ variant in the northern region. The same situation holds true overall today. However, the /o/ form has become the overwhelming label of choice in the south, accounting for over half of the cases—and the 2 forms together account for almost two-thirds (60%) of all the responses below latitude 33.5.

North of that latitude, on the other hand, the 2 forms together have become very much a minority lexical form. There they accounted for over a fourth of the cases in the 1930s, but their proportion has been cut nearly in half, now trailing *torque* and *ganso* in frequency. It is interesting to observe on map 4-6 that both variants have abandoned their once dominant position along the Río Grande in the north, being now more prominent in rural areas to the northwest, where Mexican immigration has been stronger.

The final manifestation of the Mexican connection is another Native American loanword, *güíjolo*. There have been contradictory statements concerning its occurrence in Mexico. Ramos y Duarte (1895) attributes *güíjolo* to the southern state of Morelos. Kiddle found 2 instances of this form in the El Paso–Juárez area and reports that it is also heard "among *rancheros* of Chihuahua" (197). However, the *Atlas lingüístico de México* appears to document (it is not easy to count occurrences among the jumble of symbols on those maps!) just 13 responses of *güíjolo*-like forms, and it shows this label to be used mostly in the Pacific coast state of Sinaloa (see map 4-5), and with 1 exception it is the minority form in the communities sampled. These findings are strongly supported by the more detailed dialect geography research that Mendoza Guerrero carried out in Sinaloa. He finds *guajolote* to be the dominant form, cited by 54 of his 60 consultants, although *güíjolo* comes in a strong second with 35 mentions (2002, 80–82). The limited regional distribution and minority status of *güíjolo* suggest that this variant is dying out in Mexico.

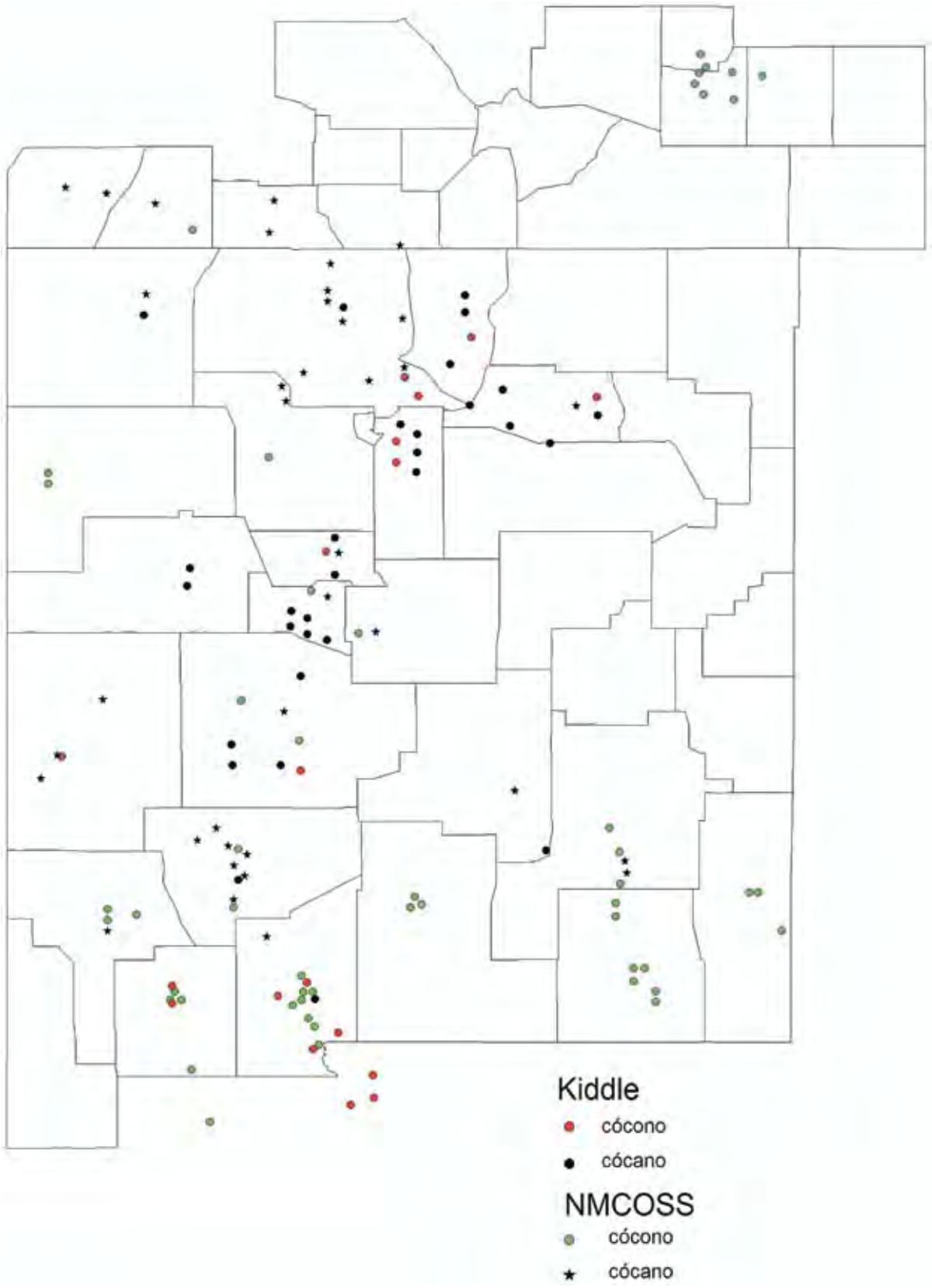
The origin of this form is controversial. Kiddle (197), Lope Blanch (1971, 22), and others have conjectured rather vaguely that it too is a Nahuatlism. Mendoza Guerrero (2002, 81), however, proposes a more convincing etymology. He cites Lionnet's documentation (1977, 85) of the word *wíjo-lo* for 'Turkey' in the locally dominant Native American language, Cahita (also known as Yaqui-Mayo, which belongs to the same large Uto-Aztecan language family as Nahuatl). The Cahita word is composed of a verbal form *wíjo-*, meaning 'shake, dust, fan,' and a particle *-lo* used for animal names, which would appear to be a transparent descriptive coinage native to Cahita. Mendoza Guerrero decides that the Cahita form must have been recently borrowed from Spanish, but we find the opposite direction of transmission to be more reasonable. The postulation that *güijolo* is a loanword from Cahita neatly accounts for its present Mexican distribution centered in Sinaloa, with some occurrence to the north in Sonora and to the east in Chihuahua. Further, because Cahita dialects were and are spoken from Sinaloa to Arizona, the hypothesis suggests that the borrowing into Spanish may have previously enjoyed a broader distribution that is slowly receding. We return to this point later.

Güíjolo occurs in New Mexican Spanish, but again with a second form, *güíjalo*. This third pair with an *o/a* difference in an unstressed syllable is one of the least used forms in both the 1930s and 1990s surveys. Kiddle acknowledges the occurrence of the variant with /a/ in the second syllable but does not map it separately. He reports only 7 cases of the 2 forms together, just 5%. The NMCOSS consultants offered only 6 such responses, all *güíjalo*, accounting for less than 2% of the cases. Furthermore, only 1 of these persons was under sixty-seven years of age. It is clearly a moribund form here, just as it seems to be in Mexico.

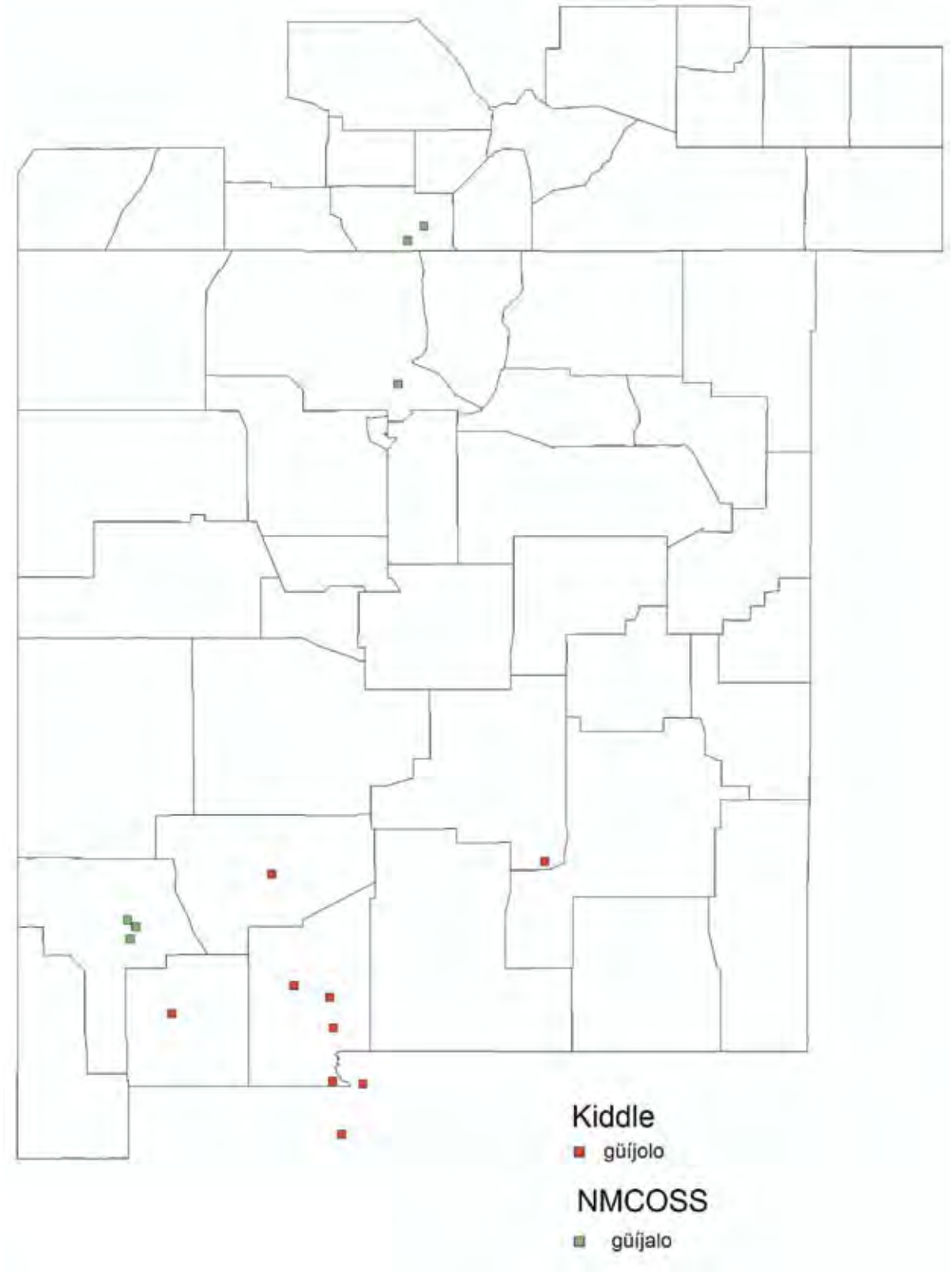
Kiddle also found the distribution of *güíjolo* to strongly support dividing the state into two dialect regions, because all of his cases occurred in the extreme south. In the NMCOSS, however, that division fails to hold. In fact, of the 6 first choices and 4 other mentions, only half are in the south (although the 2 other forms that could be distortions of this label—*guájalo* and *güijalote*—also come from speakers in the south). Map 4-7, however, shows a pattern that is consistent across the two surveys: except for 1 of Kiddle's cases, all occurrences of *güíjolo*/*gúíjalo* are located in the western part of the region. This fact ties in very nicely with the western distribution of the term in Mexico and the Cahita source proposed by Mendoza Guerrero (2002).

Standard Spanish Influence

Finally, we turn to the incursion into the NMCOSS region of the kind of Spanish that is considered the *norma culta* ('cultivated norm'). Here, to the extent that a standard is recognized, it is generally considered to be the educated speech of Mexico. The notion of this standard is introduced by Mexican immigration, by formal Spanish instruction, and by the wider contacts that are often made possible by higher education, greater income, and the technological advances that have made for an increasingly smaller world.



4-6. 'Turkey' – cócono



4-7. 'Turkey' – güíjolo

TABLE 4-2. Responses for 'Turkey' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
gallina de la tierra	5.0	0.0	0.0	2.8
ganso	25.8	28.6	25.4	21.1
guajolote	5.8	7.9	16.9	12.7
guajalote	2.5	4.8	0.0	5.6
cócono	16.7	11.1	15.3	12.7
cócano	15.8	9.5	8.5	8.5
güíjalo	1.7	1.6	0.0	2.8
torque (*terque*, ***turkey***)	25.8	30.2	20.3	19.7
pavo (*pavón*)	0.8	6.3	10.2	12.7
Other response	0.0	0.0	3.4	1.4
N	120	63	59	71

The 2 archaic verb forms that are typically frowned on by speakers of standard Spanish demonstrate the connections. Those NMCOSS consultants who had achieved higher levels of education were more likely to use the standard *vi* 'I saw' instead of the rustic *vide*. Those who had taken more Spanish courses in high school or college were more likely to use the formal *trajo* 'He brought,' avoiding the nonstandard *trujo* (see Bills and Vigil 1999c, 879–80).

And this brings us to our last 'Turkey'—for which the reader is no doubt giving thanks even if it's not November! The standard Spanish term for turkey is *pavo* (which itself represents a semantic change from its original meaning, in Latin as well as Old Spanish, of 'peacock,' a fowl that now goes by the descriptive phrase, *pavo real*, a 'real turkey,' or perhaps a 'royal turkey'?). *Pavo* has never become very well established in New Mexico and southern Colorado. This form represents only 8% of Kiddle's responses and the same proportion (7.6%) in the NMCOSS. The geographical distribution of this form reveals no patterning of interest; in both surveys, persons who offered *pavo* occur haphazardly across the region.

Although *guajolote* is the dominant form in Mexico, the *pavo* label is documented widely and prominently in the Mexico atlas. It also seems to occur quite commonly elsewhere in the Southwest. It accounts for 13% of the responses in Pedrero's study (2002), the second strongest response after *guajolote*. Alvar (2000) indicates that 3 of those 8 responses are from the NMCOSS region, 2 from northern New Mexico and 1 from southern Colorado.

One might well suppose that *pavo* is a learned form acquired through exposure to standard Spanish. Its rarity in the NMCOSS could be a result of physical or social distance from standard Mexican Spanish. Its few occurrences might be attributable to the formal study of Spanish or travel to other parts of the Spanish-speaking world. Such a hypothesis is supported by the associations of *pavo* with two social variables: study of Spanish and years of education.

Table 4-2 reveals a strong association between the use of the term *pavo* and formal Spanish study. Of the 120 individuals who reported never having taken a Spanish course in school, only 1 offered the term *pavo* as their first choice. On the other hand, 13% of those with three of more years of formal Spanish did so. That is, formal study of Spanish accounts for a 12% shift in the preference for the Standard Spanish label. None of the other terms shows such an impact. The next strongest association is with the colloquial standard form of Mexico, *guajolote*.

In similar fashion, table 4-3 shows that number of years of education is also associated with the use of *pavo*. This standard Spanish term was offered by not 1 of the 64 who failed to reach high school, by only 3 of the 50 high school dropouts, by just 5 of the 82 holding a high school diploma, and by only 5 of the 63 having some college experience, but was preferred by 12 of the 68 who had completed at least a bachelor's degree. The swing from 0% to 18% demonstrates the role of education in the preference for a Standard Spanish term.

TABLE 4-3. Responses for 'Turkey' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
gallina de la tierra	9.4	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.5
ganso	25.0	28.0	20.7	27.0	26.5
guajolote	7.8	6.0	12.2	17.5	7.4
guajalote	3.1	2.0	1.2	6.3	1.5
cócono	15.6	16.0	20.7	9.5	8.8
cócano	15.6	14.0	11.0	6.3	8.8
güíjalo	3.1	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.9
torque (*terque*, ***turkey***)	20.3	28.0	25.6	22.2	23.5
pavo (*pavón*)	0.0	6.0	6.1	7.9	17.6
Other response	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.6	1.5
N	64	50	82	63	68

Since all but 1 of the NMCOSS consultants are native-born and therefore all but 1 educated in the United States, a question arises: why should advanced schooling in *English* influence familiarity with a *Spanish* word? Three explanations come to mind. First, the number of years of education in general is closely associated with formal study of Spanish. It has long been typical in U.S. education that students have the opportunity to study a language other than English only at the high school or college levels. Second, the opportunity to travel abroad increases as level of education increases, and exposure to speakers of standard Spanish is enhanced by such travel. Finally, the more highly educated are more likely to engage in communication with the educated international visitors and others who use the term *pavo*. As in other contexts, how we handle one language can be affected in subtle but profound ways by education in another language.

Conclusions

This overview of the history of New Mexican Spanish illustrated by the words for 'Turkey' provides a perspective quite distinct from a historical approach that focuses on powerful individuals. However much we might like to believe that language change moves toward that language that we perceive to be good and proper, the fact is that the flow of language over time is channeled by the common people, not the elite. A language is the epitome of a democracy, where we the people, *all* the people participate actively. Language change floats lazily about on the linguistic whims of the masses, drifting one way today and another tomorrow. But the days are more like centuries.

This chapter clearly demonstrates that just since Kiddle collected his data there has been a dramatic shift in distribution patterns and use of 'Turkey' forms in the NMCOSS region. The big losers are precisely the forms historically linked to that unique Traditional Spanish. The big winners are forms associated with demographic trends over the past century. Those forms that are related to contact with Mexican Spanish, English, and education display increasing use and geographical expansion and are near-certain indicators of what New Mexican Spanish will look like in the future. But don't bet on it.

PART II

The Formation of Traditional New Mexican Spanish

CHAPTER 5

Retentions

The Peninsular Origins of New Mexican Spanish

Lexical Retentions

All dialects of Spanish share a huge stock of lexical, grammatical, and phonological features. We may assume that this common stock represented in the minds of all Spanish speakers is what makes Spanish "Spanish" and not German or Chinese or Navajo. What are those linguistic entrails, that set of common features? Who knows! Given the nature of individual variation (idiolects), it is surely a practical impossibility to produce either a grammar or a dictionary of the core of any language, of the linguistic knowledge that all speakers share. On the lexical side, the best dictionaries have a broader, more inclusionary aim—to incorporate all the words of all dialects. No dictionary has accomplished that either, for other very practical reasons. New words crop up here and there daily; dictionary makers have to gather evidence of a word, orally or in writing, before they can put it in the dictionary. But such an inclusive task reports on what people *do*, and therefore is probably more manageable than documenting the common core of a language, which must probe what people *know*, especially for a language as widely spoken as Spanish.

Whatever these common features are, they were passed down through many generations. The fifteenth-century inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula had in their heads much of those same linguistic entrails that characterize any Spanish dialect today. New Mexican Spanish is archaic in the sense of retaining many features that come down from fifteenth-century Spain. But, of course, so are all Spanish dialects spoken today, from Madrid to Manila, from Nicaragua to New York, from Santiago de Chile to the Sephardic Spanish communities of the Middle East. All have a common grammatical and lexical core that is rooted in Medieval Spanish.

However, people who play with words typically consider something to be an archaic linguistic feature only if it has disappeared from the standard language. Thus, in popular usage, a retained feature is an **archaism** only if it is no longer used in the variety that those who adopt the mantle of linguistic legislators determine to be the "correct" one. In other words, archaisms are treated as "abnormal" things that occur outside the *norma culta* (the "cultivated norm" as standard Spanish is often called). Accepting this perspective, numerous Spanish scholars

have been content to label as archaic any older usage that does not occur in the Spanish of educated speakers of central Spain, a variety that was famously codified for centuries by the Real Academia Española, the Royal Spanish Academy.

Thus, the task that Isaías Lerner set for himself in his rigorous scholarly study of American Spanish archaisms was to compile a list of words that (1974, 9):

(5-1)
1) han dejado de usarse en el castellano general de España y siguen vivas en la lengua general de América;
2) han dejado de usarse en la lengua general de España y América, pero permanecen en el habla popular y rural de América;
3) han dejado de usarse en el castellano general de España; tuvieron vigencia en la literatura de los siglos XVI y XVII y hoy se oyen en algunas regiones de España como formas dialectales y en el habla rural americana.

1) 'are no longer used in the standard Castilian Spanish of Spain and remain alive in the general language of the Americas;
2) are no longer used in the standard language of Spain and America, but remain in the popular and rural speech of the Americas;
3) are no longer used in the standard Spanish of Spain; they were in effect in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature and are heard today as dialect forms in some regions of Spain and in rural speech of the Americas.'

That is, standard Castilian Spanish by definition can have no archaisms; only those other dialects do. Naturally enough, this chauvinistic perspective has resulted in a long series of polemical treatises that essentially undermine the whole notion of linguistic archaism. (The book by Jiménez Ríos 2001 treats with clarity and sensitivity the history and broad range of issues associated with the notion of archaisms in Spanish.)

Observers often characterize Traditional Spanish as highly archaic in this dogmatic sense because of its history of relative seclusion. Lerner's list of 1,500 American Spanish archaisms includes many words that occur in New Mexican Spanish, such everyday words as *almuerzo* 'Breakfast' (standard Castilian *desayuno* whereas *almuerzo* is reserved for the noon meal), *chiflar* 'whistle' (standard Castilian *silbar*), *durazno* 'Peach' (*melocotón*), *enojar* 'anger' (*enfadar*), *ensartar* 'Thread a needle' (*enhebrar*), *frijol* 'bean' (*judía*, *habichuela*), *machucar* 'mash, crush' (*machacar*), *mercar* 'buy' (*comprar*), *prieto* 'dark complected' (*moreno*), and *sopaipilla* 'deep-fried bread dough rectangles' (no equivalent word in Castilian today). Although the concept of archaism itself is of limited usefulness, and it is certainly a practical impossibility to accurately assess the extent to which one dialect differs from another in archaicness, Traditional Spanish seems to have many archaisms of this conventional kind. An examination of some apparent archaisms can be both educational and entertaining.

A classic example of an archaism is the verb for 'Wake up,' depicted in map 5-1, which reveals that the *recordar* variant, marked with green circles, is a feature of Traditional Spanish. Its use is illustrated in example 5-2, uttered by a sixty-three-year-old woman from Carriso, New Mexico, who was describing her first experience at a wake for a deceased relative:

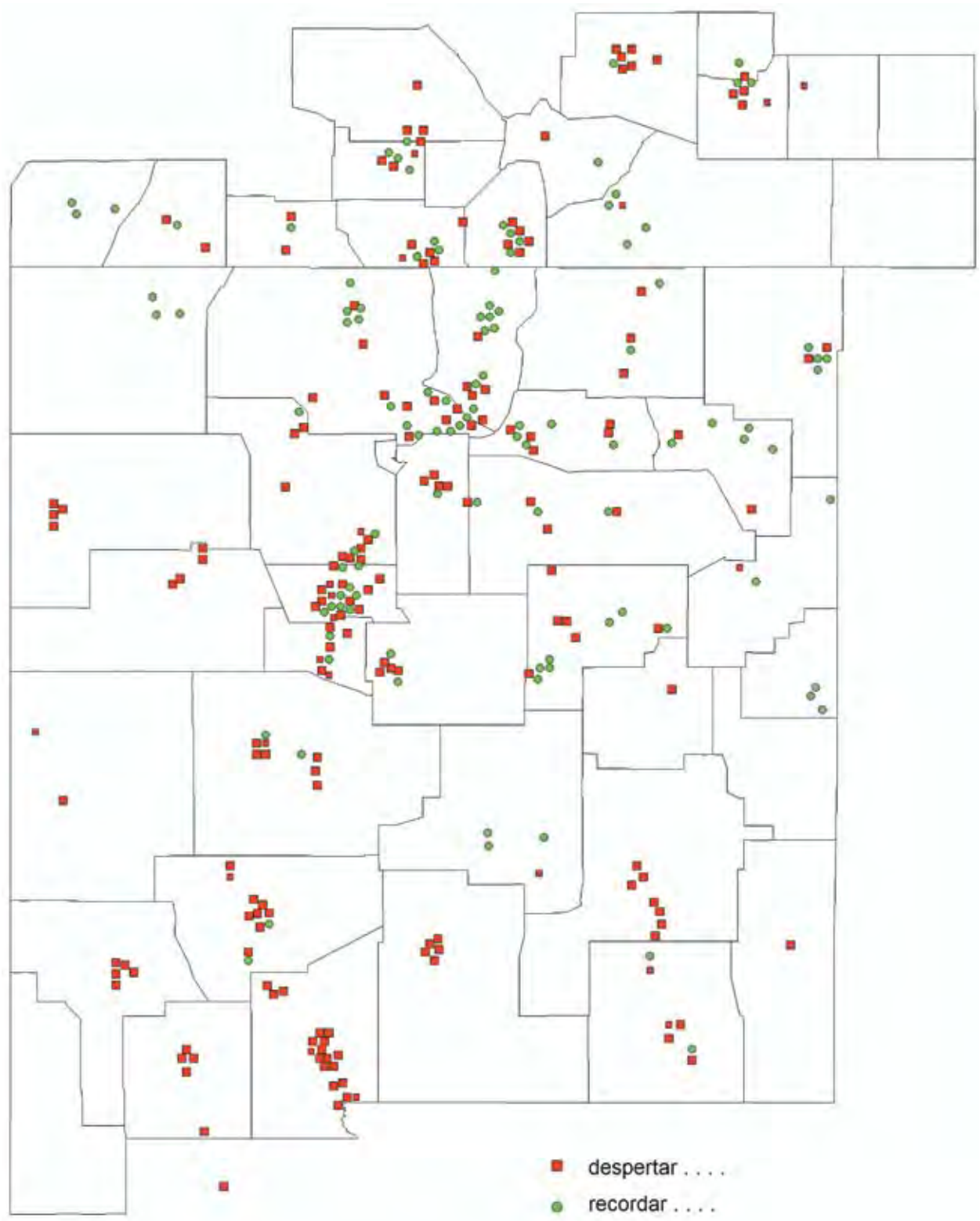
(5-2) *Pero qué puede uno de seis años sino quedarse dormido ahi, y le daban un codazo y recordaba uno.* 'But what can a six-year-old do except fall asleep there, and they'd give you a poke with the elbow and you'd wake up.' (interview 77)

This verb reflects an old, old usage found, for example, in the fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, lines 2790–91 (Marcos Marín 1997, 466):

(5-3) *Van Recordando don eluira e doña sol,*
Abrieron los oios e vieron a felez muñoz.
'Doña Elvira and Doña Sol are waking up,
They opened their eyes and saw Félez Muñoz.'

Similar uses of *recordar* for 'Wake up' are found in such other early Spanish literary works as the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (Cejador y Frauca 1969, 142) and *La Celestina* (Rojas 1960, 159).

In the standard Spanish of central Spain, however, the meaning of *recordar* has become limited to 'remember' and 'remind.' *Recordar* for 'Wake up,' then, is one of those orthodox archaisms. Yet, the word remains widely used with the meaning 'Wake up' in colloquial varieties of Spanish around the world. Moreno de Alba, for example, notes that this archaism is a feature of rural Mexico (1992a, 56). Lerner reports widespread use in the New World. And the *Diccionario de la lengua española* of the Real Academia Española (henceforth, the *DRAE*)—which



5-1. ‘Wake up’

has now adopted a more liberal attitude in acknowledging dialect variation—reports such use of *recordar* in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and two regions of Spain.

Vocabulary is perhaps the most easily perceived and identified aspect of linguistic variation, and archaisms in the popular sense are perhaps the most stigmatized feature of nonstandard vocabulary. Map 5-1 suggests that the archaic use of *recordar* suffers from stigmatization. Although Pedrero (2002, 105) finds *recordar* to be the majority form for New Mexican Spanish in her limited and more elderly sample, it is preferred by just 35% of the NMCOSS consultants (109 responses). The standard *despertar* is making clear inroads into Traditional Spanish territory. As we'll see later, exposure to the broader Spanish-speaking world heightens awareness of the *recordar* stigma and favors the adoption of *despertar*. *Despertar* is now the majority label in New Mexican Spanish, the preferred form of 59% of the consultants (186 responses). We should note that *despertar* is realized in about a fourth of the cases as *dispertar*, which is also nonstandard but not as strongly stigmatized. These 2 variants are combined for the map because their distributions show no distinct geographical patterning.

Similarly noteworthy is the fact that the infinitival forms of *recordar* and *despertar* are sometimes reported as *recuerdar* and *despiertar*. These verbs belong to the class of stem-changing words that diphthongize *o* to *ue* (in words such as *recordar*) and *e* to *ie* (in words such as *despertar*) when stressed, yielding contrasting forms such as *recordamos* 'we wake up' versus *recuerda* 'she wakes up' and *despertamos* 'we wake up' versus *despierta* 'she wakes up.' The extension of diphthongization to unstressed vowels occurs regularly in New Mexican Spanish (see Harris 1974), notably among those who suffer some loss of Spanish skills. Thus, forms such as *puedemos* for *podemos* 'we can' and *empiezar* for *empezar* 'begin' can sometimes be heard. In a forced choice between standard *enterrar* and innovative *entierrar* 'Bury,' for example, 16% of the NMCOSS consultants opted for the innovative form. For the 'Wake up' variable, however, our intent was to document only the contrasting words and not their pronunciation, and predictable responses of either *recuerda* 'he'll wake up' or *va a recordar* 'he's going to wake up' (among the many other possibilities) met our intent. As with *despertar*, then, the varied realizations of *recordar* are combined for presentation on map 5-1.

The 'Wake up' variable also illustrates how individual interpretation of a given situation can be one of those little obstacles in the interview process. To elicit this variable, the interviewer showed a picture of a man asleep beside an alarm clock and asked what the man would do when the alarm sounded. Was this a sure-fire way to get the desired response? Well, no: 12 consultants offered—and sometimes insisted on—*levantarse* 'get up, arise' as the appropriate response. Such reasonable responses test the mettle of even the most skilled of interviewers. They also demonstrate how difficult it is to design an interview schedule as described in chapter 2 that assures that the people interviewed "provide comparable data, that is, the same linguistic features produced under the same circumstances."

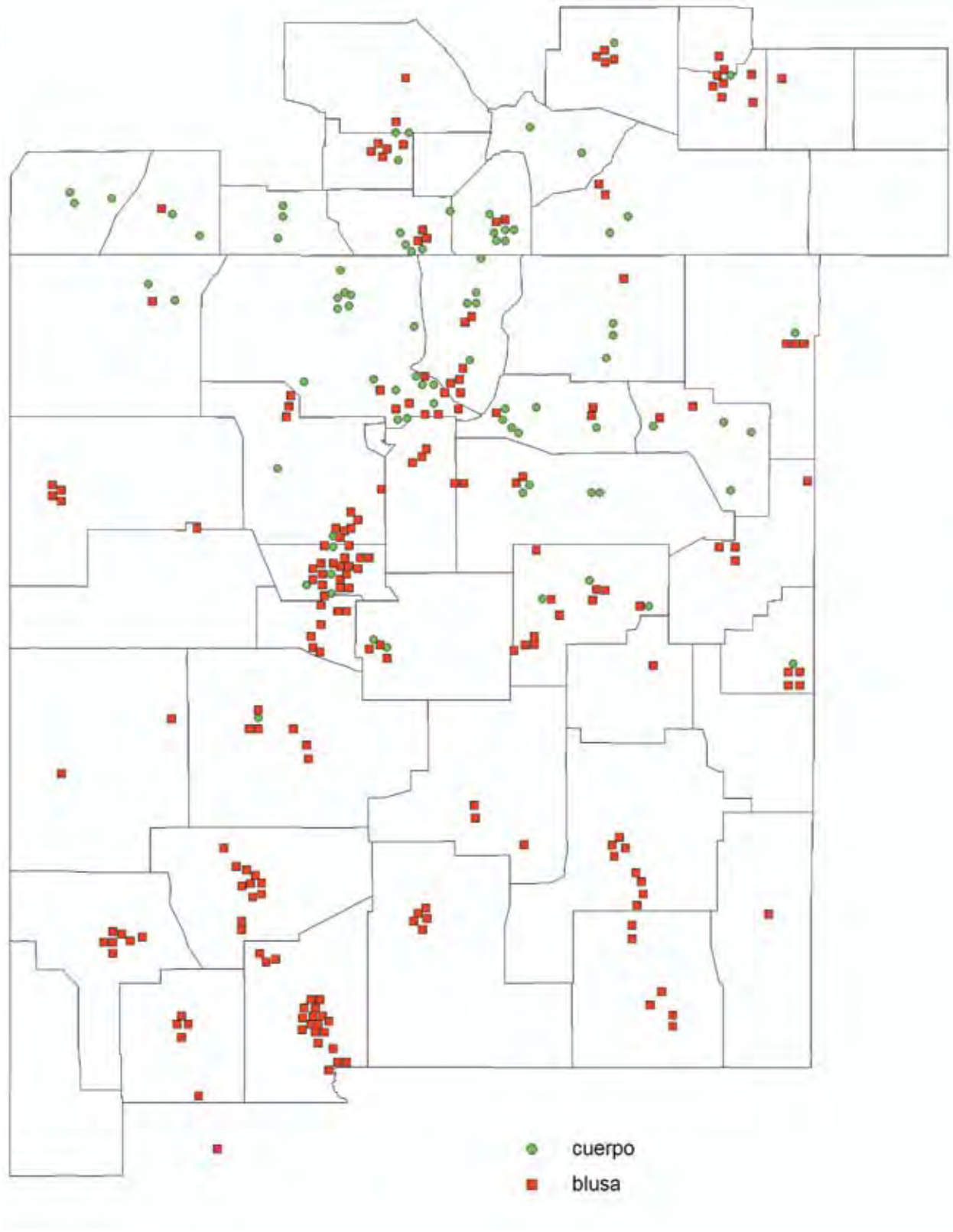
Turning to a different variable, we see that the responses for 'Blouse' reveal a retention in a still more precarious situation. This item was elicited by means of a picture of a woman dressed in a skirt and blouse—a traditional white blouse with a few frills. Map 5-2 demonstrates that the dominant term for 'Blouse' in New Mexican Spanish is clearly the standard Spanish variant *blusa*, offered as the label of preference by 61% of the 328 respondents (we use the term *respondents* to refer to all those questioned about an item, including those who were unable to give a response). The term *blusa* prevails resolutely throughout the Border Spanish areas, but also appears strongly in the Traditional Spanish region.

But as map 5-2 illustrates, a very special term, *cuerpo*, is associated with Traditional Spanish. Such an unusual term for 'Blouse' merits exemplification from the NMCOSS conversational data. Example 5-4 comes from a sixty-seven-year-old woman from Ratón, NM:

(5-4) *Ora usan el cuerpo largo y los pantalones muy ajustados*. 'Now they wear long blouses and very tight-fitting pants.' (interview 307)

A total of 82 of our consultants (25%) elected to use this label. Like those who use *recordar* for 'Wake up,' they tend to be older and to represent more rural areas of the Traditional Spanish heartland.

Where does this term come from? *Cuerpo* in standard Spanish (as manifested in the *DRAE*) carries a variety of meanings like its conventional English gloss 'body.' The only meaning associated with clothing that is recognized in the *DRAE* is not a separate piece but a part of a dress, that part from the waist to the neck (English 'bodice,' which transparently derives from *body*). So maybe this term in New Mexican Spanish represents not an archaism but rather an independent extension of the meaning of *cuerpo* to include this article of clothing that covers the same area of the body as a bodice.



5-2. ‘Blouse’

Cobos (2003) cites a convincing example that he attributes to the standard-setting picaresque novel, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* ('The life of Lazarillo de Tormes and of his fortunes and adversities'), published anonymously in 1554 or earlier (see Cejador y Frauca 1969):

(5-5) *hízolo . . . vistiéndole con una saya y cuerpo de una criada suya*. 'He did it . . . by dressing him in a skirt and a blouse of one of his maids.' (Cobos's translation)

Such use would indicate that the extension of meaning took place centuries ago in Spain and that the word is in fact an archaism. Unfortunately, we have been unable to find the exact source of this citation, and we have found no other early example where the reference is clearly to 'Blouse.' Consequently, we can only tentatively suggest that this form is an archaism in New Mexican Spanish and appears to have been brought early into the area. Besides, the standard *blusa* (like English *blouse*) is a relatively recent borrowing from French, documented in the *Corpus diacrónico del español* (*CORDE*) only from 1828. Nevertheless, the fact that only a fourth of the NMCOSS consultants offered the *cuerpo* label suggests that this unique feature of Traditional Spanish is being lost. Its limited distribution on map 5-2 supports this conclusion.

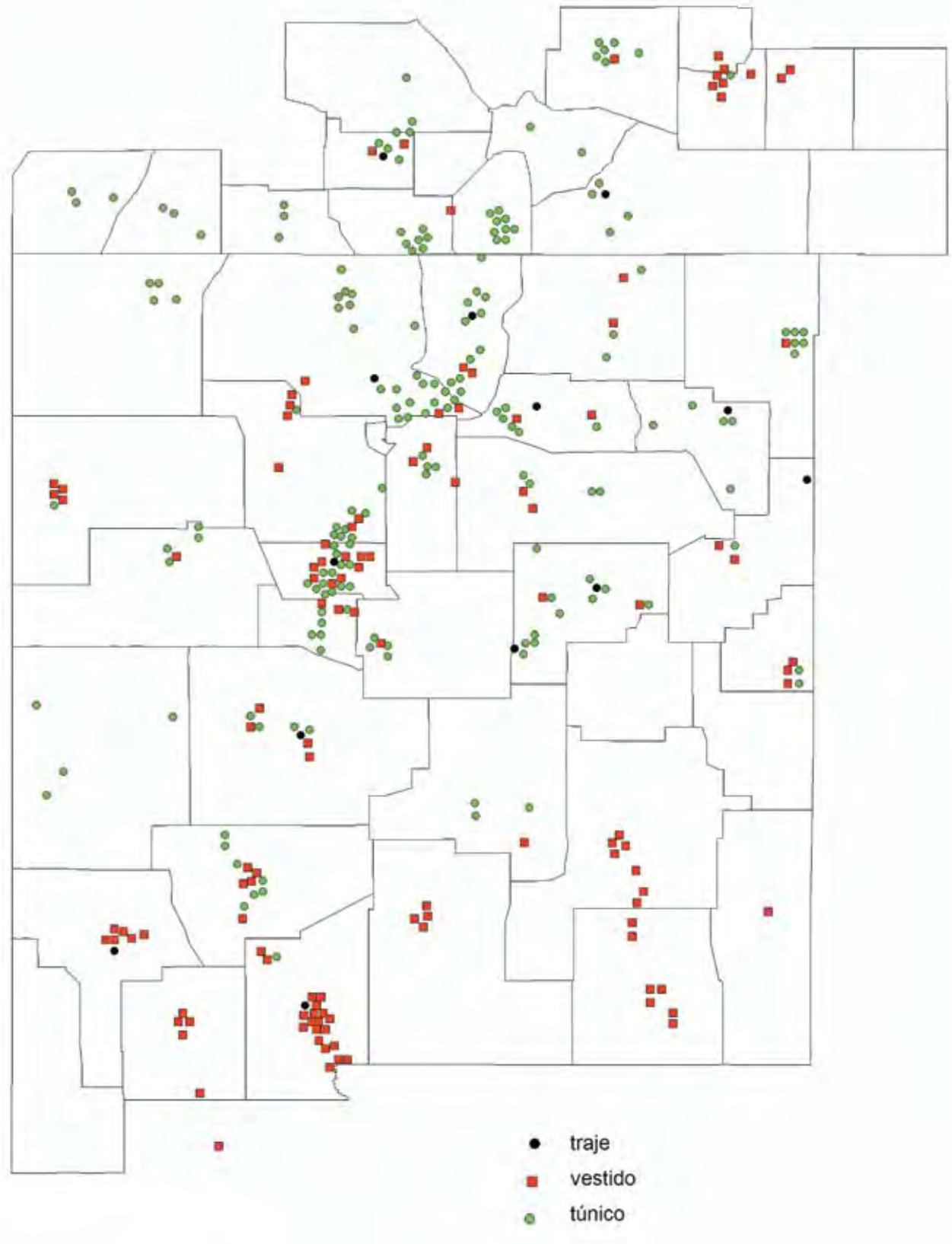
In this connection, it is relevant to note that a significant proportion of the respondents (14%) proposed neither the waning *cuerpo* nor the waxing *blusa*. For example, 13 persons suggested *camisa* 'shirt,' 20 offered only the English ***blouse***, and 6 were stumped, unable to provide a label. Almost every person who offered 1 of these 3 responses represents the Traditional Spanish area. The loss of Spanish skills inherent in these responses plus the spreading influence of the standard *blusa* provides some account of the reduced showing of *cuerpo*.

But we must also consider the question: how could 14% of the consultants not have an appropriate Spanish name for this commonplace piece of clothing? Perhaps many are caught in the process of change, having had some exposure to both the *cuerpo* and *blusa* labels but not enough to have one or the other become firmly lodged in their mental lexicons. It might also be argued that *camisa* is in fact an adequate response. But an assessment of inadequacy is supported by the fact that the 3 types of response came disproportionately from males (less sophisticated regarding women's clothing terms) and younger persons (with generally weaker Spanish skills). For example, 8 of the 13 who offered *camisa* are male, and only 1 of the 13 is over forty-six years of age.

In contrast, only 2 persons were unable to provide an adequate Spanish label for another article of feminine clothing, 'Dress.' Furthermore—and perhaps consequently, in this case the retained or archaic term is holding on much more strongly. Map 5-3 displays the geographical distribution of the 3 appropriate words for 'Dress,' the stimulus for which was a picture of a woman wearing the conventional one-piece garment (short sleeves, knee-length, belted, moderately formal but unceremonious). Consultants responded with 3 basic terms: *traje*, *túnico*, and *vestido*. *Túnico* is the dominant form for 'Dress' in our survey (its use in conversational speech is seen in example 6-12 of the next chapter). This distinctive form represents 54% of the responses, a dominance clearly confirmed as unique to the NMCOSS area in Alvar's listing (2000, 205). And as map 5-3 clearly demonstrates, it is most definitely a feature of the Traditional Spanish dialect.

Túnico is an archaism that once had the same meaning as the English cognate *tunic* (both from Latin *tunĭca*). The word survives in Spanish generally as *túnica*, and occasionally as *túnico* in the Americas, but almost always with the meaning of an undergarment or the simple shift-like garment of peasants or Native Americans. Santamaría (1959), for example, defines the *túnico* of Mexico as follows: *En general, túnica, comúnmente usado por las mujeres campesinas muy pobres* 'In general, a tunic, commonly used by very poor peasant women' (also see the similar characterizations in the dictionary entries of Neves 1975 and Morínigo 1993). It is also said to refer to (or to have once referred to) a long under-dress or camisole-type garment in Central America, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico (Morínigo 1998) as well as in southern Spain (Malaret 1931).

But Sandoval (1942) describes *túnico* for Guatemala as a garment of a different social status that seems associated with the original use in New Mexican Spanish: *En la moda pasada, vestido largo que usaron las señoras, menos las mujeres de la clase baja del pueblo* 'In the old style, a long dress used by ladies, but not by the women of the populace's lower class.' And this reference to a long dress is also reported for Cuba (Malaret 1931) and Santo Domingo (Malaret 1942). Although in his 1959 *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, Santamaría mentions *túnico* simply as 'tunic,' in his earlier *Diccionario de americanismos* (1942) he reports the 'long dress' meaning for Central America generally as well as for the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico. Moreover, Company (2002) reports a use of *túnico* in a Mexico City



5-3. ‘Dress’

document from 1797. The document itself reports the complaint of a nun against the advances of a priest who was her regular confessor. The part of the complaint that mentions *túnico* is as follows (Company 1994, 625):

> (5-6) *Varias veces preguntandole el padre q[ue] si el tunico la lastimaba o incomodaba, lo hacía en estos terminos en el tiempo de estarla confesando: "¿te lastima el tunico los pechitos?."*
> 'The priest, asking her several times if her dress was causing her pain or discomfort, phrased it in the following terms at the time of confessing her: "Does your dress hurt your breasts?"'

In this context, of course, *túnico* refers to the clothing of a nun, perhaps a long dress or perhaps a simpler nun's habit. Nevertheless, it testifies to the use of *túnico* in Mexico at the end of the colonial period to refer to a woman's dress-like garment of more substance than a peasant's shift.

Whatever its past use, today in the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, the word *túnico* seems to be largely unknown as the reference for a typical woman's dress. In New Mexican Spanish, then, *túnico* seems to be an archaism in its *tunic-* root that has undergone innovation both semantically (reference to a woman's dress in general) and grammatically (change to the masculine gender). But "innovative archaism" sounds a bit discordant. Is it an archaism or is it not?

In any case, like any archaism, it is perceived as quaint and sometimes even uncouth by outsiders. The negative attitude toward archaic vocabulary exemplified by *túnico* is captured by the eminent Spanish novelist of the nineteenth century, Benito Pérez Galdós, in his novel *El amigo manso* (2001, 231). He describes the fictional adjustment of a Cuban woman to the high culture of Spain: *logró reformar mucho sus modales y lenguaje, y ya no llamaba* ***túnico*** *al vestido* 'she managed to greatly reform her manners and language, and she no longer called a dress a *túnico*.'

A second possibly archaic form for 'Dress' is *traje*, which nowadays generally refers to 'suit' or 'outfit' in standard Spanish. Only 13 persons, predominantly elderly and from rural areas, offered *traje* as their preferred term for 'Dress.' Its very limited occurrence as displayed on map 5-3 indicates that it is a **relic** form that appears to be disappearing in the NMCOSS region.

The label for 'Dress' generally considered standard is *vestido*, a past participle nominalization derived from the verb *vestir* 'to dress.' A total of 121 of the 333 respondents (36%) preferred this form, which includes 15 instances of the nonstandard variant *vistido*. Notice on map 5-3 that the *vestido* term is associated with Border Spanish. It is the term of overwhelming preference only in the extreme southern portion of New Mexico and other areas that have experienced more immediate and continuous contact with the standardizing currents of Spanish in Mexico. Otherwise, *vestido* occurs only sporadically, particularly in the Albuquerque and Santa Fe areas where Mexican immigration has been significant. The random distribution of *vestido* around the Traditional Spanish area suggests that some of its occurrences are a consequence of exposure to standard Spanish, in the classroom or elsewhere, a topic we consider in chapter 14.

Why should the archaic *túnico* (54% of responses) resist the invasion of the standard variant more forcefully than the archaic *recordarse* for 'Wake up' (35%) and *cuerpo* for 'Blouse' (25%)? Quite possibly because the standard *vestido* typically has a very different meaning in Traditional Spanish. It refers to a distinct article of clothing, a man's 'Suit,' as we will see later in chapter 10 with reference to map 10-14. The use of *vestido* for a man's suit and *traje* for a woman's dress, a reversal of what many consider standard Spanish, is not uncommon. Kany (1960, 172), for example, reports such usage for Chile, Panama, and Peru. Alvar (2000, 199) documents *vestido* for a man's 'Suit' not only in New Mexico and Colorado but also in the Isleño Spanish of Louisiana, reported for the latter as *vistido* by Armistead (1992, 274) and MacCurdy (1975, 512). And the linguistic atlas for Colombia shows *vestido* to be the most common term for a man's suit (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 5) as well as 1 of the 2 most common terms for a woman's dress (vol. 4, mapa 29). Furthermore, *vestido* was the label for a man's suit of clothing in Madrid early in the seventeenth century, according to L. E. Miller (2006, 34).

Semantic conflicts of this sort, as well as other problems, surface with another variable, 'Goose.' In the previous chapter we noted that while *ganso* is one of a number of words for 'Turkey' in New Mexican Spanish, both *ganso* and *ánsara* are used to refer to a 'Goose.' However, the elicitation of the latter variable had the interviewers wading through another data-collection hazard. Many consultants lacked a specific word for this bird. Exactly one-third of the 342 respondents called it simply *pato* 'duck' and another 14% could provide only an English word or no response at all. We received several other erroneous or inappropriate responses, including 2 of *guso*! Thus, beyond providing insight into the loss of Spanish (to be treated in chapter 13), this item yields an accurately specific response from only a minority of consultants. Still, 165 responses is a substantial number for mapping purposes.

Map 5-4 shows that the 116 consultants (35%) who responded with *ganso* and the 47 (14%) who responded with *ánsara* (including 3 cases of *ánsaro* and 1 of *ánsare*) are scattered all over the region surveyed. One thing that the map does not show is that *ánsara* is a dying form used mostly by the elderly and hardly volunteered at all by persons under the age of forty (as we see later in chapter 12, table 12-2).

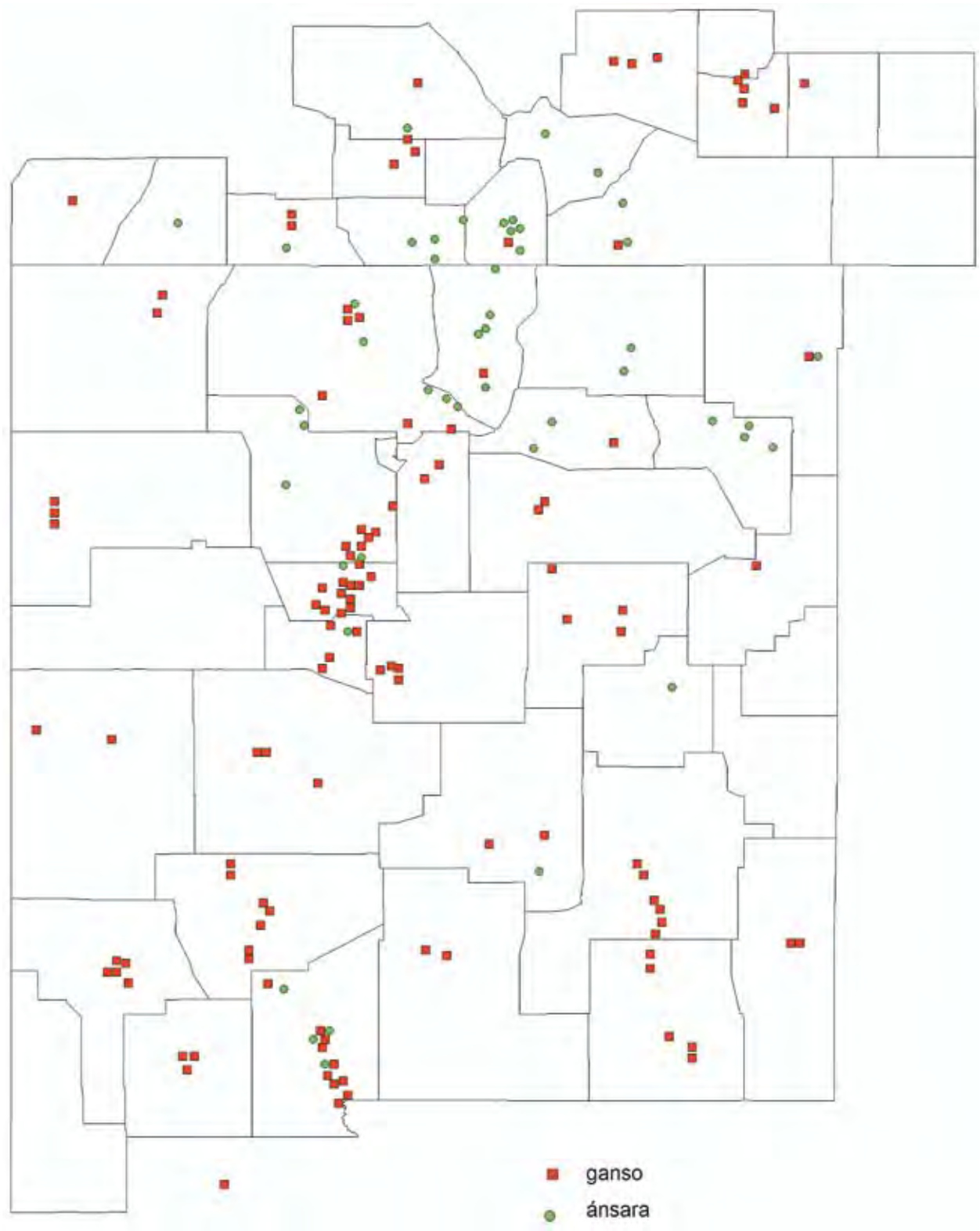
Ánsara enjoys the status of deriving from the Latin word for 'Goose,' even though the direct transmission into Spanish was as the masculine *ánsar*. Notwithstanding such ancestry, the customary word for 'Goose' in most places is *ganso*, a long-standing borrowing from the Germanic *gans*. English is, of course, a Germanic language and the English *goose*—and more transparently *gander*—derive from that early Germanic form and are therefore cognates with *ganso*. And interestingly enough, both the Latin *anser* and Germanic *gans* are cognates, deriving from the same word in the distant Indo-European mother language. Now, once this Germanic borrowing settled in as a Spanish word, but still at an early point in the linguistic history of Spain, it seems that *ganso* came to refer to the domesticated goose while *ánsar* referred to the wild version (Corominas 1954, 1:219). However, that distinction seems to no longer be made and *ganso* has become the standard term for 'Goose' whether domesticated or wild.

Ánsara, therefore, would appear to be a kind of archaism. One way of exploring this possibility is to examine the occurrence of the word in two online databases provided by the Real Academia Española. The *Corpus diacrónico del español* (*CORDE*) contains some 235 million words of documents dating from the medieval period to 1975, mostly from Spain but about a fourth from the New World. The *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (*CREA*), which contains about 150 million words, represents current usage since 1975, with approximately equal documentation from Spain and the Americas.

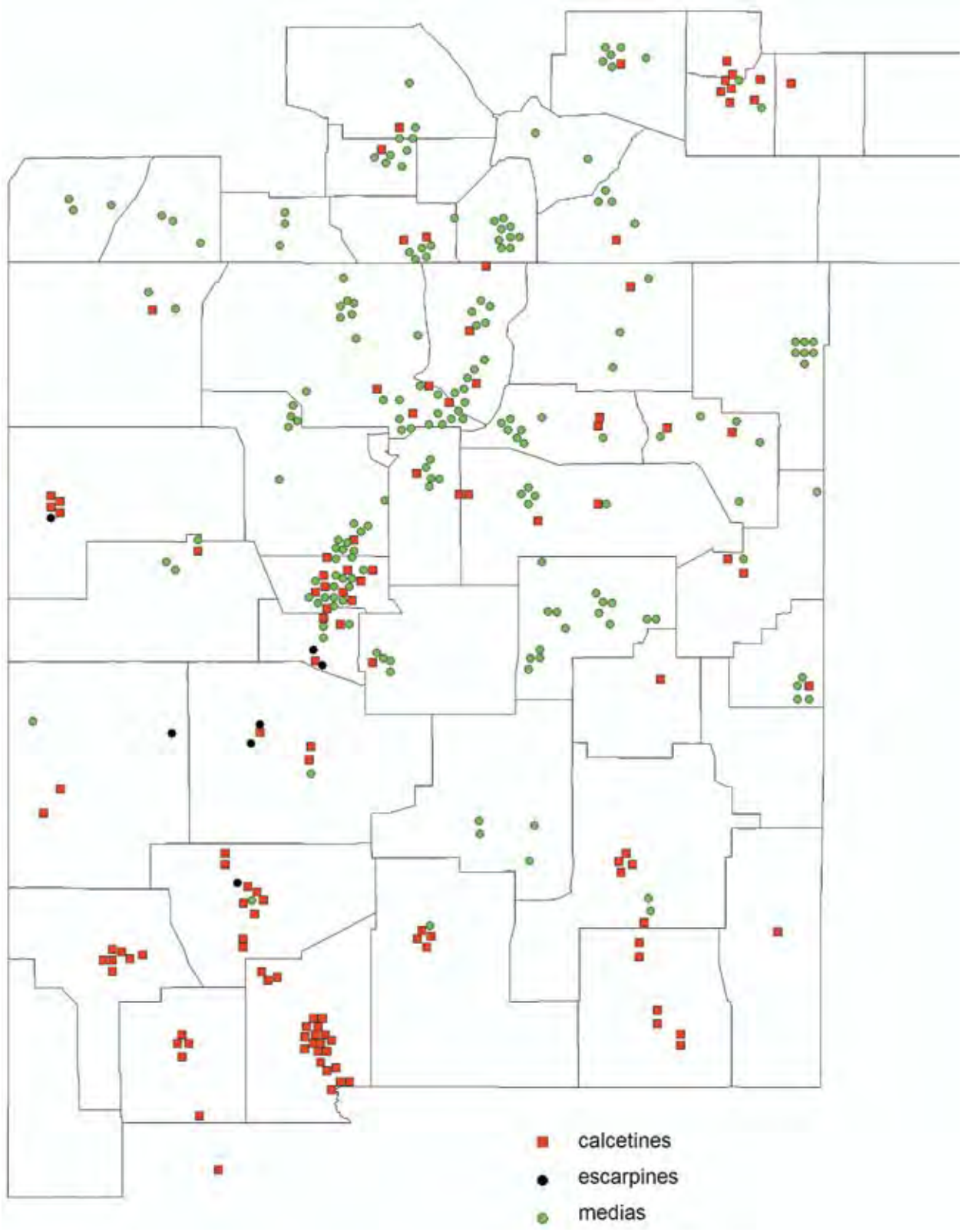
The *CORDE* provides just 4 examples of *ánsara*, the earliest from the *Fuero de Teruel*, a legal treatise of about 1300, and the other 3 from the 1620s. The *CREA*, the corpus of current usage, does not record it at all. By traditional criteria, then, it is clearly an archaism. Does the present documentation for New Mexico make it less of an archaism? In contrast, the *CORDE* includes 91 cases of the masculine alternative *ánsar*, dating from 1250, and 415 cases of *ganso*, dating from 1406. The *CREA* provides only 6 cases of *ánsar* but 195 of *ganso*. The *DRAE* recognizes the masculine *ánsar* but it seems to be not widely used. So, in the grand scheme of things Spanish, *ganso* is the demographic champion and both *ánsara* and *ánsar* are very marginal contenders. Is *ánsar* then also an archaism? Not according to the *DRAE*. Moreover, according to the *DRAE*, *ánsara* doesn't even exist! We can only conclude that struggling with a characterization of archaisms leads us down an unilluminating garden path. What is important here, it seems to us, is to document some of the more interesting of the multitude of linguistic bits that New Mexican Spanish has retained from its roots in Spain. That's what we try to do in this chapter.

The usefulness of the term archaism is suspect in other cases where the popular definition clearly applies. For example, in Traditional Spanish the most common term for 'Socks' is *medias*, offered by 185 of the 328 consultants questioned for this item (56%, see map 5-5). Attesting to this association with Traditional Spanish, Pedrero (2002, 58–59) reports 14 occurrences of this form and Alvar (2000, 203) indicates that they were found only in New Mexico and southern Colorado—and in eleven of the fourteen communities there. In standard Spanish, however, *medias* generally refers to the more typically feminine article of leg wear, 'hose, stockings, nylons,' and *calcetines* is widely considered the proper label for 'Socks.' *Medias* is the older word, its use antedating *calcetines* by centuries. The latter is a fairly recent creation; its earliest documentation in the *CORDE* is 1870. We may conclude then that *medias* is a heritage Spanish word with deep roots that has been replaced in Castilian Spanish by a neologism that has gained the status of standard around the world. A classic archaism?

Before responding to that question, we need to probe the fascinating historical development of these labels. As it turns out, both *calcetines* and *medias* have the same origin in the use of the word *calzas* (from the Latin word for 'shoe') to label a foot covering or sock. In medieval Spanish this foot covering grew higher and higher to become the foot and leg covering worn by men, and these tights eventually reached up to the waist. But then the *calzas* split into two pieces. The lower portion became the 'half' covering, *medias calzas*, which was soon shortened to *medias*. Another option created for the lower pieces was the diminutive *calcetas*, which via the vagaries of word derivation was later transformed into the modern diminutive *calcetines*. Ah, but what happened to the upper part of the *calzas*? Well, as the bigger part, they eventually took on the augmentative suffix to become *calzones*, a term we'll see again later when we deal with pants and underpants (with the further evolutionary twist that even augmentatives can be turned into diminutives, yielding *calzoncillos*). Finally, we can't leave this historical diversion without mentioning, for those familiar with local speech, that the same Latin origin is the source of the slang term *calcos* for 'shoes.'



5-4. 'Goose'



5-5. ‘Socks’

But back to the 2 principal words for 'Socks' in New Mexican Spanish. The *DRAE* considers *calcetines* as the default label, and almost dismissively acknowledges the same meaning for *medias* as simply an "Americanism," a label restricted to use in the Americas. If we look beyond the typical textbook or student dictionary, however, we find that *medias* for 'Socks' is indeed quite common in the Americas. For example, it is the usual word for a man's 'Socks' in Colombia, as documented in that country's linguistic atlas (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 17). It is unfortunate that the *Atlas lingüístico de México* did not include this item, but we know that *medias* for 'Socks' occurs widely in our neighbor nation. In a conspicuous display of his prescriptivist stripes, Santamaría (1959) says of *medias*: *Promiscuamente úsase entre el vulgo por medias, calcetines y escarpines* 'It is used promiscuously among the common people for hose, socks, and booties.' So, the use of *medias* bonds Traditional Spanish not only to the Iberian Peninsula as it once was but also to the Spanish America that is. The label "archaism," like the label "fossil," ought not be used in simplistic ways that are likely to conceal living connections.

But map 5-5 has more interest. We see that the standard *calcetines* was the preference of 122 consultants (37%) and superbly matches the pattern of Border Spanish. It also shows the sporadic intrusions into Traditional Spanish that are characteristic of standard Spanish terms competing with stigmatized variants. Furthermore, where there is a mismatch between home language and school language, speakers often encounter difficulties with the learned words, especially longer words such as the four-syllable *calcetines*. Thus, our survey yielded several mispronunciations—2 instances of *calcentines*, 1 *calcetinas*, 1 *calcitenes*, 1 *carcentiles*, 1 *carpentines*, and 1 *saquetines*. These distortions are not included on the map.

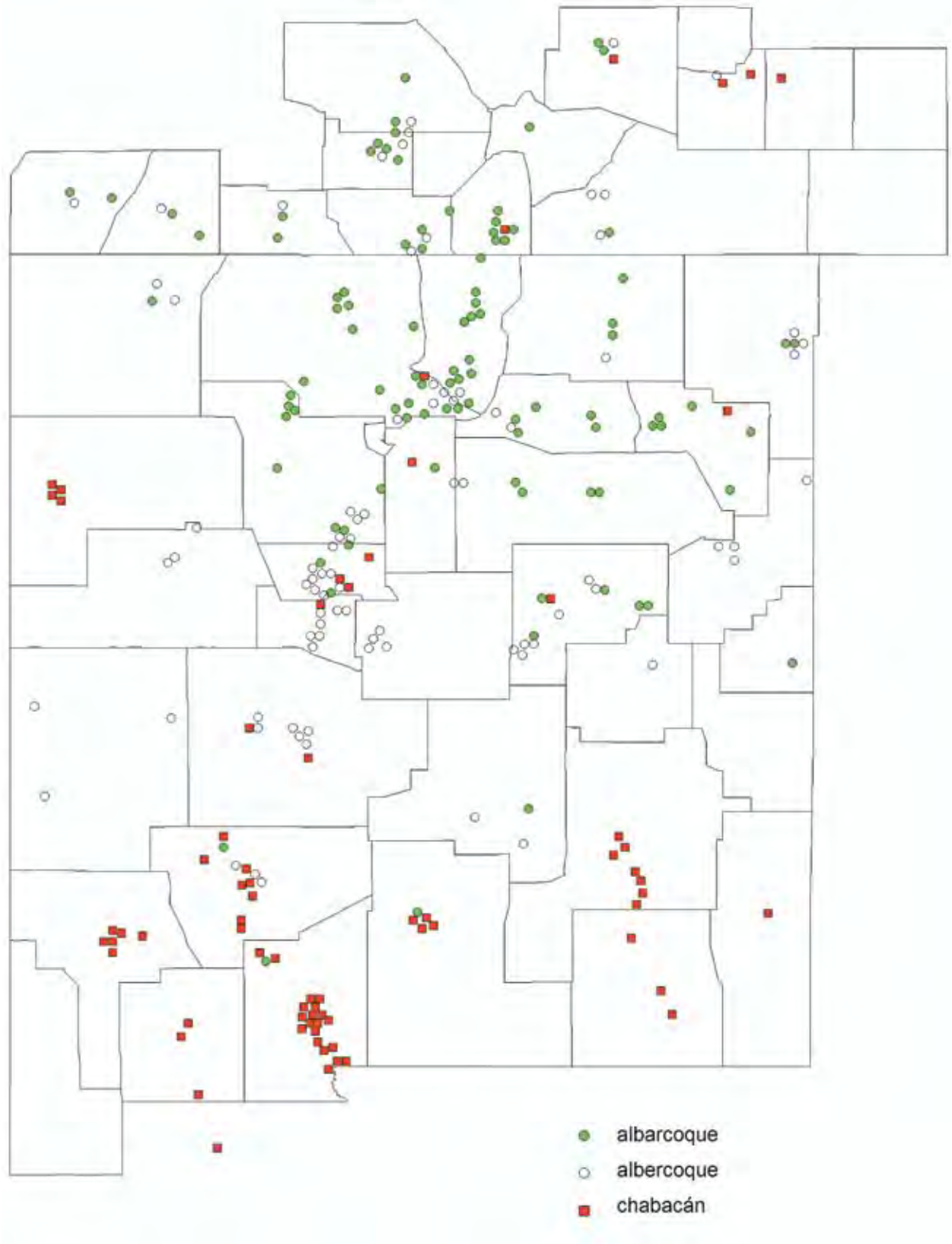
Finally, a minor variant that merits discussion is another classical archaism, *escarpines*. This label for 'Socks' was offered as first choice by just 7 persons but was mentioned as an alternative form by 4 others. This form is an Old Spanish word that is documented in the *CORDE* from 1441 and that is still widely used around the Spanish-speaking world with diverse meanings related to a foot covering ('slipper,' 'sock worn over another sock,' 'baby bootie,' 'spat,' 'legging,' and even 'sock' in the Americas). Of particular interest to us in map 5-5 is the geographical distribution of the persons who mentioned *escarpines*: an area to the south and west of Albuquerque, as far south as the town of Truth or Consequences in Sierra County. This pattern marks a subdialect of New Mexican Spanish that is supported by several other variables, as we will see later in chapter 16.

Another variable shows connections just the opposite of the 'Socks' variable, further illuminating the fuzziness of the archaism label. New Mexican Spanish has 2 basic terms for 'Apricot': a Border Spanish term representing 22% of the 325 responses and a Traditional Spanish term representing 68%. But each has more than 1 realization. The Border term is the easy case—65 preferences for *chabacán* and 7 for *chabacano*. The Traditional term too has just 2 major alternatives—98 cases of *albarcoque* and 84 cases of *albercoque*. But words of four or more syllables, especially ones with both *r* and *l*, often get a little garbled in colloquial speech. As a matter of fact, we received 40 minor realizations of the Traditional Spanish label. For example, in addition to 8 cases of *albaricoque*, 4 of *albericoque*, and 9 of *abercoque*, there were 1 or 2 cases each of deviant pronunciations such as *abercorque*, *abrecoque*, *albercoco*, *albercote*, *alborcorque*, and *arbacoque*, among others!

We have combined the 2 Border Spanish forms for display on map 5-6, and their distribution reveals once again the typical Border Spanish dialect pattern. We have mapped separately, however, the 2 major Traditional Spanish forms since they display somewhat distinctive distributions. *Albarcoque* is more typical of the northern half of the NMCOSS region and *albercoque* is more typical of central New Mexico. This display suggests another subdialect split in Traditional Spanish that we'll see repeated several times. None of the minor realizations of those Traditional Spanish forms are included on the map, though it must be said that those forms with *a* in the second syllable (e.g., the *albaricoque* cases) pattern like *albarcoque* and those with *e* in the second syllable (e.g., the *albericoque* and *abercoque* cases) pattern like *albercoque*.

Now, what are the historical connections of these 'Apricot' terms? The Traditional Spanish term represents one of those early borrowings from Arabic. The Moors dominated much of the Spanish peninsula for seven hundred years, dating from AD 711. This contact naturally led to the incorporation into Spanish of thousands of Arabic words of high cultural value, including numerous terms of everyday importance in New Mexican Spanish, such as *acequia* 'irrigation ditch,' *adobe* 'mud brick,' *algodón* 'cotton,' *almohada* 'pillow,' and *arroz* 'rice.'

The Arabic loanword for 'Apricot' was well-established in Spain at the time of the conquest of the Americas (as reported in Martínez Ruiz 1972, 43), and it is documented in the *CORDE* from 1552. So is it an archaism? Well, not of the traditional sort. Why not? Because it is considered the standard word used in Spain today. The *DRAE* gives this standard as *albaricoque*, the *a* form



5-6. ‘Apricot’

with five syllables, though it also accepts the four-syllable *a*-form as a variant and the four- and five-syllable *e*-forms as regional variants in Spain.

Turning to the Border Spanish term, the task of finding historical and regional documentation becomes more difficult, in part because *chabacano* is more widely used as the name of a language of the Philippines and as an adjective meaning 'awkward,' 'crude,' or 'tasteless.' Corominas (1954) tentatively associates this last meaning as a source for *chabacano* the fruit. He cites uses of *chabacano* to refer to a tree and fruit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and proposes that an apricot is after all a sort of an insipid peach (but Corominas never experienced the tasteless peaches now often sold in U.S. supermarkets).

The *DRAE* acknowledges that *chabacano* may have the 'Apricot' meaning specifically restricted to Mexico. Indeed, both Corominas and Moreno de Alba assert that *chabacano* is the predominant label for 'Apricot' in modern Mexico, although the latter reports that *albaricoque*, *albericoque*, and *chabacán* also occur sporadically there (1992a, 167–68). Moreover, Moreno de Alba (59) considers *chabacano* an archaism of continental scope in Spanish America.

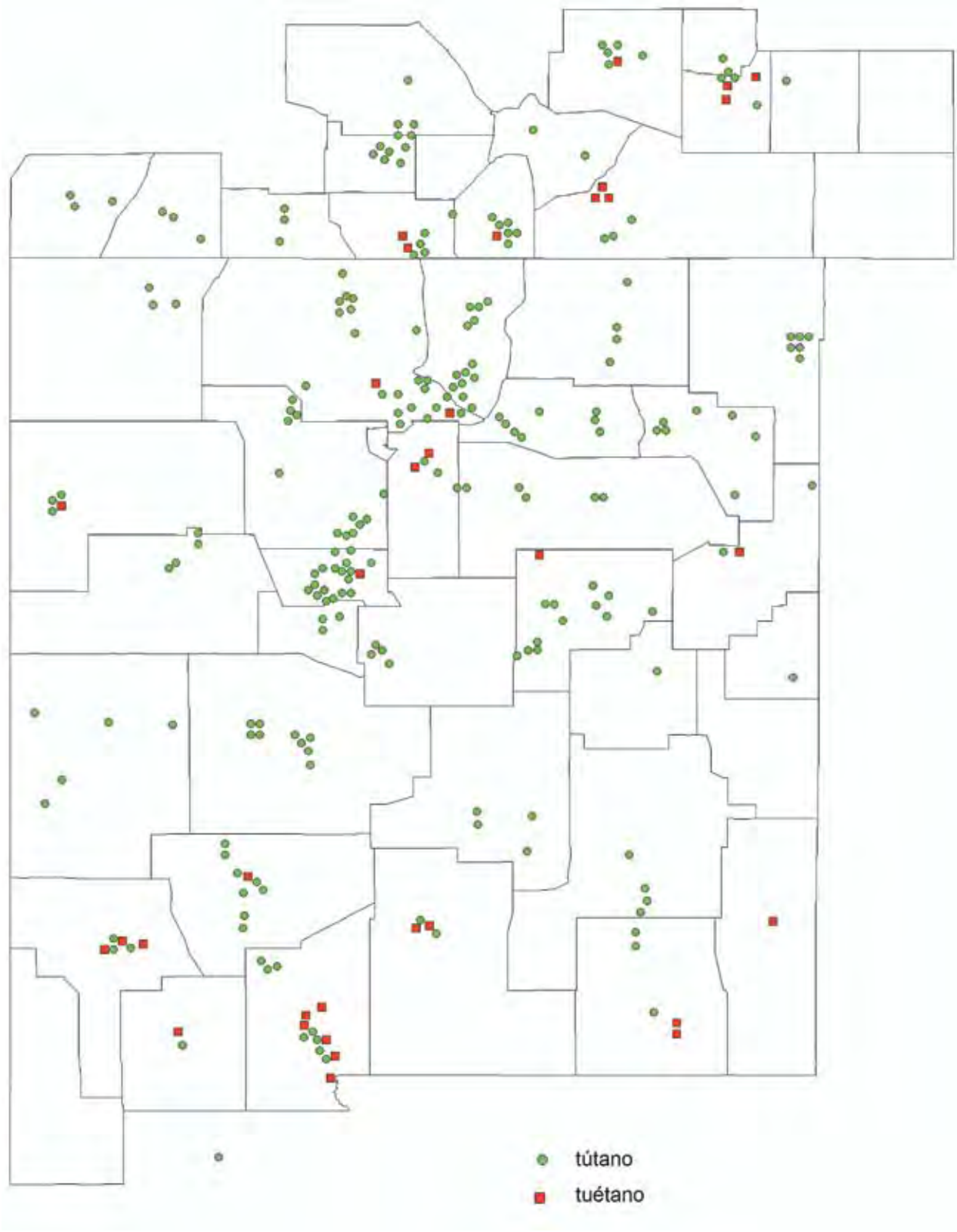
So which is the archaism? Is it the Border Spanish form that has become prominent in the NMCOSS region in just the past hundred years or so? The Traditional Spanish form was almost certainly brought to New Mexico by the first speakers of Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Does the Arabic loanword in our area not represent an archaism? With respect to Mexican Spanish, the basis of all New Mexican Spanish, we might reasonably place the *albarcoque*-type forms in the archaism category, for they are retentions of an older form now little used in Mexico. For example, in Mendoza Guerrero's survey of the state of Sinaloa, 29 persons reported *chabacano* and only 1 offered *albaricoque* (2002, 61). From the perspective of Castilian Spanish, on the other hand, the *albarcoque*-type labels are pretty standard fare. Does the use of the terms "archaism" and "standard" help our understanding of this situation? We think not.

Then there are lexical retentions where neither variant holds a historicity advantage. Such is the case with the term for 'Marrow,' the substance in the interior of a bone. Both *tútano* and *tuétano* are documented in the *CORDE* from the fifteenth century. But the *CORDE* contains only 10 cases of *tútano* versus 210 cases of *tuétano*. Similarly, the recent corpus *CREA* includes not a single instance of *tútano* and 99 cases of *tuétano*. It is important to recognize that both corpora represent the *normas cultas* of the different epochs; the *CORDE* is composed entirely of written documents and 90% of the *CREA* comes from the written language. Which of the equally old 'Marrow' forms, then, would you guess to be considered the archaism? *Tútano*, of course. The *DRAE* does include *tútano* but it is listed quaintly as *desusada* 'no longer used.'

But *tútano* is in fact widely used around the Spanish-speaking world. Consider the distributions of these 2 variants in New Mexican Spanish as depicted in map 5-7. The overwhelmingly preferred form throughout the NMCOSS territory, accounting for nearly three-quarters of the responses (222 of 309, 73%), is the so-called archaism *tútano*. In contrast, only 34 consultants preferred the standard *tuétano* variant. There were more consultants who claimed ignorance of a suitable term (38) than those who provided the standard label. The map shows that most of the *tuétano* voters are located in the Border Spanish areas, but as might be expected, those who favor this standard variant also tend to be those who have had a broader exposure to the Spanish language via the classroom or contact with citizens of other countries.

Analogous to 'Marrow' is the case of the variable that refers to the gunk (or more politely, matter) that may accumulate in the eye overnight and that is usually called 'Sleep' in English. The *DRAE* establishes *legaña* as the standard term and *lagaña* as the original and older word, and therefore the archaism. This in spite of the fact that the *CREA* includes examples of both, 4 cases of *lagaña* and 10 of *legaña*, and the *CORDE* favors the archaism by a margin of 10 to 1 (81 *lagaña* and 8 *legaña*). In this case, New Mexican Spanish is about as "archaic" as can be. Fully 94% of the NMCOSS consultants (300 of 319) favored the archaism. Only 9 persons mentioned the standard variant. Mexican Spanish too looks very archaic in this case. Only about 6% of the *ALM* consultants mentioned the standard *legaña* variant (mapa 718), and only 1 of the 60 participants in Mendoza Guerrero's survey of Sinaloa did so (2002, 92–93).

Numerous other lexical retentions that elsewhere are typically banned from the *norma culta* are common in New Mexican Spanish, and more particularly in Traditional Spanish. To cite just a few examples, some are distinct vocabulary, for example, *estafeta* 'Post office' versus standard *oficina de correo*, *mercar* 'buy' versus standard *comprar*, *cuero* 'Skin' (of humans as well as other animals) versus standard *piel* for humans, *cobija* 'Blanket' versus standard *manta*. Others are simply modest differences in form, such as *mesmo* 'same,' *dende*' since, from,' and *asina* 'thus' for now standard *mismo*, *desde*, and *así*.



5-7. ‘Marrow’

Grammatical Retentions

While educated visitors from other Spanish-speaking countries may view lexical archaisms as merely quaint and endearing, grammatical archaisms are often greeted very differently. In New Mexican Spanish there are plenty of retentions of grammatical forms that elsewhere have developed into slightly different forms that are now deemed more acceptable in the *norma culta*. Some are so modestly different as to escape notice, such as the expression of obligation with *tener de* instead of now standard *tener que* (Lope Blanch 1989, 191):

(5-7) *Los padres tenían de ir a pidir a la muchacha y tú no ibas*. 'The parents had to go ask for the girl [in marriage] and you [the son] didn't go along.' (interview 218)

However, most grammatical archaisms are highly stigmatized, often treated with the disdain accorded to *ain't* by many teachers of English. Some outsiders heap derision on verb forms that were in fact the norm in medieval Spanish, forms such as *seigo* 'I am' and *semos* 'we are' (standard *soy* and *somos*), *vido* 'he saw' (standard *vio*), *haiga* 'that there be' (standard *haya*), *truje* 'I brought' (standard *traje*), and *caiba* 'she was falling' (standard *caía*). That derision has engendered a lot of the linguistic insecurity discussed under myth 1 in chapter 2. The healthy reaction to such criticism, of course, is pride in the down-home flavor of one's heritage language. Such salubrious linguistic self-esteem may be admired in the delightfully picaresque novel *Inocencio: Ni pica ni escarda pero siempre se come el mejor elote* (1992) and the collection of short stories (1997) by Juan Estevan Arellano and in the wonderful series of oral narratives from the Río Puerco and Río Pecos valleys collected and presented by Nasario García (1987, 1992, 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2004, 2005).

We will illustrate the presence of grammatical retentions in New Mexican Spanish by treating just two examples in greater detail. The first is the verb form for 'I saw,' that is, the first person singular form of the verb *ver* in the preterit (the past tense employed to describe completed events). The modern Spanish infinitive *ver* derives from the Latin form *vidēre* (the source of English *video* and other legal and technical terms that are classical borrowings from Latin). As the Latin language in the Iberian Peninsula evolved over centuries to become what we now call Spanish, that *d* of the verb *videre* gradually disappeared from all forms of the verb, including the infinitive. The last two forms to lose the *d* are the first and third person singular forms of the preterit: *vide*, which over time in certain communities became *vie* and eventually the now standard *vi*, and *vido*, which became the now standard *vio*. Christopher Columbus, for example, used the older forms, as in the following example from his diary:

(5-8) *[V]ide muchos árboles muy diferentes de los nuestros* 'I saw many trees very different from ours.' (cited by Gútemberg 1984, 21; our translation)

Both of the older forms are retained in the rural and rustic Spanish of many areas of Spain and the Americas. Both are prominent in the Spanish of New Mexico.

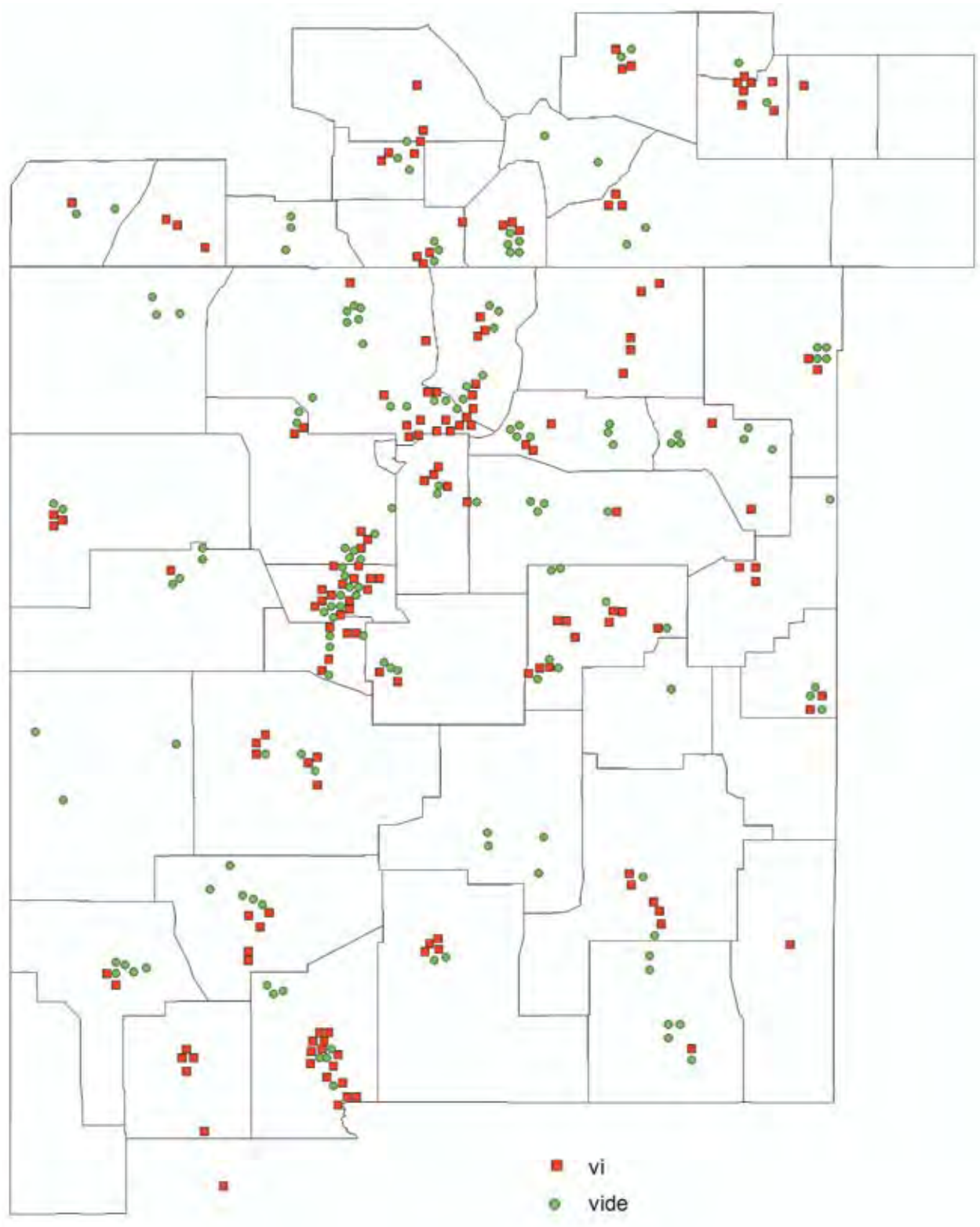
As can be imagined, these forms could not be readily elicited by the picture method. Instead we used a more formidable procedure in which we presented a series of sentences that were to be completed along the following lines:

(5-9) *El me mandó verlo, y ayer yo lo* _____.
'He sent me to see it, and yesterday I _____ it.'
(5-10) *Tú le mandaste verlo, y ayer ella lo* _____.
'You sent her to see it, and yesterday she _____ it.'

While example 5-9 is appropriately completed with *vide* or *vi*, example 5-10 is appropriately completed with *vido* or *vio*.

One might expect that this more test-like methodology would be fraught with problems for both the interviewer and the interviewee. Such was not the case. With a little experience, the interviewers became very effective in leading the consultants through this task and securing responses that were usually appropriate in both grammatical person and tense.

Map 5-8 shows the distributions of the 2 variants of 'I saw' offered by the 316 consultants who completed this exercise. What will first strike the reader about this display is the lack of any significant patterning in the distributions. Both forms occur across the region. There is a tendency for more of the standard *vi* in the Border Spanish areas and for more of the retention *vide* in the rural areas of Traditional Spanish, but the contrasts are not sharp like those of previous maps. Moreover, both forms are about equally prominent: 159 preferences for *vi* and 149 for *vide*. The fact that there were only 2 errors of person (*vimos* 'we saw' and *miró* 'he saw/watched') and 1 error of tense (*veo* 'I see')—plus the single use of *mirar* and 2 instances of the deviant *veí*—reveals the effectiveness of the elicitation methodology.



5-8. ‘I saw’

With 'I saw,' then, we have 2 forms that carry the same meaning, 2 variants of a single variable. Perhaps it is just "free variation." Perhaps people generally know both forms and either might pop out on a given occasion. In fact, 31 consultants offered both forms as equally acceptable (in such cases, the first response was coded as the first choice for mapping), which suggests that free variation is a possibility. But it turns out that 29 of those 31 instances of 2 responses occurred in the interviews of just 3 interviewers, the 3 research assistants most attuned to the goals of the survey. That is, the multiple responses were primarily a function of the interviewer pursuing other possible responses rather than of the interviewee independently providing multiple responses.

In fact, harkening to free variation as an explanation for variation in language use is extremely rare these days, usually deriving from the investigator's inability to discover the reasons underlying the distinct choices. As Chambers and Trudgill state, "this type of variation is not 'free' at all, but constrained by social and/or linguistic factors" (1980, 60; see also Chambers 1995, 12–20). It is almost always the case that the use of one or another of variant forms of a single lexical variable carries some kind of meaning, either about the speaker or the speaker's intent. The absence of significant geographical patterning in the distributions of the forms of 'I saw' means, of course, that the use of one or the other of the forms does not reveal the region that one represents. The forms are not markers of regional dialect, in which case it is very likely that the choice carries some kind of social meaning. The fact that one variant is a disdained stigmatized archaism and the other a respected standard form suggests that exposure to standard Spanish is part of the hidden meaning here, a topic we explore in some depth in chapter 14.

The second grammatical retention we treat here is the preterit form of another verb, *traer* 'bring,' which has two variants of the root in the preterit, *traj-* and *truj-*. In this case, however, we will deal with the third person plural form, which brings another dimension to the variation, that is, the form of the suffix, either *-eron* or *-ieron*. Our 'They brought' variable therefore displays two independent potentials for variation, in the root and in the suffix.

Truj- is one of those "strong" forms of the preterit (like *supieron* 'they knew' for the verb *saber* 'know') that derive from irregularities that already existed in Latin. As the Spanish language developed, the root evolved through a series of phonological changes to arrive at *truj-* in some communities. In other communities the form was regularized so that the vowel of the preterit has the same *a* that occurs in other forms of the verb *traer*, such as *traen* 'they bring' and *traían* 'they were bringing.' According to Ralph Penny (2000, 212), both the irregular and regular preterit forms of *traer* were accepted in literary Spanish into the seventeenth century. Thus, a search for *trajeron* and *trujeron* by centuries in the *CORDE*, which (we stress again) is based entirely on written documents, shows only a slight preference for *trajeron* in the sixteenth (59%) and seventeenth (57%) centuries. But the users of the regularized *traj-* quickly won out in the competition for prestige and their version became the standard. Thus, the *CORDE* data demonstrate a 96% or higher frequency of *trajeron* in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. In the *CREA*, the corpus since 1975, there are over a thousand cites of *trajeron* but only four of *trujeron*.

Turning now to the other element of the 'They brought' variable, the preterit form of the third person plural suffix exhibits a contrary process in settling on the standard. That suffix is realized as *-ieron* in almost all *-er* and *-ir* verbs (e.g., *comieron* 'they ate,' *vivieron* 'they lived'). One class of exceptions includes verb roots that end in *j*, like *traj-* and *truj-*. This *j* for a time in Old Spanish represented a palatal sound like the first consonant of English *azure* or the second consonant of English *measure* or both consonants of the French pronunciation of Gigi. The palatal sound absorbed the very similar following *i*, resulting in the *-eron* in *trajeron* and *trujeron*, and later shifted to become a velar sound articulated farther back in the oral cavity. At this point, many speakers began to regularize that ending to *-ieron*, yielding *trajieron* and *trujieron*. But it was too late. The irregular form *trajeron* was already established as the form to be emulated. In the *CORDE* data by centuries, neither regularized suffix (that is, neither *trajieron* nor *trujieron*) has held more than a 2% niche in the marketplace of the third person preterit for *traer*.

We'd like to pause here, for a moment, to make a point about linguistic change that should be apparent in our examples. Language change is not movement on a scale of quality—either up or down. It does not yield a better or worse product. *Trujeron*, *trajeron*, *trujieron*, and *trajieron* are equally effective communicative devices in the communities in which they are used, just as *they brought* and *they brung* are in the appropriate English-speaking communities. The fact that the older form *brought* is recognized as the standard in English while the innovative form *trajeron* is recognized as standard in Spanish illustrates the arbitrariness of language change. Change is a more or less random process unlinked to value. The assignment of value to particular variants is equally arbitrary—and equivalent to all other forms of prejudice.

In the NMCOSS, the forms for 'They brought' were elicited as part of the same sentence completion activity described in examples 5-9 and 5-10 for 'see.' The responses are distributed among the four expected categories as follows: 55 *trajeron* (18%), 95 *trajieron* (31%), 116 *trujieron* (37%), and just 4 *trujeron* (1%). Or to look at it another way: there are 150 standard *traj-* versus 120 archaic *truj-*, and there are 59 standard *-eron* versus 211 innovative *-ieron*. That is, in New Mexican Spanish, adoption of the standard root form *traj-* is far more advanced than adoption of the standard form of the suffix. The archaic root appears to be more stigmatized than the regularized suffix.

There was only 1 tense error—*traen* 'they bring'—but a whopping 40 instances (13%) of malformed *trayeron*. The latter form is achieved by conjugating *traer* as if it were entirely regular (like *cayeron* 'they fell' for *caer*). That could be a perfectly natural development in the mental grammars of some individuals. However, we don't recall ever hearing a spontaneous *trayeron* in the conversational data of the thousand hours of NMCOSS tapes that we have listened to. We believe that all or most of these 40 cases represent a performance error attributable to less developed proficiency in Spanish as well as to the communicative unnaturalness of the elicitation procedure.

Now let's take a look at the geographical distributions of the 'They brought' responses (see map 5-9). For this map, the few responses of *trujeron* are included with *trujieron*.

Unlike the 'I see' variable, both variants of which are scattered haphazardly across the NMCOSS area, the 'They brought' variable displays clear geographical differentiation of the variants. The standard stem *traj-* is strongly dominant in the south of New Mexico and prominent in the other Border Spanish areas while the archaic *truj-* stem is more typical of Traditional Spanish. However, both of the *traj-* forms have penetrated significantly into the Traditional Spanish homeland. It will be no surprise to find these forms, particularly the fully standard *trajeron*, to be associated with social factors such as years of education. The aberrant *trayeron* responses reveal no regional patterning.

Phonological Retentions

Finally, there are also phonological archaisms. A particularly noticeable case concerns words written with the "silent letter" *h* in standard Spanish. That *h* used to correspond to a consonant sound, like the *h* in English, but the dropping of the sound became prominent in central Spain in the sixteenth century and gradually became the standard for Spanish, leaving the archaic pronunciation of the *h* as a widespread feature of rural and uncultivated speech (see Penny 2000, 54–55, 121–22). The written language typically lags behind language change, so the letter *h* has been retained in Spanish orthography, a spelling convention that represents one of the most serious spelling problems in Spanish literacy worldwide.

The consonant sound associated with *h* in earlier Spanish is often retained in Traditional Spanish. In our citation of examples, we transcribe the sound with *j* as in *José*. Thus, we hear commonplace forms such as *jallar* 'find' (standard *hallar*), *jediondo* 'stinky' (standard *hediondo*), *jervir* 'boil' (standard *hervir*), and *juir* 'flee' (standard *huir*), as illustrated in examples 5-11 to 5-14:

(5-11) *Había veces que **j**allaba a mi mamá llorando en la ventana esta*. 'There were times when I'd find my mother crying at this window.' (interview 127)

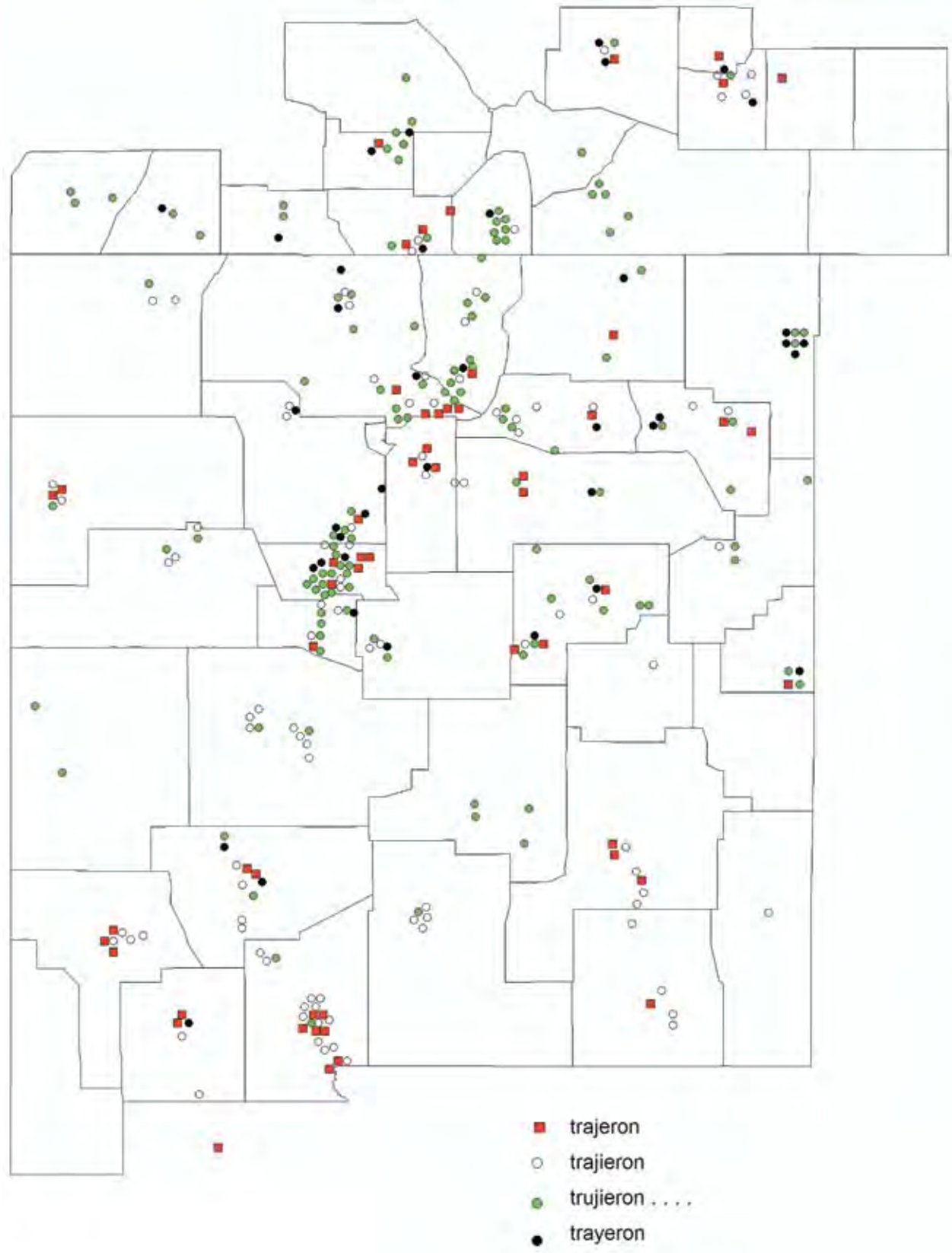
(5-12) *Apesta mucho, ole muy **j**ediondo*. 'It gives off a really bad smell, it smells very stinky.' (interview 2)

(5-13) *Lo **j**ierves con cal y lo dejas **j**ervir muncho*. 'You boil it [the corn] with lime and you let it boil a long time.' (interview 86)

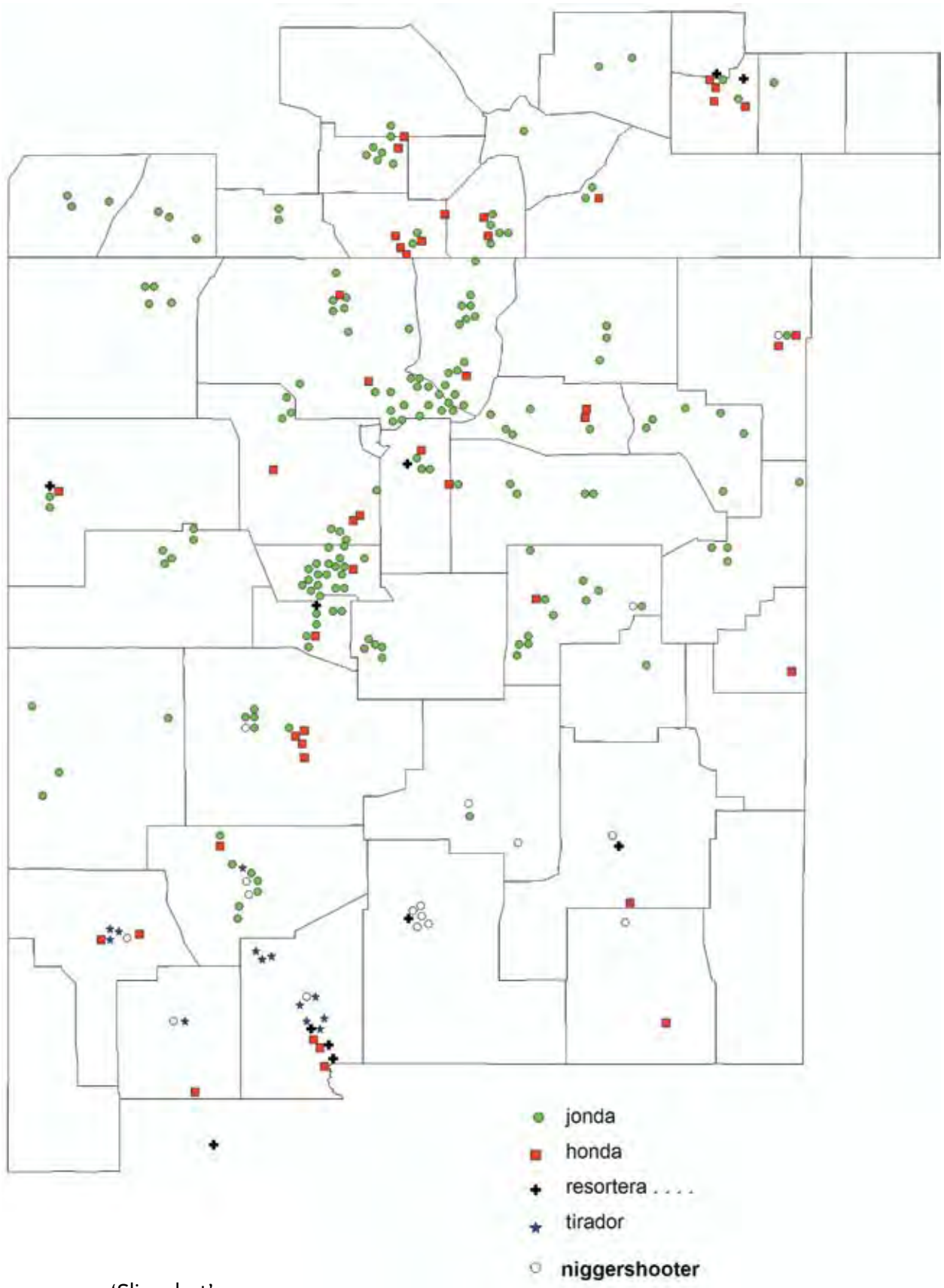
(5-14) *Se **j**uyeron para casarse*. 'They ran away to get married.' (interview 89)

Pronouncing the *h* is not an across-the-board phenomenon, however. *Hombre* 'man,' *hambre* 'hunger,' *hija* 'daughter,' and *hermana* 'sister,' for example, are never pronounced with an initial consonant sound. On the other hand, the standard *oso* 'Bear' (discussed in more detail later regarding map 8-1) is frequently pronounced *joso* in Traditional Spanish though it never had an initial consonant otherwise.

The archaic pronunciation of *h* is manifest in the principal variant for 'Slingshot,' which was elicited by a picture of the homemade variety showing a forked stick with a rubber or elastic band for propelling small rocks. It is clear from map 5-10 that the form *jonda*, retaining the pronunciation of the initial consonant, is a feature of Traditional Spanish. The innovation that yields the now-standard pronunciation as *honda* (that is, with no audible initial consonant) is characteristic of Border Spanish, though it is also scattered here and there across the Traditional Spanish area, as we've come to expect of forms that heal the stigma of archaism. In this case, Mexican Spanish is very different from Traditional Spanish. Mapa 801 of the *ALM* apparently includes only 1 instance of *jonda* (in central Mexico). And even *honda*



5-9. 'They brought'



5-10. 'Slingshot'

TABLE 5-1. Archaic pronunciation responses for four h-initial variables (percentages)

	'SLINGSHOT'	'MUSHROOM'	'TRACKS'	'SMOKE'
Initial *j* (i.e., [x], archaic)	52.7	45.9	41.2	28.7
Initial *h* (i.e., Ø, standard)	13.7	23.1	27.0	69.0
Anglicism response or No response	21.3	26.7	10.7	0.0
Other response	12.2	4.2	21.1	2.4
N	328	333	337	335

turns out to be only a minority variant manifest in northern Mexico. In Mendoza Guerrero's survey of Sinaloa, for example, only 4 persons from a single town mentioned *honda* (2002, 104–5).

Stronger than *honda* as markers of Border Spanish are 3 other words for 'Slingshot.' The dominant form in Mexico is *resortera*, and map 5-10 exposes its status as a characteristic of the Border Spanish dialect, where it was pronounced in a third of the cases as *resoltera* (but this is not a dialect like Puerto Rican Spanish that regularly pronounces a syllable-final *r* as *l*). A second Border Spanish term, *tirador*, surfaces only in the southwestern part of New Mexico. Curiously, the *ALM* indicates that this label is typical only of marginal areas of Mexico, the northeast and northwest coast areas and the far south. It is the strongly favored term, for example, in Sinaloa on the Gulf of California coast (Mendoza Guerrero 2002, 104–5).

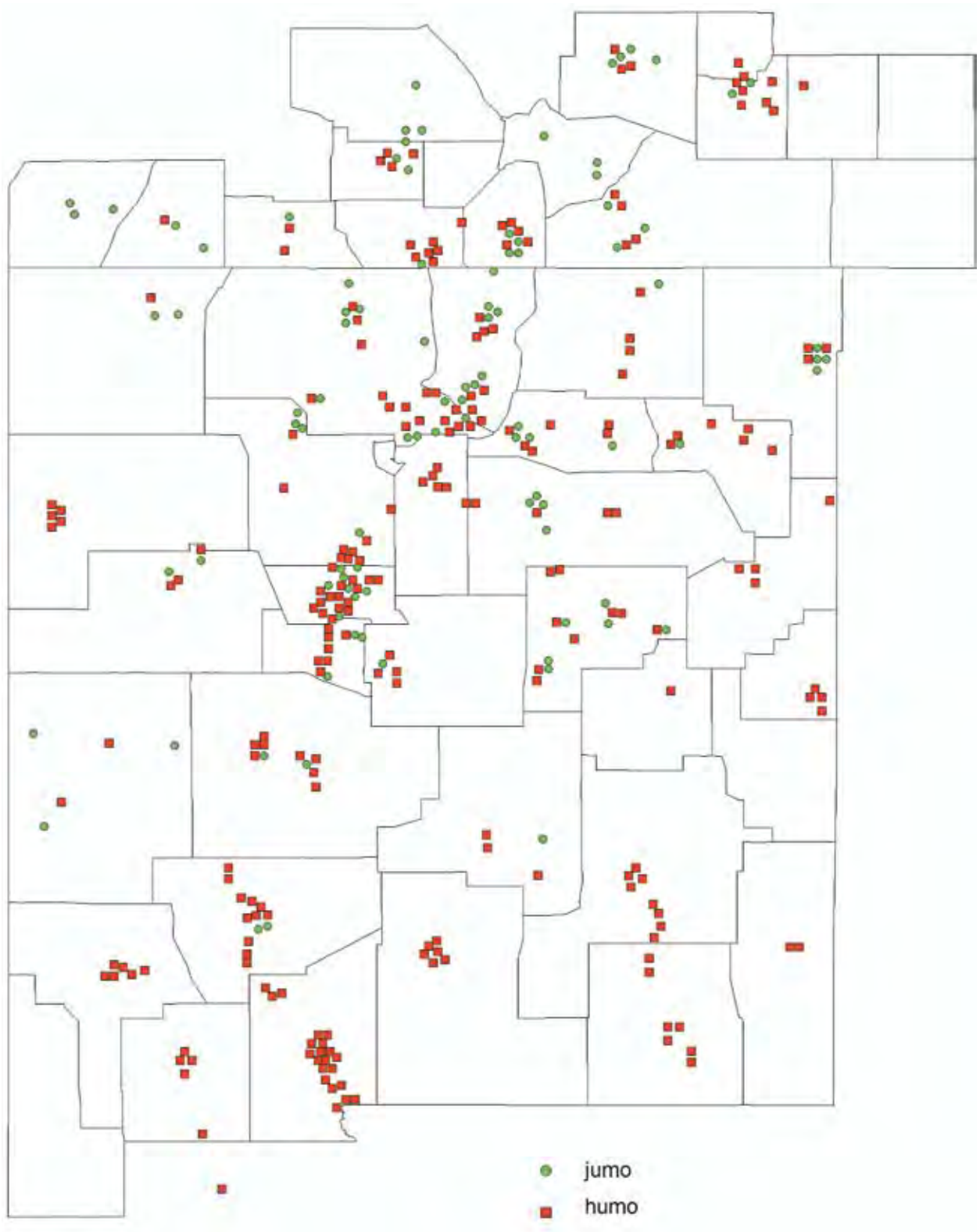
Lastly, an unpleasantly racist Anglicism occurs across southern New Mexico and the area of eastern New Mexico that is often called "Little Texas" because of its cultural ties to the adjacent state. We received a total of 17 first choices of the English borrowing ***niggershooter*** (including 1 or 2 cases each of the integrated forms *nigachuta*, *nigachura*, *nigachuti*, *niguichuti*, and *niquichuri*), making it the fourth most common form after *jonda* (with 171 preferences), *honda* (44), and unintegrated English ***slingshot*** (24). There were 3 other persons, all from the "Little Texas" region, who offered ***niggershooter*** as a second or coequal choice. For Texas Spanish, Galván and Teschner (1975) give 3 alternative labels, *nigashura*, *nigasura*, and *niguesura*, and Hernández (1970) cites *nigasura* in his amateur dictionary that focuses on slang. And Lope Blanch (1990a, 88), who found only *jonda* among his 4 Mora, New Mexico, subjects, reports that the 5 persons interviewed in San Marcos, Texas, offered *ligachura*, *negachura*, *negachuri*, and *nigachure* as well as 1 *jonda*. It is of interest to note that the *ALM* documents 1 case of *nigasura* and 2 instances of the folk etymology *ligasura* (*liga* means 'band') in Mexico along the southern Texas border, and Armistead (1992, 269) documents *nigachú* in the Isleño Spanish of Louisiana.

Both of us recall that the English word was also the typical form from our childhoods in Clayton, New Mexico, and Fort Worth, Texas. Atwood (1962, 68, 231) demonstrates the ubiquity of the term in the 1950s among English speakers in Texas and adjacent states, including 8 of 10 persons surveyed in southern and eastern New Mexico (the only areas of the state he sampled). Numerous attestations of this term across the U.S. South, and especially in Texas, appear in the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*). We suspect that other consultants were reluctant to name this politically incorrect form, since 24 persons claimed to have no word at all for this universally known childhood toy, and 29 others were content to offer only the "acceptable" English options ***slingshot*** and ***beanie***.

Finally, a sixty-six-year-old woman from southern New Mexico (interview 326) offered without elaboration the unique form *mesquichuri*. We assume this form derives from "Mexicanshooter" and reflects the derogatory English pronunciation *Mescan* for "Mexican." The *DARE* does not provide this term for 'Slingshot' but does give "Mescan" and "Meskin" as pejorative terms common in Texas.

There are only 3 other items elicited in the NMCOSS that show the archaic pronunciation of orthographic *h*: 'Mushroom,' 'Tracks' (footprints of a mouse in sand), and 'Smoke.' All 3 exhibit the trend toward the archaic pronunciation (*jongo*, *juellas*, *jumo*) in Traditional Spanish and toward the standard pronunciation (*hongo*, *huellas*, *humo*) in Border Spanish. But consider the variation in frequencies for the 4 variables shown in table 5-1.

The archaic pronunciation is the most common response for 'Slingshot' (53% versus 14% for the standard pronunciation), 'Mushroom' (46% versus 23%), and 'Tracks' (41% versus 27%). However, the responses for 'Smoke' strongly favor the standard pronunciation (69% versus just 29% for the archaic form). Map 5-11 for 'Smoke' shows how greatly the standard *humo* has overwhelmed the archaic *jumo* in the Traditional Spanish territory.



5-11. ‘Smoke’

Assuming that the standard pronunciation surfaces in large part to avoid the stigmatized archaic form, why should 'Smoke' be so much more susceptible to this sanction than the other three words? Apparently, we would guess, because 'Smoke' is a high frequency word that shows up often enough to raise the awareness of the alert nonstandard speaker or to draw correction from the too-secure standard speaker. 'Slingshot,' 'Mushroom,' and 'Tracks,' on the other hand, are much less likely to occur in conversations with outsiders, in the media, in the classroom, or other such more formal situations.

Another phonological archaism is the retention of the *b* in certain forms of the imperfective (the past tense used to represent ongoing actions or states) of *-er* and *-ir* verbs. Generally in Spanish we find that the *b* deriving from the Latin construction survives only in the imperfective forms of *-ar* verbs like *trabajar* (e.g., *trabajaba* 'he was working') and the highly irregular verb *ir* (e.g., *iba* 'he was going'). That *b* was dropped over the centuries in all other verbs following the stressed theme vowel *í*; for example, for the verb *comer* we find *comía* 'he was eating,' not *comiba*, and for *vivir* we have *vivía* 'he was living,' not *viviba*. In New Mexican Spanish and many other nonstandard varieties, however, the archaic *b* is retained where the preceding theme vowel *i* is absorbed into a preceding vowel to form a diphthong. For instance, in the following examples the standard variant has three syllables while diphthongization reduces the nonstandard variant to two syllables, preserving the archaic *b*.

Standard	**Nonstandard**
(trisyllabic)	(disyllabic)
caía (*ca-í-a*) 'she was falling'	*caiba* (*cai-ba*)
traían (*tra-í-an*) 'they were bringing'	*traiban* (*trai-ban*)
creía (*cre-í-a*) 'I was believing'	*creiba* (*crei-ba*)

Other retentions of sounds from Old Spanish are not subject to general rules and instead simply represent the way a single word or single morpheme is pronounced. Thus, the fact that *mismo* is still pronounced *mesmo* in New Mexican Spanish is a fact related to that particular word and does not relate to any general phonological rule. Similarly, the use of archaic *vide* for 'I see' instead of now standard *vi* is a morphological irregularity that applies uniquely to that verb. These are facts about individual forms, not facts about the system of sounds.

CHAPTER 6

New Spanish in a New World

Maritime and Caribbean Contributions to New Mexican Spanish

While a transplanted language always retains essential characteristics of its roots in the homeland, it also tends to adapt to aspects of the new situations into which it is embedded. Both the transplanting process and the new social and cultural environment may have an impact on the language. The Spanish of the Americas reflects these two prominent features, which its speakers experienced in that early formative period away from home.

On the one hand, the seafaring enterprise and its occupational jargon permeated the experiences of those forebears of American Spanish. Their point of departure was the port city of Seville in southern Spain, and the long voyage to the Americas included a stopover in the Canary Islands. All those who came to the New World arrived by spending a month or more on ships, and usually after having spent months in the port area awaiting departure. Many had made their livelihoods in Spain in occupations related to ships and ports, and many continued those activities in the New World. Furthermore, for the early settlers, contact with the seafaring world was the binding force with the homeland. Practically all communication about the Old World and broader developments in the New World came out of the mouths of sailors. As a consequence, one of the distinctive features of American Spanish in contrast with the Spanish of central Spain is the incorporation of maritime vocabulary.

On the other hand, the initial experiences of Spaniards in the New World took place on the already inhabited islands of the Caribbean and adjacent coastal regions. Interaction between bearers of different languages and cultures almost always results in rather rapid culture change. But linguistic change resulting from that contact is often minimal except in the one area of language that is closely tied to culture—vocabulary. Hundreds of years of close contact with the Native American languages of the Americas has had only negligible influence on the grammatical structure of any American Spanish dialect (see, e.g., Lipski 1994, 63–92). But of course, in words the Spanish language has been tremendously impacted by the New World experience. Exposure to new experiences was mediated by the languages spoken by the new people encountered. An immediate consequence was the incorporation of vocabulary borrowed from those languages. Early borrowings from Native American languages have become another distinguishing characteristic of American Spanish.

In the following two sections we discuss how these two early influences—seafaring vocabulary and early native loanwords—show up in New Mexican Spanish today.

Maritime Contributions

Some of the most commonly used vocabulary of New World Spanish derives from maritime usage (a succinct discussion of such usage can be found in Buesa and Enguita 1992, 181–90). For example, while *tirar* is the common verb for 'pull' in Spain, American dialects use the term *jalar* (sometimes spelled and pronounced *halar*), which aboard ship was used strictly for tugging on something (a sail, an oar) that would result in making the boat move. It became the general word for 'pull' in New Mexican Spanish, as shown in example 6-1:

(6-1) *Si un caballo está más grande que el otro, tienes que recortarle las cadenas pa' que jalen iguales.* 'If one horse [on the wagon] is bigger than the other one, you have to shorten its chains so that they pull equally.' (interview 41)

This verb has taken on extended meanings such as 'haul,' as illustrated in example 6-2:

(6-2) *Iban a jalar flete a Dénvar.* 'They would go to Denver to haul supplies [by oxcart on a three-month trip].' (interview 280)

The term *flete* in example 6-2 is also a maritime word. It once was reserved strictly for the cargo of a ship, but in the Americas it is used for any kind of freight or cargo. And in New Mexican Spanish it has taken on the general meaning of 'supplies.' Here, moreover, we find derived forms such as *fletero*, used as a noun for 'person who hauls freight' and as an adjective in, for example, *tren fletero* 'freight train' and *troca fletera* 'freight truck,' that is, a big semitruck.

The word *ancón* in Spanish generally refers to a bay, cove, or inlet of the ocean. In New Mexican Spanish, this maritime word can be used for those places on a lake, but it has been extended to refer to a "recess or canyon in a hill" (Cobos 2003), or even any flat land in hilly country, as attested in example 6-3, uttered by a sixty-year-old man living in Winston, New Mexico, a rugged area of western Sierra County near the continental divide:

(6-3) *Sembraban muncho maíz aquí . . . [en] todos los terrenos que están ahi, todos los ancones que hay.* 'They used to plant lots of corn here . . . [in] all those lands you see there, all those flat areas that there are.' (interview 356)

As unlikely as it may at first seem, even the word *rancho*—and its form as borrowed into English *ranch*—likely has a maritime origin. The basic meanings of *rancho* in the *DRAE* have to do with the food prepared for a group (e.g., of workers or soldiers). Aboard ship, however, it refers to the crew's quarters. The varied meanings of *rancho* in American Spanish seem to derive from this maritime usage. In New Mexican Spanish, *rancho* refers to a rural property used for raising crops or animals or both, that is, covering the 2 English labels *farm* and *ranch*.

A maritime word that predominates almost everywhere in the Western Hemisphere is the verb *amarrar* as the most general verb for 'tie.' Although *amarrar* is commonly used in Spain, the form that dominates there is *atar*. The *CORDE*, for example, contains 1,442 tokens of the infinitival form *atar*, 83% of which occur in documents from Spain. In contrast, it has only 211 cases of *amarrar*, and only 37% are found in documents from Spain. In the Americas, *atar* is widely used only in the eastern part of southern South America, Argentina in particular, according to the documentation in the *CORDE*.

Atar is a native Spanish word deriving from Latin *aptare*. *Amarrar*, however, came into Spanish later; its earliest attestation in the *CORDE* is for 1487. It is an old borrowing from Dutch (via French according to the *DRAE*), implicating its relationship too to the maritime world. The *DRAE* specifically defines *atar* as the general word for 'tie':

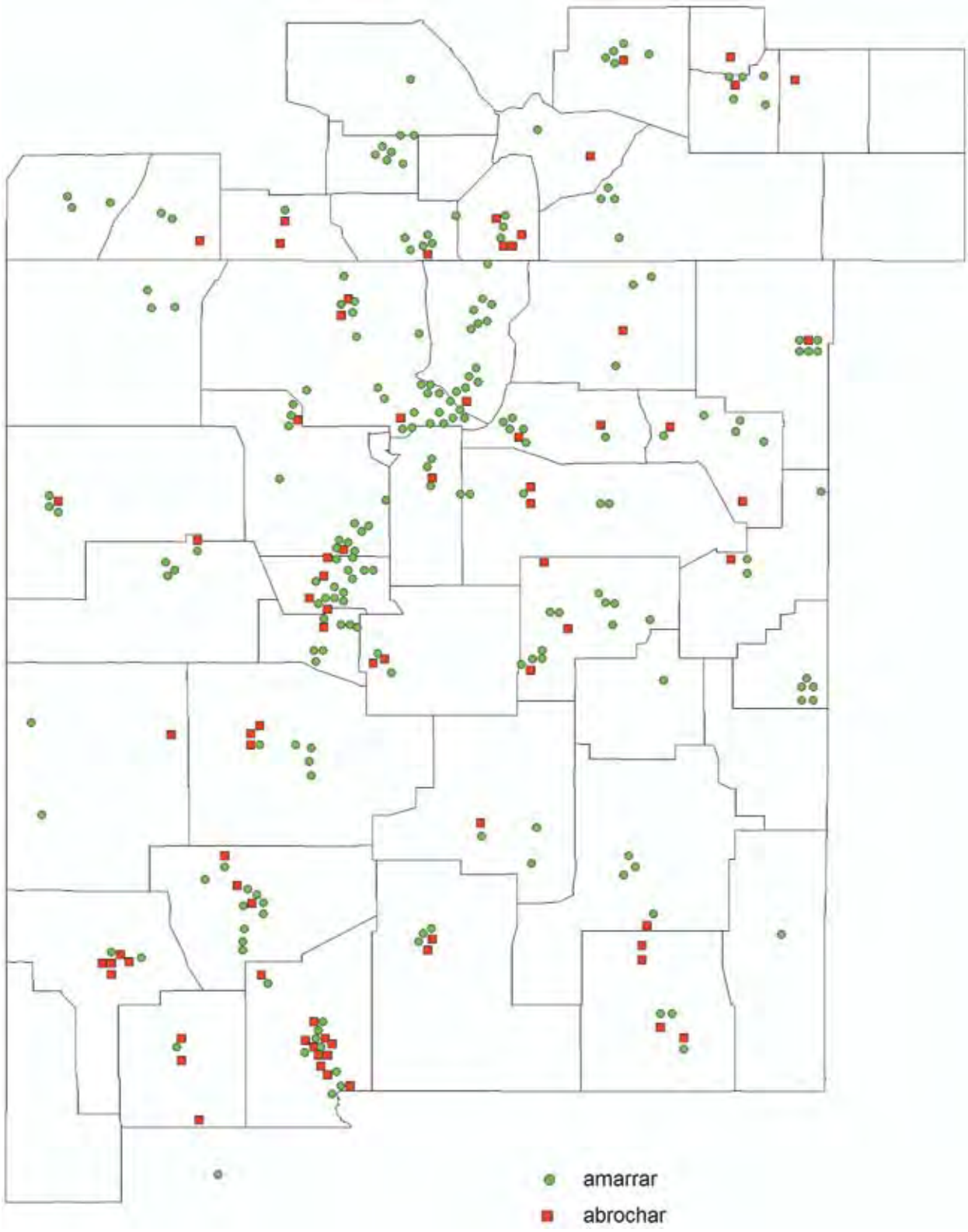
(6-4) *unir, juntar o sujetar con ligaduras o nudos* 'unite, join, or fasten with ties or knots.'

Amarrar, on the other hand, is given the more restrictive meaning of 'tie down' or 'tie up':

(6-5) *atar y asegurar por medio de cuerdas, maromas, cadenas, etc.* 'tie and secure by means of cords, thick ropes, chains, etc.'

and specifically refers to the anchoring or tying down of ships at docks.

In the NMCOSS, we elicited this verb in a neutral context, in the very specific instance of a child tying the shoelaces of his shoes. Map 6-1 shows that the seafaring term *amarrar* is clearly the term of preference for 'Tie shoelaces' throughout New Mexican Spanish. Nearly



6-1. 'Tie shoelaces'

two-thirds (65%) of our 320 respondents gave this label as their first choice (and another 11 offered a distorted *marrar*, not mapped). Another 75 consultants (25%) preferred *abrochar* (with again a distorted version by 5 persons, *brochar*, not mapped). *Abrochar* is the general Spanish word for 'fasten' or 'button up,' but it is also widely used to mean 'Tie shoelaces' (at least in the New World, though not in the *DRAE*).

The *Atlas lingüístico de México* reveals that both terms are also typical for 'Tie shoelaces' in our neighbor nation (mapa 932). While *amarrar* is slightly favored overall in Mexico, especially in the south, *abrochar* occurs prominently in the northern half of the country. Map 6-1 shows that it is in the extreme south of New Mexico closest to northern Mexico that we find the strongest showing of *abrochar*, with about a fifty-fifty split between the 2 forms.

In contrast, only 5 persons in the *ALM* survey and just 3 of the NMCOSS consultants mentioned *atar*, the form favored in Spain. Exposure to standard Spanish appears to have played a significant role in the word choice of the 3 NMCOSS consultants. One had taken seven courses in Spanish, another had taken four courses, and the third, while having had no formal instruction in Spanish herself, had a daughter who was a graduate student in Spanish. All 3 were able to read our bookish reading exercise without difficulty. The maritime term *amarrar* for 'tie,' then, is clearly the norm in New Mexican Spanish as well as in Mexican Spanish.

A form that is commonly used in the Spanish of the New World but is absent or uncommon in Spain is called an **Americanism**. Another maritime usage that is generally considered an Americanism is the use of *maroma* for 'Somersault.' A borrowing from Arabic having the original meaning 'twisted,' *maroma* in Spain generally refers to a thick rope made of fibers (twisted, of course) of the sort commonly used on large sailing vessels—see the use of *maroma* in the *DRAE* definition of *amarrar* in example 6-5. Both the rope notion and the twisting action seem to have contributed to the extended maritime meanings related to 'acrobatics,' 'tightrope walking,' and 'somersaulting' that occur broadly in the Spanish of the Americas.

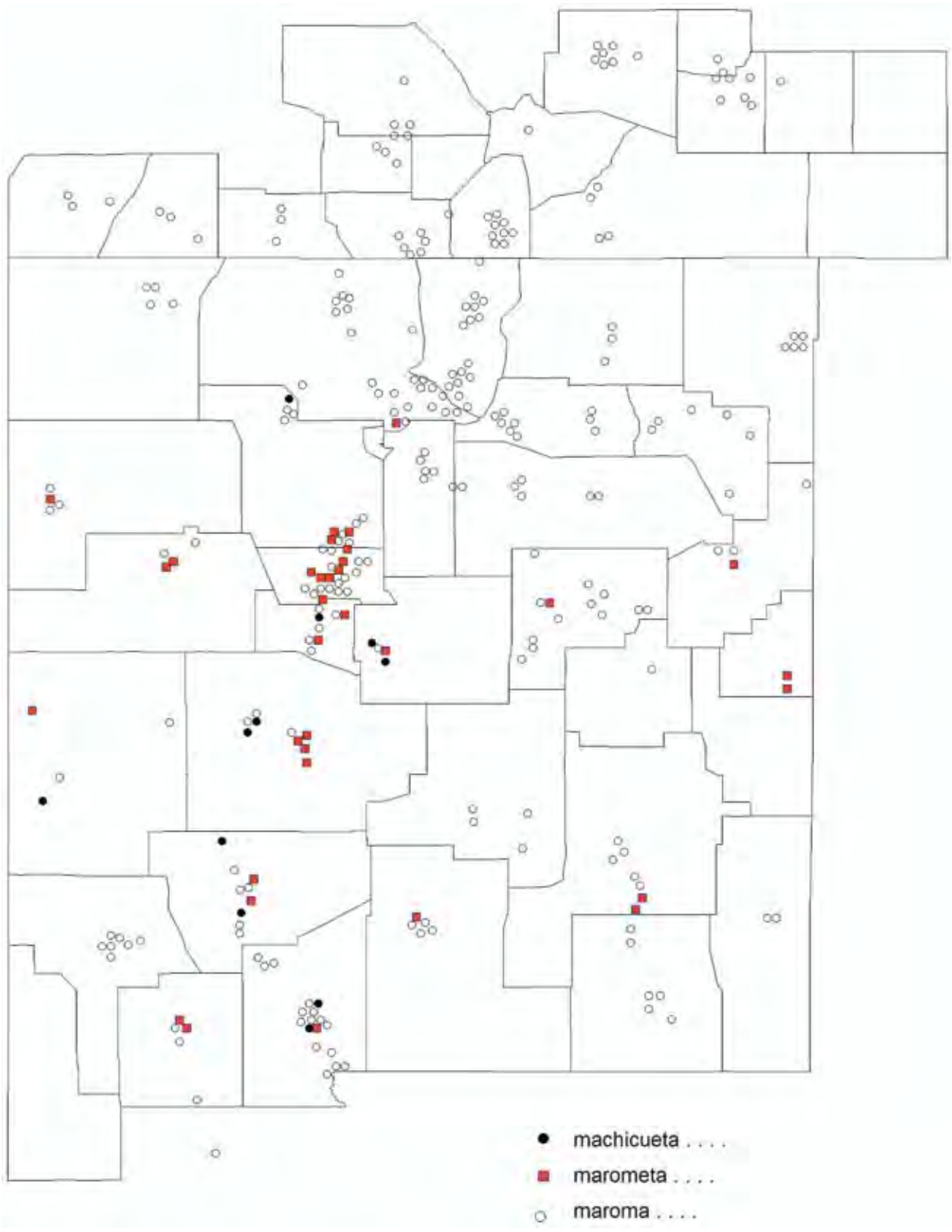
A picture of children turning somersaults yielded varied responses containing the root word *maroma*, referring sometimes to the act (*maroma*, *maromas*), sometimes to the action (*maromear*, *dar maromas*, *echar maromas*, *hacer maromas*), and sometimes to the actors (*maromeras* and *maromeros*—see example 15-2). Together, these variations of *maroma* account for fully 78% of the NMCOSS responses and blanket the survey region so sweepingly that map 6-2 reveals no geographical interest. This form also happens to be the dominant term in Mexico, and particularly so in the northern half of the country, according to the *ALM* (mapa 813).

The 'Somersault' form that surfaces in second place in New Mexican Spanish, with just 10% of responses, is a nonproductive diminutive form, *marometas* (also offered as the action *dar*, *echar*, or *hacer marometas*). Map 6-2 shows this label restricted to the southern half of the region, south of Santa Fe. In Mexico as well, this word occurs as a minority variant in peripheral areas, with 2 cases in Sonora on the northwest coast (though Mendoza Guerrero 2002, 109 reports 12 mentions in neighboring Sinaloa) and a few more in southern Mexico.

The third most common form in New Mexican Spanish, amounting to only 11 first choices or just 3%, is a borrowing from the Nahuatl language. The most direct rendering from Nahuatl into Spanish is *machincuepa*, from *ma* (combining form of *ma(i)-tl*) 'hand, arm' + *tzincuepa* 'change sides, turn over'). The *ALM* shows *machincuepa* as well as several variations of this form (as is typical of longer words, such as this one with four syllables), all occurring in southern Mexico, though Mendoza Guerrero finds 2 cases in Sinaloa (2002, 109–10). The direct rendering does not occur in the NMCOSS data, but there are 11 variants of it. The most common variant is *machicuetas* with 7 first choices (plus 8 other mentions); the other forms that were offered are 2 cases of *machucuetas* and 1 case each of *machuquetas* and *manchicuetas*. The western distribution of these forms is suggestive of other cases like *güíjalo* for 'Turkey,' but again the numbers are sufficiently small to inhibit speculation.

In sum, New Mexican Spanish is thoroughly aligned with Mexican Spanish—and not the usage of Spain—when it comes to a childhood activity such as turning somersaults. Not 1 of the NMCOSS consultants offered the typical peninsular term *volteretas* and only 2 produced the other standard term *piruetas* (and similarly, in the *ALM* there were only a handful of *volteretas* and no cases of *piruetas*). Moreover, the label for this commonplace childhood activity comes readily to mind among our consultants. Only 5 persons were not able to come up with a term and just 3 had to resort to English ***somersault***, though 1 twenty-four-year-old woman displayed her bilingual creativity to come up with *somersacear*!

Yet another maritime word that is commonly used in New Mexican Spanish is *chicote* for the 'Riding crop' or 'whip' that a cowboy uses to control a horse or make it move more quickly, and that a parent sometimes used for disciplinary purposes:



6-2. ‘Somersault’

(6-6) *Esa crianza que teníamos antes, la teníanos por el chicote, por el azote.* 'The rearing that we got in those days, we got it by the whip, by the lashing.' (interview 219)

Although *chicote* was the preferred term of a slight majority of the NMCOSS respondents (174 of 320, or 54%), another quarter (82 persons, 26%) offered the term *cuarta*. Map 6-3 shows that both terms are distributed widely across the region with no particular geographical patterning. In fact, a number of consultants mentioned both terms as equally appropriate labels for this item.

However, for some of the older speakers raised in rural areas, there is a semantic difference between the 2 terms: the *cuarta* is specifically a short 'Riding crop' used by an equestrian while the *chicote* is a longer 'whip' used for example in driving a horse-driven buggy. But the distinction appears to be dying out along with the practice of horsemanship and other activities of rural life that revolve around close attachment to the land. In fact, nearly 1 in 10 of the respondents could offer no term at all or knew only the English ***whip*** or ***crop***.

In Mexico, too, according to the *ALM*, the strongly preferred labels for 'Riding crop' are *chicote* and *cuarta*. However, there the preferences are reversed, with about twice as many people naming *cuarta*. Indeed, the *DRAE* identifies *cuarta* with this meaning as being a distinctively Mexican word. In contrast, the terms of preference in Spain hardly occur in either area. Only 3 NMCOSS consultants reported the variant *látigo* and another 3 the variant *azote*. These 2 labels rarely occurred in the Mexico survey as well. So New Mexican Spanish again reveals its close ties to its immediate neighbor in its use of the maritime word *chicote* as well as the Mexican word *cuarta*.

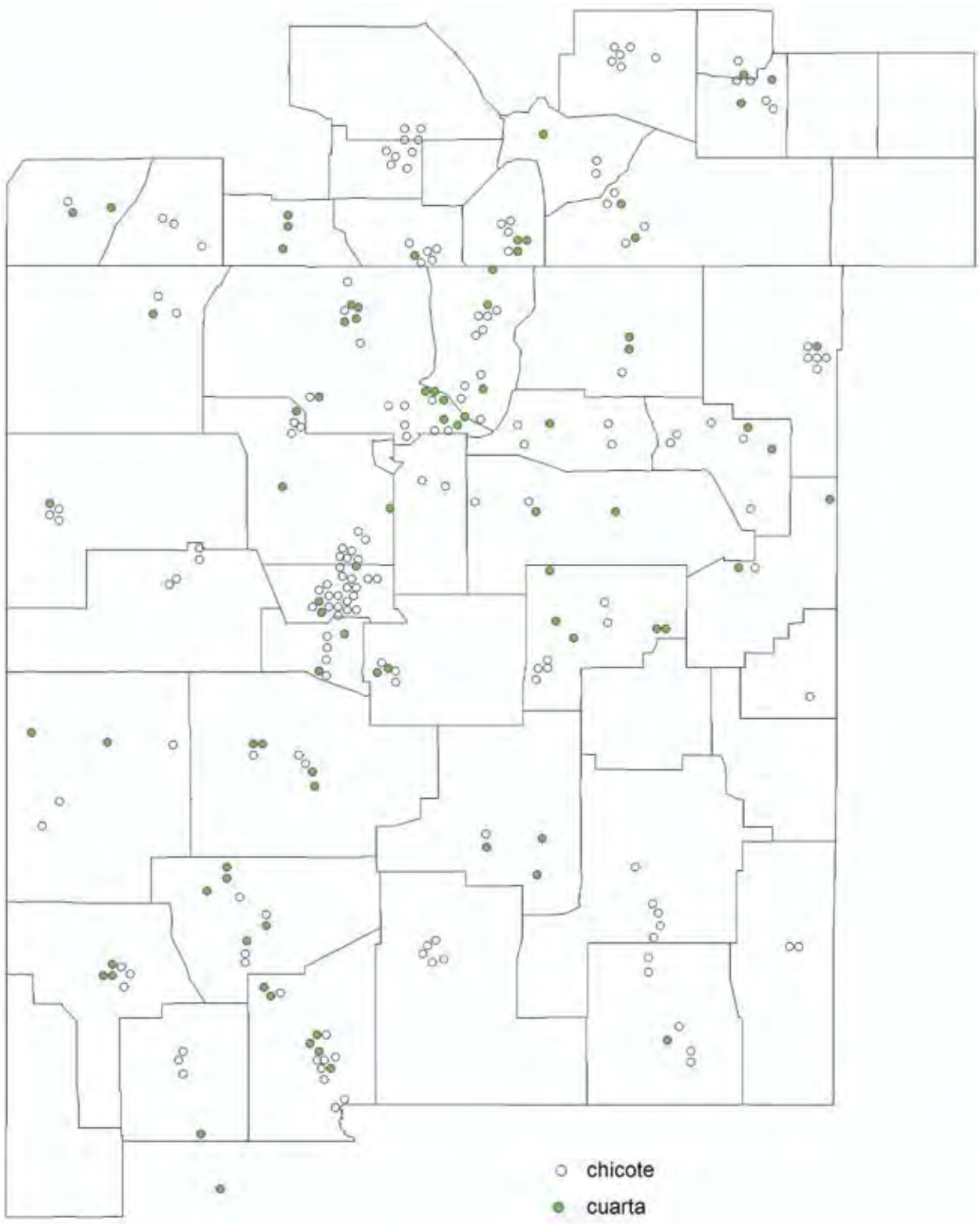
In *A dictionary of New Mexico and southern Colorado Spanish* (2003), Rubén Cobos considers *chicote* to be a borrowing from the Nahuatl language of Mexico. This ascription is presumably based on the observation that so many words ending in *-te* in New Mexican Spanish are indeed taken from Nahuatl, such as *tecolote* 'Owl,' *elote* 'Ear of corn,' *zoquete* 'Mud,' *zacate* 'grass,' and on and on as we'll see in the next chapter. But *chicote* is not a Nahuatlism. According to the *DRAE*, it is a borrowing of the French word *chicot*, meaning 'stump' (of a tree or tooth). We see an extension of that meaning in the reference of *chicote* to 'cigarette butt' or colloquially 'cigar' in Spain today, according to the *DRAE*. But its maritime meaning is the end piece of a rope or a small length of rope. As Lerner (1974) suggests, that maritime meaning was further extended to the rope-like 'Riding crop' or 'whip,' a usage that is found in the Americas from New Mexican Spanish to Argentine Spanish.

Caribbean Contributions

The first contact of Spaniards with Native Americans took place in the Greater Antilles, in particular on the island of Hispaniola (called La Española by Columbus), which today comprises the two countries of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Columbus landed on Hispaniola on his first voyage and he established the first Spanish colony there on his second voyage in 1493. Important early contact with the native inhabitants also took place in Cuba and Puerto Rico, as well as in the Bahamas and Jamaica.

These Europeans did not at first even realize they were on a new continent, so they assumed that what they already knew could suffice linguistically: "Well, here we are in India. Look at those Indians!" But they had not discovered the western passage to India after all, and almost everything they encountered was new to them. The known would not suffice. It was only natural, then, that they should borrow words to describe flora and fauna, peoples and customs, foods and artifacts that they had never before encountered or even imagined.

The most prominent of the initial lenders to the American Spanish lexicon were the speakers of several Arawakan and Carib languages in the West Indies. The paucity of early documentation on these languages makes it difficult to ascribe provenience of a form with certainty, but it is generally believed that the principal contributors were the Arawakan-speaking Taino Indians of Hispaniola. Although the Taino population was decimated in a short time because of disease and mistreatment, in the everyday life of that early colony there was close contact between the Spaniards and the natives, including intermarriage and concubinage. A host of Taino loanwords are documented as occurring in the Spanish of Spain already in the sixteenth century (see Buesa and Enguita 1992, 51–72 for a detailed treatment). Many of these words referred to tropical phenomena (such as *huracán* 'hurricane,' *hamaca* 'hammock,' and the *guanábana* and *mamey* fruits) that promptly became part of the Spanish language but of course had little relevance in the New Mexico province. Other borrowings such as *maní* 'peanut' and *ají* 'chile pepper' became of general use in American Spanish, except in northern Spanish America where the Nahuatl borrowings *cacahuate* and *chile*, respectively, took over. Still other Caribbean loanwords, however, were brought into our survey area apparently by the earliest settlers, and they are a prominent feature of Traditional Spanish today.



6-3. 'Riding crop'

One of the most influential and widely spread borrowings from the Taino language—into Spanish and far beyond—is *maíz* 'Corn.' This word is known and used throughout the Spanish-speaking world, including by all speakers of New Mexican Spanish. Most of the NMCOSS consultants (62%) pronounced this word with a shift of stress to the lower vowel *a* to produce a monosyllabic form with a diphthong, *maiz*, a general phonological process that often happens in colloquial Spanish everywhere. In English, of course, the Caribbean borrowing was not adopted for 'corn.' Instead, American English has narrowed the meaning of a good Anglo-Saxon word *corn* that was once the general term for 'grain,' and the Taino word came to be used for a special kind of grain, *maize*.

A pleasantly surprising borrowing from the so-called Island Carib language is the word *caribe* itself, which is the source of one name for the language as well as the name of the distinct Carib language family of northern South America. It is also, of course, the source for the area and sea that we call the Caribbean. The term *caribe* was incorporated into Spanish first as a name for Indians of the region, but it soon came to mean 'hostile, ferocious Indian' and even 'cannibal,' a word derived from the alternative forms of *caribe—caniba* and *canibal* (see Buesa and Enguita 1992, 66; Durbin 1985, 325). But the word *caribe* eventually came to mean simply 'ferocious,' referring to people or things. Thus, according to the *DRAE*, it is the label for a biting ant in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic and a name given to the piranha fish in Venezuela and Colombia. In the Caribbean, it also refers to particularly even ferociously hot peppers, *ají caribe*.

Now, in the NMCOSS region, this borrowing is used for reference to the beloved and often fiery red pepper sauce known as *chile caribe*. Its cultural significance is captured in the following quote from a sixty-four-year-old woman from Pagosa Springs, Colorado (interview 201):

(6-7) *Tenían carne adobada y había papas fritas, huevos fritos, chile caribe y tortillas; ese era el almuerzo siempre pa' Crismes en la mañana.* 'They would have *carne adovada*, fried potatoes, fried eggs, and *chile caribe*; that was always the breakfast on Christmas morning.'

Note that here the 'pepper' term is the Nahuatlism *chile* and not the Taino borrowing *ají*, which is the label generally preferred in the Americas outside the sphere of Mexican influence. As far as we know, this is the sole use of the term *caribe* in New Mexican Spanish.

Among the earliest loanwords from a Caribbean language is *canoa*, a Taino word that originally referred to a long, narrow boat carved from a tree trunk, a dugout. Columbus uses the term in a 1493 letter about his first voyage:

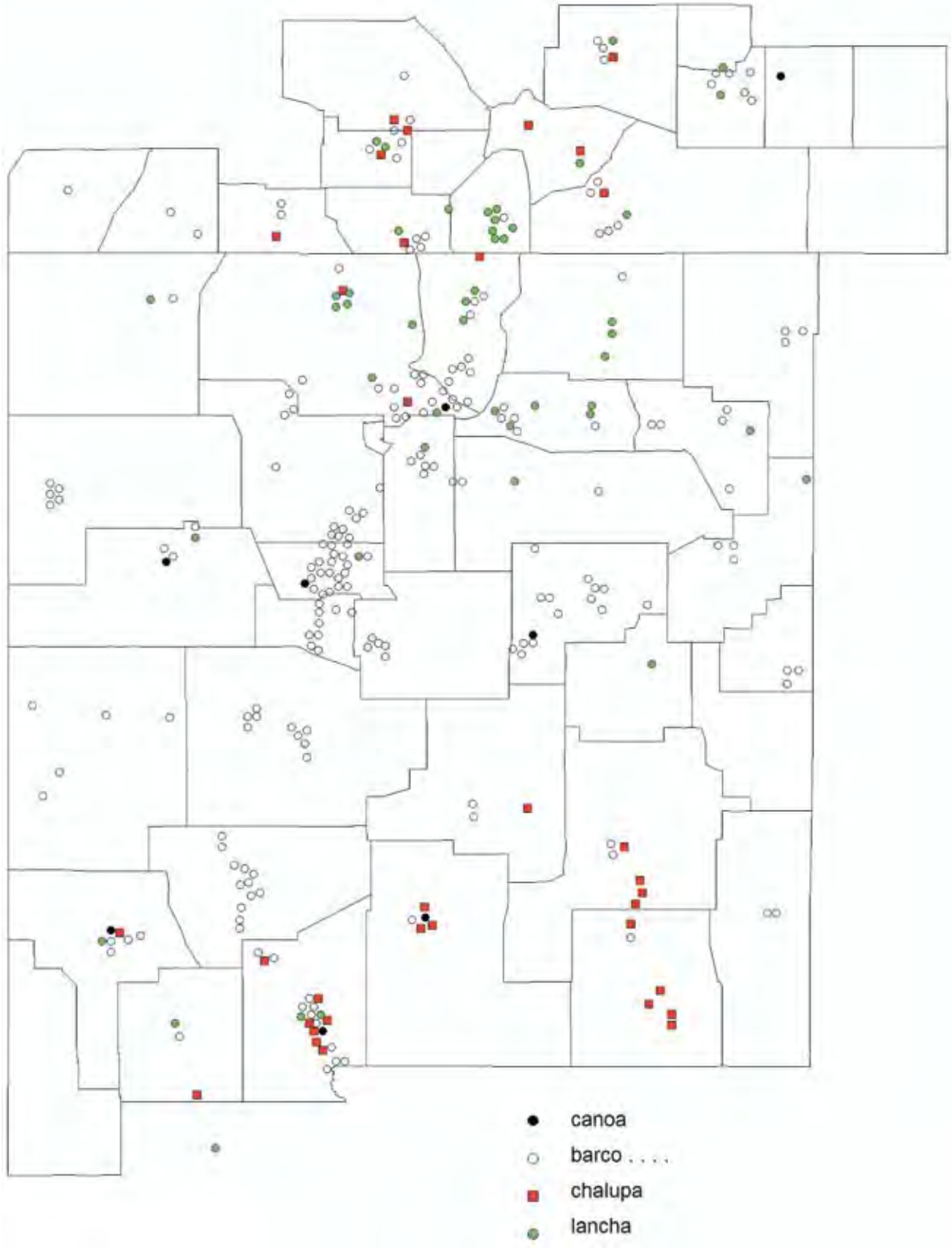
(6-8) *Ellos tienen [en] todas las islas muy muchas canoas, a manera de fustas de remo. . . . Algunas destas canoas he visto con setenta y ochenta hombres en ella y cada uno con su remo.* 'They have on all the islands many, many *canoas*, like rowboats. . . . I have seen some of these *canoas* with seventy and eighty men in it and each one with an oar.' (cited by Gútemberg 1984, 20; our translation)

Canoa is also recorded as the only Native American word in Antonio de Nebrija's Spanish dictionary of 1493 (see Maffla Bilbao 2003, 196–98). The *CORDE* documents its use in Mexico already in 1525 and in Peru in 1527. Today the word is used throughout the Spanish-speaking world and has spread to many other languages, giving us English *canoe*, for instance.

Canoa (sometimes realized as *canoba*) has taken on a variety of meanings in Spanish, and indeed reference to a watercraft is perhaps not its most common use in New Mexican Spanish (as we'll examine more carefully in connection with map 6-5 for 'Rain gutter'). Nevertheless, a consideration of the labels for 'Boat' in the NMCOSS is instructive with regard to the Taino borrowing and also gives us a couple more examples of maritime words.

Map 6-4 displays the distributions of 4 of the labels for 'Boat' that our consultants offered in response to an ordinary small aluminum fishing boat with an outboard motor and a man fishing on board. The most common label by far is *barco*, representing 202 of the 329 responses (61%, including 35 cases of the diminutive form *barquito*). It shows up strongly throughout the survey region. But where it is significant as the decisive norm is across a great swath of central New Mexico, perhaps irradiating out from Albuquerque.

More interesting for present purposes are the 3 other terms. A total of 47 consultants (14%) preferred the label *lancha*. Map 6-4 shows that the great majority represent rural areas of Traditional Spanish. And these folks tend to be elderly, too; half (24 persons) were over the age of sixty-five. Thus, regardless of the decent number of responses, this term seems to be a relic that is being overpowered by the now favored *barco*. An intriguing coincidence is the fact that 4 of the 5 respondents representing southern New



6-4. 'Boat'

Mexico have at least 1 parent born in Mexico, suggesting that *lancha* for 'Boat' has some currency also in Mexico, though the *ALM* does not include the variable.

Lancha (like English *launch*) happens to be another seafaring term. According to the *DRAE*, it is a borrowing into Spanish (via Portuguese) from the Malay language spoken in the area now represented by Malaysia and Indonesia. It is documented in the *CORDE* for Spain already in the early fifteenth century. The first colonizers likely brought this maritime word into New Mexico.

For another 34 consultants (10%) the preferred label for 'Boat' is *chalupa*, yet another seafaring term. Its distribution across map 6-4 occurs exclusively in the far south and far north of the NMCOSS area, a highly unusual pattern. The *CORDE* documents the use of *chalupa* from the sixteenth century, so it is possible that its occurrence in the far north represents an early import into New Mexico. The southern distribution, however, would seem to reflect recent immigration from Mexico. In fact, nearly half of those preferring this label (14 of the 34) reported having a parent born in Mexico, indicating a prominence of *chalupa* use in modern Mexican Spanish. Santamaría (1959) certainly claims the form as a Mexicanism in its meaning of 'dugout' as well as in its derived meaning of a boat-shaped, taco-like snack now known around the world due primarily to the multinational fast-food marketing of Taco Bell.

The *DRAE* indicates that *chalupa* refers to several kinds of small boats and reports it to be an early borrowing (again via French) of a Dutch word for which *sloop* is the cognate in English. This maritime word, whatever its specific reference, occurs now with greater frequency in the Americas than in Spain (and it is also widely used in Latin America to refer to the electrical box that houses the wires behind a wall outlet or switch). Though Latin American documents account for only 44% of all the words in the *CREA*, fully 74% of the occurrences of *chalupa* are in American documents. Moreover, 17% of the tokens come from Mexico (with another 20% from Nicaragua). But even if the label may be thriving in Mexico, it is languishing in the NMCOSS area in spite of immigration; 18 of the 34 who prefer *chalupa* for 'Boat' are above the age of sixty-five.

Turning to the fourth variant for 'Boat' provided in map 6-4, we can see that just 8 of the NMCOSS consultants preferred the Taino loanword *canoa* (including 3 pronunciations as *canoba*). These persons are dispersed haphazardly around the region and 5 of the 8 are above seventy years of age. *Canoa* is another relic on the way out. Somewhat surprisingly, in this case too there is a strong connection with Mexico: 3 of the 8 who preferred *canoa*, and 6 of the 12 who even mentioned the term, have a parent born in Mexico.

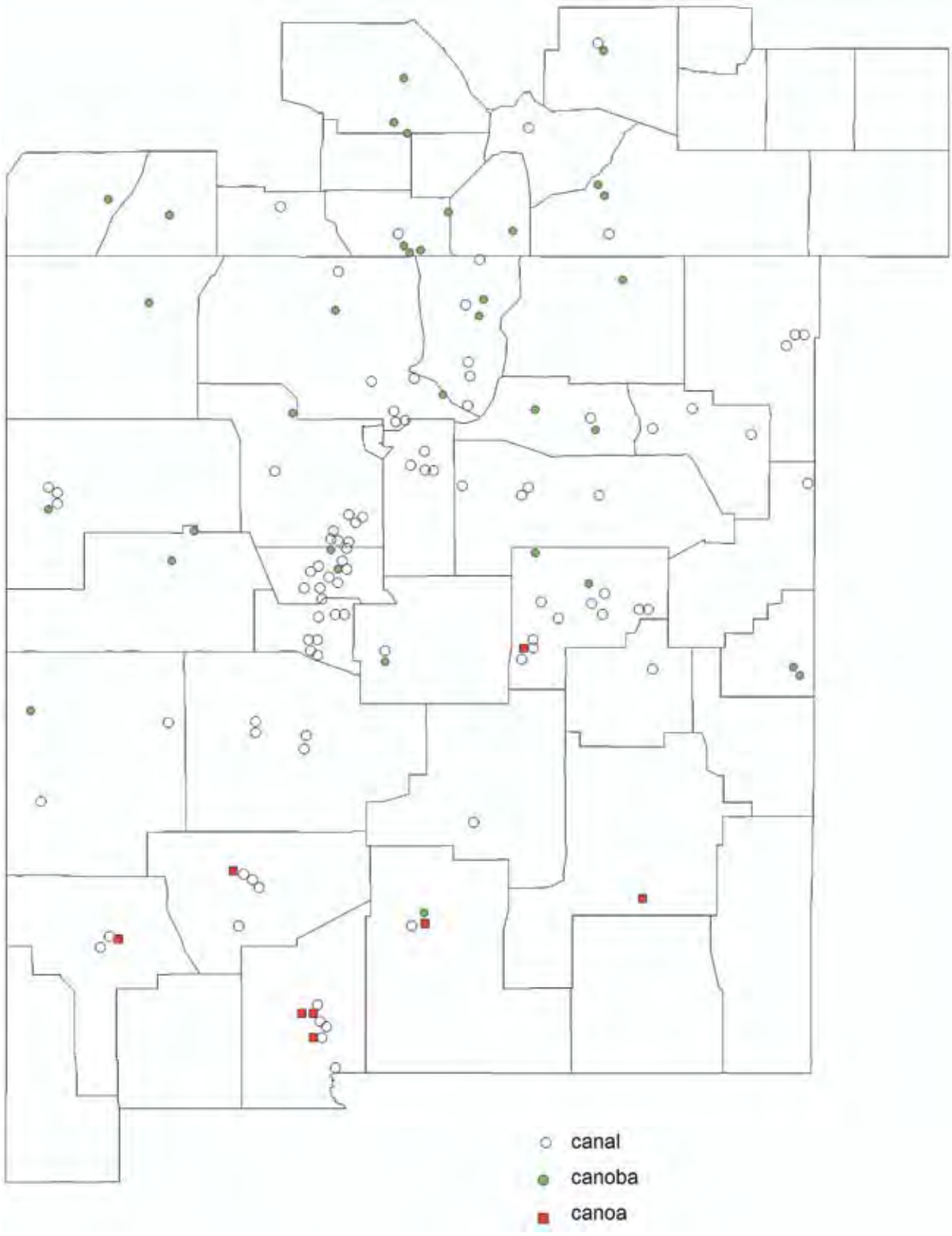
Again, the *CREA* shows that 77% of the tokens of *canoa* are found in New World documents, with fully 20% in Mexican documents even though Mexico accounts for only 11% of that corpus. Santamaría (1959) documents *canoa* as a more general word for 'Boat' in Mexico, with *chalupa* having the more specific reference to a canoe-like dugout made from a single log, though once more we must point out that Santamaría's work does not reflect current usage.

Canoa for 'Boat,' then, is very little used in New Mexican Spanish and appears to be a recent introduction from Mexico. But the word *canoa* is more widely used with other meanings derived from that original association to something carved out of a log. Typically it refers to things that were originally hollowed out from pieces of wood such as troughs and irrigation channels, but its use has been extended to refer to those artifacts made of other materials. Cobos (2003) defines *canoba* (he does not cite *canoa*) as "a long . . . crude trough cut from a log . . . used for feeding farm animals," and the *ALEC* (vol. 2, mapa 104) reports this to be the dominant term for a food trough for pigs in Colombia. Our NMCOSS conversational data shows it used to refer to a watering trough for animals (consultants 185, 200, 223) and even as an old-fashioned long metal tub used for bathing (consultant 239). And it is also used for the rain gutters on a house, as attested in example 6-9:

(6-9) *Mi casa así tiene canobas pa' que salga l' agua cuando cae de la zotea*. 'My house has gutters like this to carry off the rain as it falls from the roof.' (interview 154)

This last meaning, 'Rain gutter,' is one of the specifically elicited items in the NMCOSS. Almost a third of the consultants (31%) could offer no response at all or only an English word (***gutter***, ***drain***) for this device that has little tradition in a land of many flat roofs and not an overabundance of rain. Another 29% responded with the standard *canal*, which map 6-5 reveals to be widely distributed and displaying no geographical patterning of interest.

The next most common response is that borrowing from Taino, *canoa*. Of intriguing interest here is that the 2 variants, *canoa* and *canoba*, have quite different distributions. *Canoba*, with 34 responses, is characteristic of Traditional Spanish and no doubt represents a pronunciation retained from the earliest settlers. The



6-5. ‘Rain gutter’

standard pronunciation *canoa* appears to be Border Spanish, though the small number of tokens (just 8) makes it unwise to draw a firm conclusion. Nevertheless, *canoa* with the meaning of 'Rain gutter' is sufficiently commonplace to be listed in the *DRAE* for Costa Rica and Chile, and it is also listed there as a general Americanism with the meaning of a channel for carrying water. Unfortunately, the *Atlas lingüístico de México* did not include this variable. Santamaría (1959) lists the word with the meaning of a small wood trough for carrying water (as well as the boat meaning, of course) but does not specifically mention the sense we're concerned with.

Among the 26 other words offered in an attempt to identify a 'Rain gutter' (e.g., *aguacera*, *cañería*, *chorrera*, *desagüe*, *drenaje*, *gotera*, *tubo*, and so forth, most with just 1 mention and none with more than 4), 2 merit some mention even though we have not included them on the map. A total of 21 consultants (7% of the total) proposed the label *canaleja*, mostly persons along the Río Grande between Albuquerque and Taos but with scattered other mentions. There were also 9 preferences for *cañute* (plus 1 *canute*), again widely dispersed but mostly in the Traditional Spanish region.

The words for 'Mosquito' reveal an interesting interplay between a Caribbean borrowing and the influence of two other languages, English and Nahuatl. The 4 major variants that turned up in the NMCOSS are *mosquito*, favored by 134 persons (40%), *jején*, the choice of 92 persons (28%), *moyote*, the response of 58 persons (18%), and *mosco*, the response of 27 persons (8%). In their dictionaries focusing on Traditional Spanish, Cobos (2003) lists *jején* and *moyote* as "Mosquito" and L. Trujillo (1983) adds *mosco* (as well as the aberrant *moisco*). Neither includes *mosquito*, presumably because of its perceived status as standard Spanish. Alvar's list also shows *mosquito* to be the dominant form in the New Mexico–Colorado region, but he collected only 3 *jején*, at least 6 *zancudo*, and no *mosco* or *moyote*, though a southernmost informant apparently mentioned the latter (2000, 281).

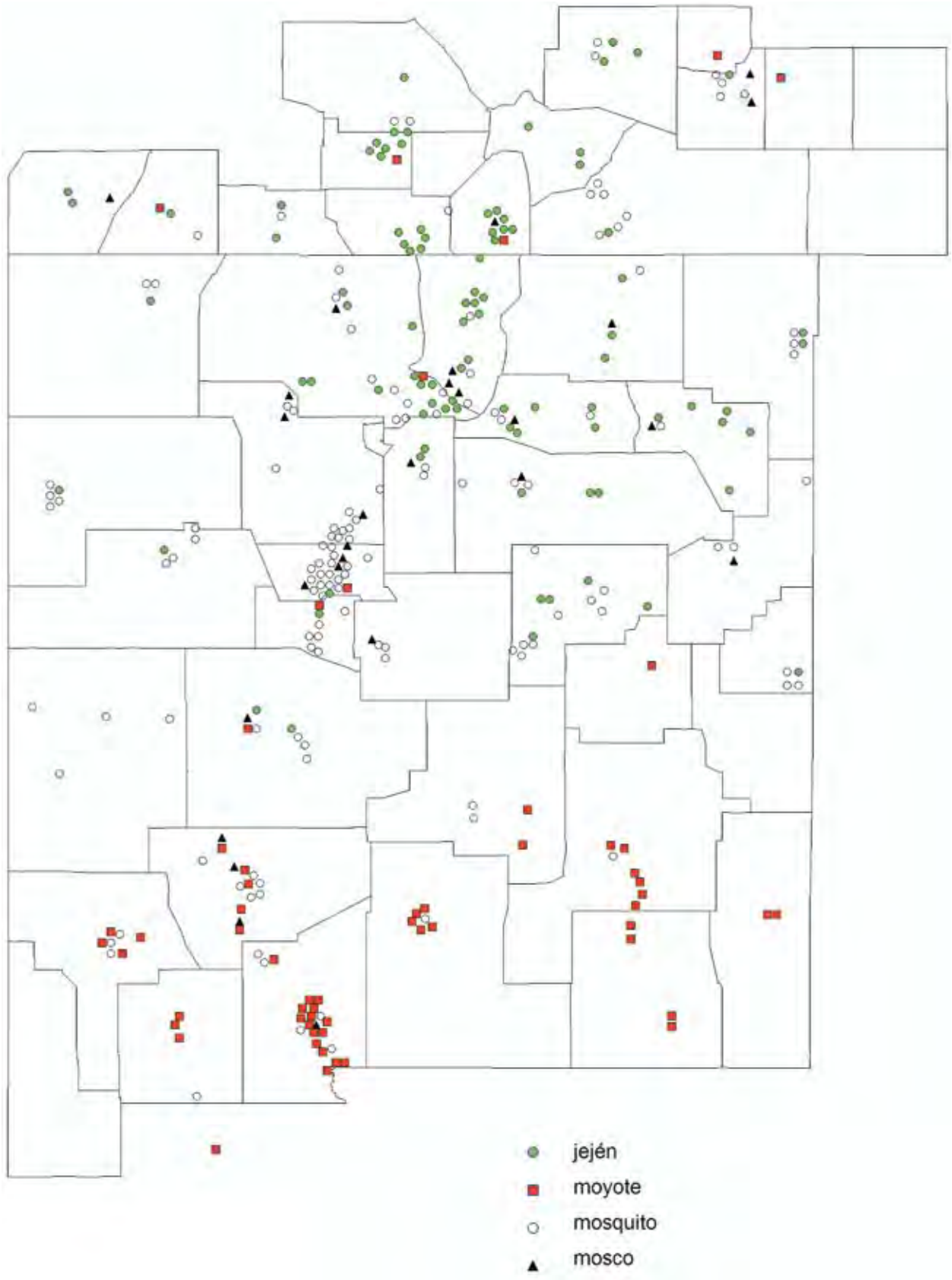
The use of the label *jején* for 'Mosquito' is generally considered another early loanword from Taino (though Santamaría 1959 asserts, without any supporting documentation, that it is of African origin, and others have suggested a Mayan origin; see Maffla Bilbao 2003, 311–12). This form in Taino referred to a tiny gnat-like biting insect, sometimes jocularly called a *no-see-um* in English. The *DRAE* defines *jején* in this way, and that original meaning is retained in many places. Santamaría, for example, identifies it as a tiny kind of mosquito of the tropical coast of Mexico. However, in Colombia where *mosquito* surfaces as the dominant form, *jején* for 'Mosquito' turns up regularly across the nation (*ALEC* vol. 2, mapa 178). It is of interest to note that a couple of NMCOSS consultants claimed to differentiate a gnat-like *jején* from the larger *mosquito*, but we suspect that this claim is based on taking the word of outsiders who attempted to correct the speech of the "rustic Manitos."

The distribution in map 6-6 shows that *jején* is a feature of Traditional Spanish. It represents the retention of a Caribbean word that was adopted by the first Spaniards in the New World and that must have been brought to New Mexico by the early settlers. At some point during those first couple of centuries it became, probably for all or most speakers of Traditional Spanish, the general term for 'Mosquito.' The distinctiveness of this word for Traditional Spanish is demonstrated by the fact that not 1 respondent in the Mexico atlas survey (mapa 623) reported this variant for 'Mosquito.' However, 3 of the 60 persons surveyed in Sinaloa by Mendoza Guerrero (2002, 75–76) mentioned the *jején* label, though he seems to believe that the reference was to something other than a mosquito.

Map 6-6 indicates that *jején* is still prominent in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in spite of stiff competition from the word *mosquito*. The latter is the most frequently cited label across the region, and it appears to be spreading throughout the NMCOSS territory at the expense of the previously favored *jején*. It might be assumed that the expansion of *mosquito* is due to the fact that this form has been the standard Spanish term since before the Spanish landed in the New World. But it is most definitely not the standard in Mexico today. While it was the choice of 40% in the NMCOSS, fewer than 1 in 5 Mexicans appear to have reported this term in the *ALM*.

Rather, the dominant form in Mexico—the response of nearly two-thirds of those surveyed in the *ALM*—is *zancudo*, which the *DRAE* labels an Americanism. *Zancudo* is an augmentative form of the noun *zanca* 'long, thin leg.' It appears to have developed as a truncated form of an earlier *mosquito zancudo* 'long-legged mosquito' (cited in *CORDE*, for example, in the 1636 Spanish book *León prodigioso* by Cosme Gómez de Tejada). Whatever its origin, the Mexican standard has not been influential in our survey area. Only 6 NMCOSS respondents cited *zancudo* and they show no special distribution.

So what is contributing to the apparent increase in the popularity of the *mosquito* form in New Mexico and southern Colorado? Well, the English label for this insect happens to be the same word borrowed from Spanish



6-6. 'Mosquito'

6-7. 'Mosquito' in Mexico

and spelled the same way, but with a different pronunciation, of course. The current prominence and expansion of *mosquito* in the NMCOSS region is almost certainly due to its near-identity with the English word, an influence from English that falls short of direct borrowing.

The third variant, *moyote*, is pretty much confined to the extreme southern part of the region. That distribution pattern appears to result from the influence of modern Mexican Spanish. In fact, the *ALM* (mapa 623) documents *moyote* almost exclusively in the tier of two Mexican states just south of New Mexico, Chihuahua and Durango, as shown in map 6-7, our synthesis of the *ALM* findings. *Moyote* is a borrowing from the Nahuatl language of central Mexico (from Nahuatl *moyo-tl*). The fact that it is now confined to northern Mexico and rare in the traditional Aztec territory suggests that it is a dying form in that country. And indeed it accounts for only 4% of the more than 700 *ALM* responses, contrasting with the 18% showing in the NMCOSS. Its status in Mexico vis-à-vis New Mexico is reminiscent of the earlier discussion of *cócono* for 'Turkey.' While the trendy innovations seem to sweep out the old in Mexican Spanish, New Mexico Spanish is not nearly as susceptible to those trends.

The final New Mexican Spanish variant for 'Mosquito' is *mosco*, the base form from which the diminutive *mosquito* was long ago derived. The *DRAE* acknowledges *mosco* as a variant of *mosquito* without any restrictive comment on usage. However, all 17 of the tokens of *mosco* in the *CREA* are from the Americas, and the majority of these are from Mexico, especially where the reference is clearly to a mosquito. In fact, *mosco* is the third most frequently mentioned term in the *ALM*, following *mosquito* by only about 4%. In New Mexican Spanish, *mosco* occurs scattered across the territory, displaying no particular regional pattern.

One of the most pervasive Caribbean borrowings in New Mexican Spanish is the word *nagua*, which referred to the long ankle-length skirt worn by Taino married women, according to Buesa and Enguita (1992, 59). The singular form is documented very early in Spanish, although the plural *naguas* came along not much later and the now very common *enaguas* later still. *Enaguas* is by far the most common realization of this word in both the *CORDE* and the *CREA*. Some form of this loanword is now used widely for different kinds of skirt-like garments. The *DRAE*, for example, includes *nagua*

and *enagua* (both identified as being used mostly in the plural) with the principal meaning of an undergarment, a slip. It states that in Mexico *enagua* can have the meaning of an outer garment, a skirt. The *VARILEX* atlas shows widespread use of *enagua(s)* for both 'Skirt' and 'Slip' (their 'underskirt') in Spain and the Americas but reports not a single case of *nagua(s)*, no doubt due to its emphasis on modern urban lexicon as reported by many investigators (which is the reason we don't often cite this otherwise valuable information source). The *ALEC* (vol. 4, mapa 34) shows "*(e)nagua(s)*" (without further breakdown of the specific forms) to be the most common term for 'Slip' in Colombia, especially in the highlands, though there is not a single case of this form on the map for 'Skirt' (vol. 4, mapa 33). In New Mexican Spanish, this Taino borrowing became the usual term for both the outer garment 'Skirt' and the inner garment 'Slip.'

Let's first examine the variable 'Slip' (see map 6-8), the stimulus for which was a picture of a woman in a full slip. The most common response to this stimulus is some form of the Tainism—15 different forms, in fact. But they are nondistinctive and entirely overlapping in their geographical distributions. Together they account for fully two-thirds (63%, 204 of 322) of the consultant first choices to label 'Slip.' The 4 most frequently cited variants are combined for display on this map: *naguas* (88 responses), *naguas de abajo* (63 responses), *nagua* (32 responses), and *nagua de abajo* (21 responses). It is quite obvious on map 6-8 that these uses of the Taino borrowing characterize the Traditional Spanish dialect. In contrast, the variant more typical of Border Spanish is *fondo*, but only 14% of the consultants offered this label. Another 11% gave only an English response or no response at all.

The Traditional Spanish label for 'Slip' was realized in many different ways beyond the 4 previously mentioned. In the first place, there were only 2 cases of *enagua*, 1 in the singular and 1 in the plural. The *nagua* base is *the* realization in New Mexican Spanish. Moreover, the plural form is heavily favored by a margin of 3 to 1; there were 151 preferences for *naguas* versus just 53 for *nagua*. Only 2 consultants preferred the diminutive *nagüitas*. In addition, the simple, unmodified form (singular or plural) was dominant, representing 120 tokens, while 84 persons added the descriptive modifier *de abajo* 'under' (and in 2 cases *de interior* 'inner'), presumably to make explicit the difference from 'Skirt.' Finally, 6 consultants added *entera* or *larga* to describe this full-length slip.

The contrast with Mexico in this labeling for 'Slip' is impressive. We might well expect the Border Spanish form in map 6-8 to be the norm in Mexico, and this is indeed the case. *Fondo* (often given as *medio fondo*) is the overwhelmingly preferred term for 'Slip' according to the *ALM* (mapa 906). There were only 29 responses of the Taino loanword in that study, and half of these were the *enagua* variant. Moreover, only 2 of the responses used the plural form. Mendoza Guerrero (2002, 126–27) reports not a single instance of *(e)nagua(s)* in the northwestern state of Sinaloa. We see that New Mexican Spanish is sometimes very different from Mexican Spanish in the incorporation and retention of Caribbean borrowings.

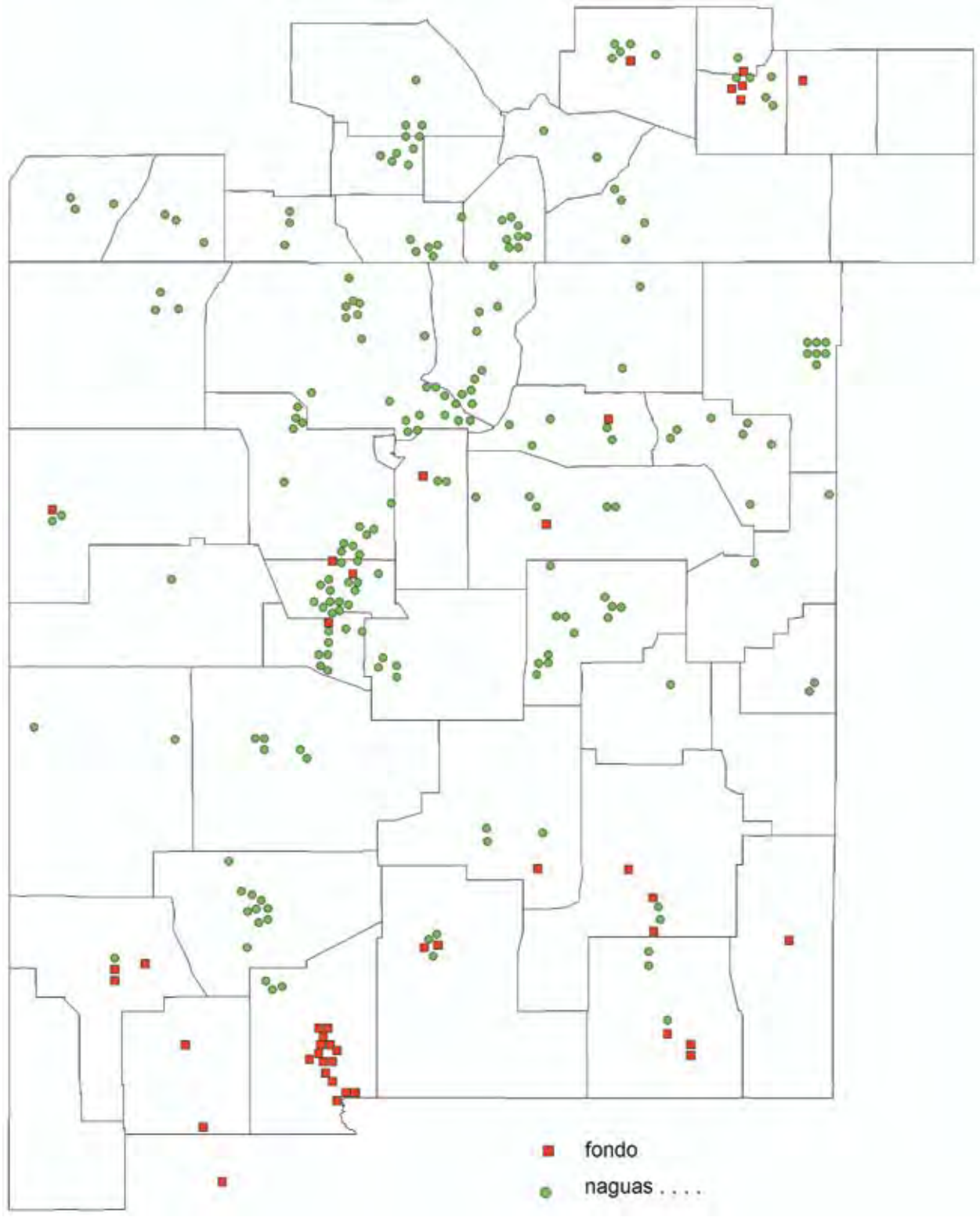
Map 6-9 displays the responses for the variable 'Skirt' in New Mexican Spanish. Again we can see that the Caribbean loanword tends to be associated with Traditional Spanish while the standard Spanish form *falda* is associated with Border Spanish. The boundaries between the 2 labels are pretty blurred, however. The Caribbean word shows up in the south and the standard word has penetrated smartly across the Traditional Spanish region.

The Taino borrowing in its various forms is almost as strongly preferred for 'Skirt' (59% of the 325 respondents) as it is for 'Slip' (68%). Pedrero (2002, 55, 59) and Alvar (2000, 206–7) also show the prominence of these terms in New Mexico and southern Colorado, and that finding is quite distinct from the other three states of their sample. Again, the *enagua(s)* variant is rare in the NMCOSS results, just 4 cases in the singular and 1 in the plural; they are not included on map 6-9 although they all occur in the Traditional Spanish area. As in the case of 'Slip,' the plural variant *naguas* (134 cases) for 'Skirt' is heavily favored over the singular *nagua* (just 54 cases). And again, the 2 variants are combined on the map since their distributions are parallel.

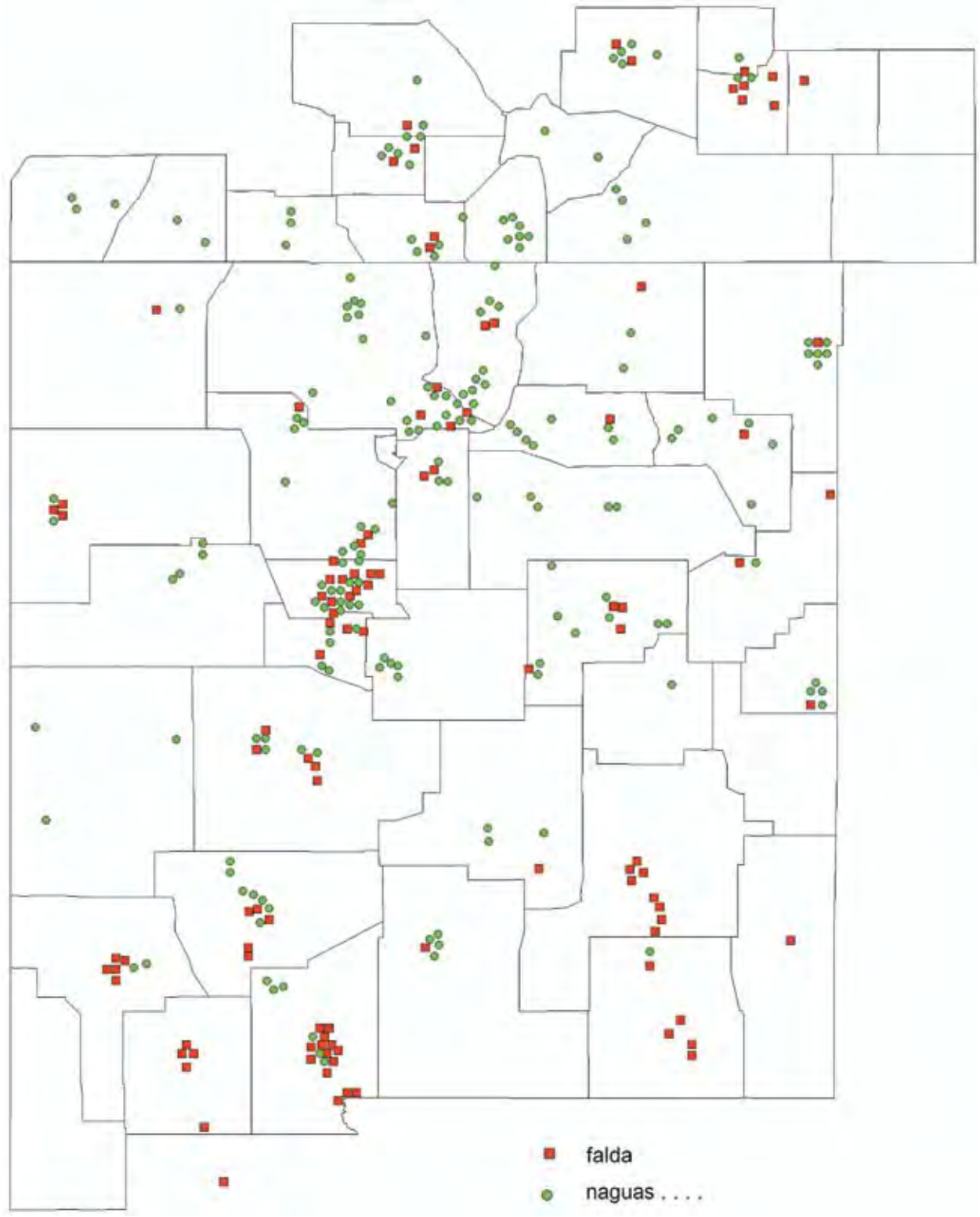
Naguas was used for the skirts of native women by the first Spanish explorers in the Southwest. In his 1539 *Relación* describing his expedition to the Seven Cities of Cíbola, Fray Marcos de Niza notes (Craddock 1999, 88):

(6-10) *[L]as mugeres [trayan] las mismas turquesas en las narizes y orejas y muy buenas naguas y camjsas* '[T]he women [were wearing] the same turquoise in their noses and ears and very nice skirts and shirts.' (our translation)

It is also documented in the 1602 testimony of soldiers of the New Mexico colony who accompanied Juan de Oñate in the exploration of the eastern plains (Craddock 2002, 105):



6-8. ‘Slip’



6-9. 'Skirt'

(6-11) *[L]as mujeres todas traen mantas de algodon gruesas pintadas y las mas dellas traen dos, la vna que les sirve de naguas o saya y la otra que les cubre el cuerpo* '[A]ll the women wear multi-colored thick cotton blankets and most of them wear two, one that serves as a skirt or petticoat and another that covers the body.' (our translation)

Such early usage must have been the basis for the extension of the reference of *naguas* to 'Skirt' in general from the very beginning in the New Mexico colony, resulting in today's use as in example 6-12:

(6-12) *Más antes cuando trabajaba no usaba casi pantalones, no más naguas y túnicos*. 'Earlier when I used to work I almost never wore pants, only skirts and dresses.' (interview 25)

This historically authentic meaning was broadened, presumably subsequently, to include any female garment hanging down from the waist, whether skirt or slip.

Turning to the other variant, we observe that a third (33%) of the NMCOSS consultants preferred the standard *falda* for 'Skirt.' But we just saw that the standard *fondo* occurs as the term for 'Slip' among only 14% of the consultants. Why should there be this difference in the spread of a standard variant into New Mexican Spanish? A first observation is that 'Slip' falls into the clothing category of literally "unmentionables" for many Hispanics in this region. Inhalations of surprise and indications of embarrassment are often audible in the recordings when the page is turned to the pictures of underwear. Indeed, 10% of our consultants could not give, or perhaps refused to give, a word for 'Slip,' but only 3% failed to respond to 'Skirt.' Perhaps more important, external clothing is often a topic in Spanish textbooks and Spanish classrooms while underwear is generally avoided, and we will see later (chapter 15) that the use of *falda* is strongly associated with education and the formal study of Spanish.

Need, influence, and opportunity conspired to make three Native American languages the major contributors to the lexicon of New World Spanish: the Arawakan language Taino at the initial point of entry, the Quechua language of the Inca empire along the Andes Mountains of South America, and the Nahuatl language of the Aztec civilization of central Mexico (see Buesa and Enguita 1992, 35; Penny 1991, 18–19). As we have seen, Taino provided the earliest gifts to New Mexican Spanish. The Quechua influence began only after the Spanish invasion of the Inca Empire in 1532, and communication connections over such a distance were too indirect to impact New Mexican Spanish except for a few basic cultural contributions such as *papa* 'potato' and *carpa* 'tent.' It was the language contact in the interior of Mexico that had the direct link that produced the greatest impact of a Native American language on the Spanish variety that survives today in New Mexico and southern Colorado.

CHAPTER 7

Nahuatlisms

The Mexican Roots of New Mexican Spanish

The Spaniards who invaded Mexico faced experiences similar to those faced twenty-five years earlier on the island of Hispaniola. Again, there were realities that were not European realities, and it immediately became essential to understand the new phenomena and communicate with others about them. New realities in foods, animals, plants, birds, cultural artifacts, and many other areas required new lexicon, whether to be created out of existing Spanish resources or borrowed from other languages.

When in 1519 Hernán Cortés and his band of four hundred or so soldiers reached the highlands where Mexico City now stands, he found himself in the midst of a dynamic, vibrant, sophisticated people numbering in the millions and living in large urban centers. The Aztecs had become the most powerful of a number of Mexican Indian civilizations and had imposed their will throughout much of central Mexico. Their language, Nahuatl, was the dominant Native American language of the region at that time, representing the political and economic power of the Aztecs. We could anticipate, therefore, that its influence on Spanish would be important.

Throughout the early colonial period in Mexico, the Spaniards' interaction with this new language was intimate, particularly so given the frequency of intermarriage and concubinage due to the paucity of Spanish women. Moreover, Nahuatl was immediately adopted by the Spaniards as a lingua franca for communication with other tribes. The priests were especially strong promoters of Nahuatl for purposes of proselytization (Moreno de Alba 1988, 45); to support their effort they developed magnificent descriptions of the language. Fray Andrés de Olmos produced the first grammar of Nahuatl in 1547, only fifty-five years after Nebrija's first grammar of Spanish (1492), and Fray Alonso de Molina produced his fabulous Nahuatl dictionary in 1571. The titles of these works—*Arte de la lengua mexicana* and *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, respectively—often confuse the unfamiliar person scanning the library shelves, unaware that in colonial times the Nahuatl or Aztec language was referred to as *mexicano*.

There are many dialects of Nahuatl, but the most influential was the variety spoken in the valley at the center of the Aztec empire where Mexico City is now

located. This "Classical Nahuatl" was the subject of the earliest grammars and dictionaries and was presumably the model for most early borrowings into Spanish. We use this dialect as the source for the Nahuatl forms and meanings cited in this book. We rely on its orthographic representation as given in Karttunen (1983) except that we eliminate the parentheses placed around vowels that drop in some derived forms and we leave off the macron over vowels that Karttunen uses to indicate vowel length. We do, however, maintain the hyphen preceding the so-called absolutive suffixes (e.g., *moyo-tl*) even though these suffixes usually form an inherent part of the word as borrowed into Spanish (thus, *moyote* 'Mosquito'). We also occasionally turn to Siméon (1977) and Molina (1571) for supplementary information on Nahuatl vocabulary.

It bears stressing from the outset that the Nahuatl language has had no influence whatsoever on the grammatical structure of the Spanish of either Mexico (see Lope Blanch 1972c) or New Mexico. A very modest influence in the phonological structure may be discerned (see Lope Blanch 1972b for a more detailed discussion). Many speakers of Mexican Spanish, for instance, make use of two "non-Spanish" phonological units that have been retained in a few Nahuatl loanwords. First, the /tl/ cluster occurs in words such as *tlapalería* 'hardware store' (derived from Nahuatl *tlapal-li* 'paint, dye, ink') and *tlacuache* 'opossum' (Nahuatl *tlacuatzin*). Second, the palatal fricative phoneme /š/ as in English *shoe*, but generally spelled with *x* in Mexico, occurs in borrowings such as *xocoyote* 'youngest child' (Nahuatl *xocoyo-tl*) and *nixtamal* 'hominy, cooked dried corn' (Nahuatl *nextamal-li*). Most loanwords that contained these sounds in Nahuatl, however, have been fully integrated into the Spanish phonological system (as will become apparent in examples cited throughout this chapter).

More important for our direct concerns, any phonological influence of Nahuatl appears to be almost completely absent in New Mexican Spanish today. Thus, of the examples with /tl/ just mentioned, *tlapalería* and *tlacuache* are not used here (although there is a dance called *tacuache* that may be derived from the latter). In the NMCOSS, we elicited no words that were pronounced with /tl/. Cobos (2003) often includes words from documents of the colonial period, and that fact may account for his listing of 2 Nahuatlisms with an initial /tl/: *tlaco* 'a money term' (for which he gives Nahuatl *tlacocohualony* as the source; Molina [1571] gives *tlacocoualoni* for 'money') and *tlazole* 'trash' (Nahuatl *tlahzol-li*). However, Cobos also lists without explicit cross-reference the integrated variants *claco* and *tazol*. In addition, he includes 1 Nahuatlism with a medial and final /tl/, *metlacahuitl* 'pole for hanging skins to dry' (for which he ascribes a Nahuatl source of the same form). If some speakers of New Mexican today still use—or have ever even heard of—these words with /tl/, they are exceedingly rare.

As for /š/, the word *xocoyote* is known and used by few speakers of New Mexican Spanish. For 'Baby of the family' in our survey, 7 persons mentioned a variant of this Nahuatlism: 3 *chocoyote*, 3 *socoyote*, and just 1 *shocoyote*. But the consultant did not produce this 1 /š/ response spontaneously; rather, he was prompted by the interviewer and then accepted *shocoyote* as a coequal choice alongside his preferred *ñoño*. All 3 of these variants—*chocoyote*, *socoyote*, and *shocoyote*—occur in Mexico (*ALM* mapa 947), with *socoyote* being the most common form in the northern part of Mexico. Incidentally, it is the truncated *coyote* that is the most common form of this Nahuatlism for 'Baby of the family' in New Mexican Spanish, though still with only 13 responses, as well as in northern Mexico.

Concerning the other /š/ word mentioned, *nixtamal*, we have only heard it pronounced *nistamal* or with the *x* pronounced as /ks/ according to the normal spelling conventions of modern Spanish. Cobos (2003) does not include any *xocoyote* variant and he gives no indication of the pronunciation of *nixtamal*. He cites 3 other Nahuatlisms with the initial palatal sound, but reports all 3 with both fricative *sh* and affricate *ch* listings: *shiguata*/*chiguata* 'woman' (Nahuatl *cihua-tl*), *shilote*/*chilote* 'tender ear of corn' (Nahuatl *xilo-tl*), and *shocoque*/*chocoque* 'sour, spoiled' (Nahuatl *xococ*). He also includes 1 syllable-final case, *tapushque*/*tepuzque* 'pile' (for which he ascribes a Nahuatl *tepuzqui* source). Like the Nahuatl /tl/, and as demonstrated in the 'Baby of the family' findings, the Nahuatl phoneme /š/ has essentially disappeared from New Mexican Spanish, and the sound [š] is now heard only in English borrowings such as *shainear* 'polish, shine' and as a phonetic variant of /č/ for some speakers (e.g., *ocho* varying with *osho* 'eight').

The outstanding influence of one language on another, in all language contact situations, is in the vocabulary. The contact of Spanish and Nahuatl resulted in extensive borrowing of words in both directions. The incorporation of Nahuatl lexical items into Spanish follows from the special sociocultural context in which the Spanish conquerors found themselves upon arrival in Mexico in 1519 and during the subsequent colonial years of daily life involving the two languages. The result is that today probably the most identifiable characteristic of Mexican Spanish is the existence of so many Nahuatlisms.

Their prominence led one Mexican language and folklore scholar to proclaim catastrophically:

(7-1) *Si desaparecieran del lenguaje español que hablamos los mexicanos, todas las voces . . . que tienen su origen en el idioma náhuatl . . . se produciría un caos verdaderamente horrible.* 'If all the words . . . that have their origin in the Nahuatl language . . . were to disappear from the Spanish language we Mexicans speak, it would produce a truly horrible chaos.' (Rubio 1937, xviii–xix; also cited in Lope Blanch 1979, 14–15)

However, these Nahuatl loanwords are not so pervasive in Mexican speech as such people may think. Lope Blanch (1979, 29) has determined that in a spoken and written corpus of Mexico City Spanish containing nearly 5 million words, Native American loanwords (excluding names of persons and places) amount to less than one-tenth of 1% of the total words. Furthermore, those 3,380 loanword tokens were found to represent only 312 different words, and just 237 root words (1979, 33), mostly but not exclusively Nahuatl in origin. Moreover, when those 237 forms plus 50 others widely known to be Nahuatlisms were submitted to a sample of 100 Mexico City natives, only 217 words (167 roots) were identified by at least half of the subjects (34). How significant is that kind of influence? Several hundred words are of little import in the average human lexical inventory of more than 10,000 words. As Lope Blanch observes (49), the loss of these Nahuatlisms would be unlikely to produce chaos.

Naturally, the Spanish that was brought from Mexico into the U.S. Southwest contains many words that derive from the Nahuatl language. Emiliano, for example, lists some 130 basic (that is, nonderived) Nahuatlisms "used commonly by Chicanos" (1976, 96). Smead and Clegg (1990) report finding at least 253 Nahuatlisms in the Galván and Teschner dictionary (1977). For New Mexican Spanish, Cobos (2003) specifically identifies just over 100 basic words as having a Nahuatl origin, but that dictionary includes several other items that in fact are Nahuatlisms. Though all three studies over-identify the number of words of Nahuatl origin and cite forms that are not in everyday use in our region, the importance of the Nahuatl contribution and the unity it reveals between Mexican and New Mexican Spanish should not be underestimated.

Some Nahuatlisms are practically the only labels used throughout our survey area: *tecolote* (from Nahuatl *tecolo-tl*) for 'Owl' and *zacate* (from Nahuatl *zaca-tl*) for 'grass,' for example. Others are the dominant form among alternatives, for example, *zoquete* (Nahuatl *zoqui-tl*) versus *barro* for 'Mud' and *cajete* (Nahuatl *caxi-tl*) versus *tina* for 'Tub.' Others are minority variants, for example, *moyote* (Nahuatl *moyo-tl*) versus *jején* or *mosquito* for 'Mosquito' (see map 6-6 in the preceding chapter). Still others are relic forms, such as the use of *comal* (Nahuatl *comal-li*) for 'Skillet,' a usage that will be discussed later as an alteration of meaning. Moreover, some Nahuatl borrowings are in competition with each other. A good example is the label for 'Turkey' treated in chapter 3, with 2 basic forms supposedly borrowed from Nahuatl: *guajolote* and *cócono*.

As all these examples illustrate, the vast majority of Nahuatlisms are nouns. Only 2 verbs borrowed directly from Nahuatl verbs are common in New Mexican Spanish and both are now used primarily in reference to the gathering of crops: *piscar* (from Nahuatl *pixca* 'harvest corn or wheat') and *pepenar* (from Nahuatl *pehpena* 'pick, choose, gather, collect, glean'). *Piscar* in New Mexican Spanish is more frequently realized as *pisquear*, a back-formation from the noun *pisca* 'harvest,' and both forms are used only with the meaning 'harvest, pick crops,' though what is harvested can be corn, potatoes, beans, and so on. *Pepenar*, on the other hand, often also means 'harvest, pick crops' (illustrated in example 7-2) but retains a broader meaning of 'gather' and has been extended to mean 'pick up (a person), give a ride' (example 7-3) and still other senses of 'pick up' in English (example 7-4):

(7-2) *Ellos pepenaban la papa. Antonces todo pepenaban por mano.* 'They would dig potatoes. In those days they'd harvest everything by hand.' (interview 46)

(7-3) *Yo lo pepené después de que él vino de darle la bienvenida al Papa.* 'I picked him up after he came from welcoming the Pope.' (interview 248)

(7-4) *Pronto pepenamos las palabras en inglés.* 'We pick up English words quickly.' (interview 224)

Many of the Nahuatlisms were brought in by the first Spanish-speaking colonizers. After all, every one of the early settlers in el Nuevo México came up from "Old" Mexico. The very first colonists of 1598 brought with them a variety of Spanish that had already passed three-quarters of a century in Mexico and in which many Nahuatl loanwords had become firmly established. However, Nahuatlisms have been entering New Mexican Spanish for four centuries, even though there has been, of course, no direct contact between Nahuatl and the Spanish of

New Mexico and southern Colorado. (We are obliged to treat with caution facile interpretations of the Aztec myth of the Aztlán homeland and particularly the fanciful attributions of direct Nahuatl naming of places such as Aztec, New Mexico, Montezuma County, Colorado, and the Analco barrio of Santa Fe.) Rather, the continuous exposure to Nahuatlisms has been the indirect result of 500 years of Mexican Spanish contact with Nahuatl and 400 years of New Mexican Spanish contact with Mexican Spanish. The latter contact, sustained but hardly intimate for the first three centuries, became particularly pronounced in the twentieth century. The changes engendered by all these contacts are reflected in the lexicon of New Mexican Spanish today.

Some Nahuatlisms arrived early to the New Mexico–southern Colorado area and others arrived much later. The probable time of entrance of a particular word can be extrapolated from its current spatial distribution in the NMCOSS region. Those Nahuatlisms that occur exclusively in the Border Spanish areas can be assumed to be rather late arrivals. Those that are firmly established in Traditional Spanish, whether or not they also occur in Border Spanish, can be assumed to be earlier arrivals. In this chapter, we will examine those Aztec loanwords that were probably brought up from New Spain during the colonial period and that are now, therefore, characteristic features of Traditional Spanish. Chapters 11 and 15 will include consideration of other Nahuatlisms that were introduced over the past 150 years or so.

The early introduction of Nahuatlisms into New Mexico is associated with colonization on the northern frontier of New Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were two key episodes in this early settlement. The first was the entrance of the original colonists in 1598. A century later, in 1693, 13 years after the expulsion of the Hispanics by the Pueblo Revolt, a second wave of settlers from Mexico joined with some of the original colonists to repopulate the New Mexico colony. We can assume that the new settlers, speakers of late seventeenth-century Mexican Spanish, introduced some new Nahuatlisms. No doubt they also employed many of the same Nahuatlisms as the first colonists and thus strengthened their use.

The persistence of early Nahuatlisms in New Mexican Spanish has varied in three main ways, as we previously observed in Bills and Vigil (2000): (1) some words have been retained unchanged up to the present, (2) others have undergone alterations in form or meaning, and (3) still others have suffered a reduction in use over time. We consider each of these developments separately in the following sections.

Retentions

Many Nahuatlisms continue to be used with more or less the same general meaning they had for the early borrowers. A sampling of some of the most common includes *atole* 'gruel made from corn' (Nahuatl *atol-li*), *cacahuate* 'Peanut' (Nahuatl *cacahua-tl*), *capulín* 'chokecherry' (Nahuatl *capol-in*), *chiche* 'nipple' (Nahuatl *chichi* 'to suckle,' *chichihual-li* 'breast, teat'), *chile* 'chile pepper' (Nahuatl *chil-li*), *chocolate* 'chocolate' (Nahuatl *chocola-tl*), *coyote* 'coyote (the canid)' (Nahuatl *coyo-tl*), *elote* 'Ear of corn' (Nahuatl *elo-tl*), *posole* 'hominy stew with chile and meat' (Nahuatl *pozol-li*), *tamal* 'tamale' (Nahuatl *tamal-li*), *zacate* 'grass' (Nahuatl *zaca-tl*), and *zoquete* 'Mud' (Nahuatl *zoqui-tl*). These words were incorporated into Spanish early in the colonial period. There are 2 of these words in the following excerpt from a priest's letter to Emperor Carlos V in 1550 detailing the difficulties of the local Indians (Company 1994, 130); notice that the writer displays no need to clarify the meanings of the 2 Nahuatlisms:

> (7-5) *Y los q[ue] algo tienen alcançan tan poco q[ue] no se allará entre mjll uno q[ue] pueda vestir paño, nj comer sino tortillas y chile y un poco de atule*. 'And for those who have a little something it amounts to so little that you won't find in a thousand persons even one who can dress properly or eat anything but tortillas and chile and a little *atole*.' (our translation)

All the Nahuatlisms cited in the previous paragraph are still in widespread use today, in both New Mexican Spanish and Mexican Spanish. As just one example of the continuing popularity of such loanwords in the NMCOSS region, we find that *zoquete* is the label for 'Mud' preferred by fully 89% of our consultants.

Another prominent example of this type of strong maintenance and possibly even expansion is the use of *chapulín* for 'Grasshopper' (from Nahuatl *chapol-in*). The *ALM* did not include this item, but the Nahuatlism is known to be widely used in Mexico and throughout Central America. The historical corpus *CORDE*, for example, includes just 20 cases of singular *chapulín* and plural *chapulines* and all occur only in Mexican and Central American documents. Similarly, the recent corpus *CREA* contains 36 cases of *chapulín* and *chapulines*, 30 of which are in Mexican documents and only 1 in a Spanish document. This Nahuatlism is 1 of the 74 Native American loanwords that Lope Blanch (1979, 35) found to be familiar to at least 99 out of 100 Mexico City natives.

Chapulín for 'Grasshopper' is equally well-known to speakers of New Mexican Spanish. Map 7-1 shows how comprehensively this form covers the NMCOSS territory. In fact, fully 95% of our consultants provided this label, and not a single other viable term was offered. The other 5% of responses came from consultants having limited fluency in Spanish: 7 persons claimed to have no word, another 7 offered only the English term, 2 gave a distortion of *chapulín* (*chupulín* and *sapulín*), 1 labeled it simply *gusano* 'worm,' and 1 young woman (interview 181) creatively translated from English to give us *zacatebrincador*.

Now, the grasshopper is not a New World phenomenon. Spaniards were quite familiar with both the grasshopper (*saltamontes*) and the locust (*langosta*) before their arrival in the Americas. While the adoption of loanwords to label new entities such as turkeys and coyotes is to be expected, it is surprising to see this Nahuatl borrowing so strongly displace an existing native Spanish word. But surprising or not, *chapulín* certainly has become a common term for the creature from Colombia to New Mexico.

Notice that neither of the 2 standard Spanish terms showed up as a preference in the NMCOSS. However, 1 woman (interview 150), a high school Spanish teacher who had taken thirteen courses of formal Spanish, mentioned that *saltamontes* was a possibility though she said she would normally use *chapulín*. And another woman (interview 53), a middle school Spanish teacher who had taken seven Spanish courses, offered as a second option *brincamontes*, an interesting reach toward the standard but using the locally preferred word for 'Jump' *brincar* rather than *saltar*. The rarity of *saltar* in New Mexican Spanish is demonstrated by the fact that only 3 consultants used this word for 'Jump' to describe the childhood game of jump rope.

Another loanword, *cuates* (from Nahuatl *coa-tl*) for 'Twins,' has also strongly displaced the native Spanish words in the areas of Mexican influence. Again, one might wonder why such an ordinary term should be borrowed. A possible major reason seems fairly clear. Many wives of Spanish-speaking men in the early colonial days of Central Mexico were Aztec women and speakers of Nahuatl, and these women should have been influential in assigning a label to such a special phenomenon of motherhood as twins.

In addition, the Nahuatl *coatl* had other meanings that may have made this a culturally salient word. A prominent other meaning is 'snake,' as used in the compound word for the Aztec god *Quetzalcoatl* 'plumed serpent' or the goddess *Cihuacoatl* 'snake woman.' It may be that there was no relationship between the 'twin' and 'snake' meanings, a simple case of homonymy like English *fan* ('enthusiastic admirer or supporter' and 'device to move air'). Or possibly the meanings were associated in Aztec beliefs, as Karttunen (1983, 36) and others have speculated.

Yet another original Nahuatl meaning has to do more abstractly with notions of reciprocity and communality, and this meaning does indeed seem to tie in with 'twins.' This connotation seems to have been carried over into Spanish in the common use of *cuate* to also mean 'close friend, pal,' in both nominal and adjectival senses as attested in the following two NMCOSS examples:

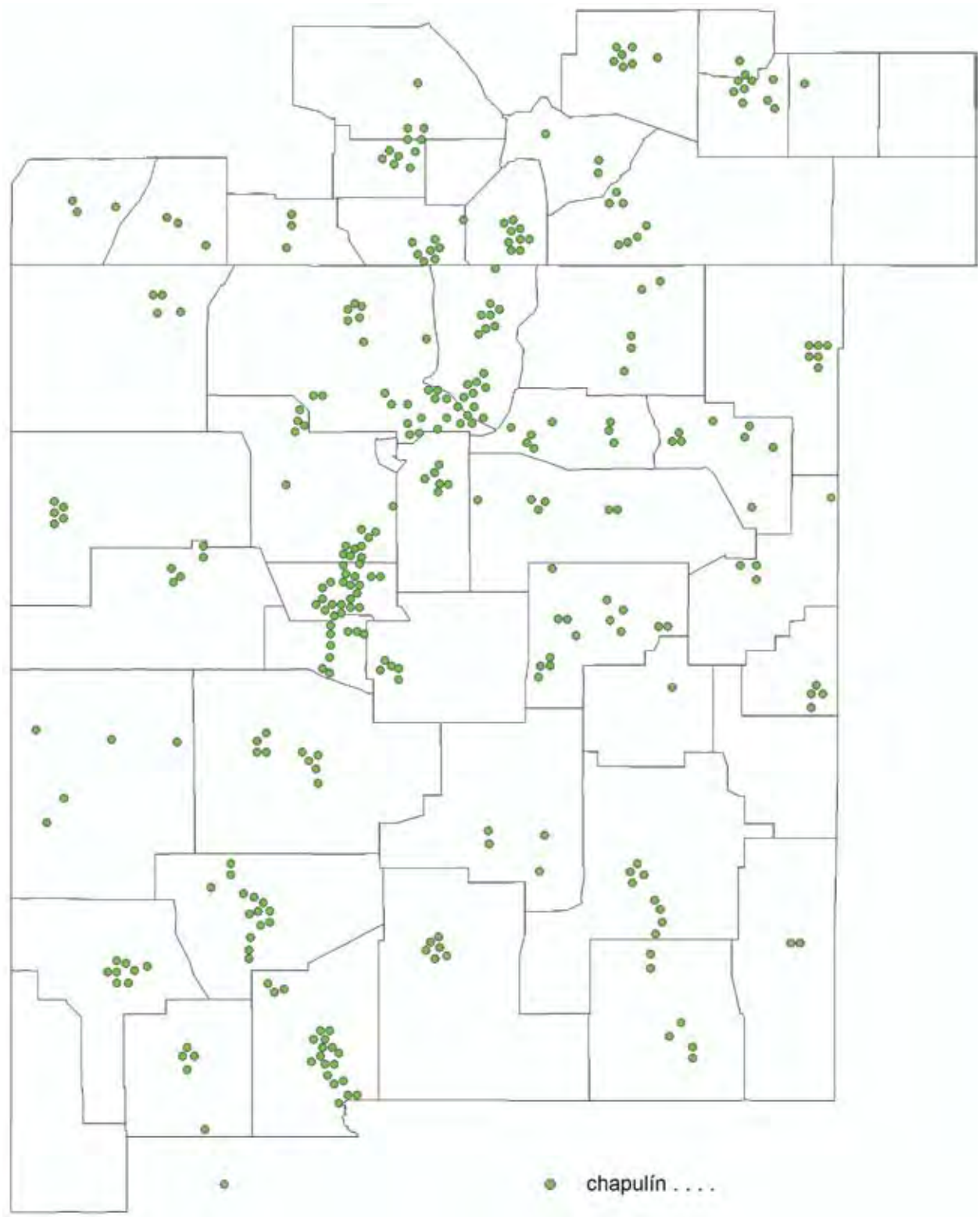
(7-6) *Él tenía unos cuates allá*. 'He had some friends over there.' (232)

(7-7) *Oh sí, muy cuatas éranos yo y ella*. 'Oh yes, she and I were very good friends.' (274)

This last example also illustrates the adaptation of the borrowing to Spanish morphology for representation of specific gender; for most speakers, a female pair of twins or good friends are *cuatas*.

Whatever the reason or reasons for undermining a preexisting term, the Nahuatlism *cuate* is rampant in the Mexican influence sphere. It is by far the most widely used label from Arizona to Texas, according to Pedrero (2002, 121–22), absent only in the Isleño Spanish of Louisiana that results primarily from immigration from the Canary Islands. The *DRAE* indicates that the label occurs in Mexico and two other areas of Mexican influence, Guatemala and Honduras. It is noteworthy that a little farther south not a single occurrence of *cuates* for 'Twins' surfaces in the atlas for Colombia (*ALEC* vol. 3, mapa 59), a country in which hardly any loanwords from Nahuatl are used.

Map 7-2 shows the dominance of the Nahuatl-derived term in New Mexican Spanish, where *cuates* is the term for 'Twins' preferred by 290 of the 333 consultants (87%) from whom a label was elicited. Only 25 persons (8%) showed a preference for the standard label, *gemelos*, which in Mexico is as widespread and prominent as *cuates* according to the *ALM*. Map 7-2 indicates that there is some association of *gemelos* with Border Spanish. But it is also clearly associated with exposure to standard Spanish. For example, 12 of the 25 had taken at least two courses in Spanish and 14 of the 25 had some college education. Significantly, however, 12 of the 25 who preferred *gemelos* explicitly offered *cuates* as a coequal choice. Moreover, another 8 persons offered distortions of the standard term (*gemeles*, *gemenes*, *gimelos*, *megelos*), suggesting a less than solid familiarity with



7-1. 'Grasshopper'

a term they may have learned about through exposure to standard Spanish.

Not a single person gave the other standard Spanish term *mellizos*, and just 1 person even mentioned it as a possibility. This consultant, a young man from the far-southern town of Anthony on the Texas border whose parents were both natives of Mexico, volunteered the following (perhaps idiosyncratic) explanation of the difference between *mellizos* and *cuates*:

(7-8) *Si son idénticos, son cuates, si no son idénticos son mellizos*. 'If they're identical, they're *cuates*, if they're not identical, they're *mellizos*.' (interview 130)

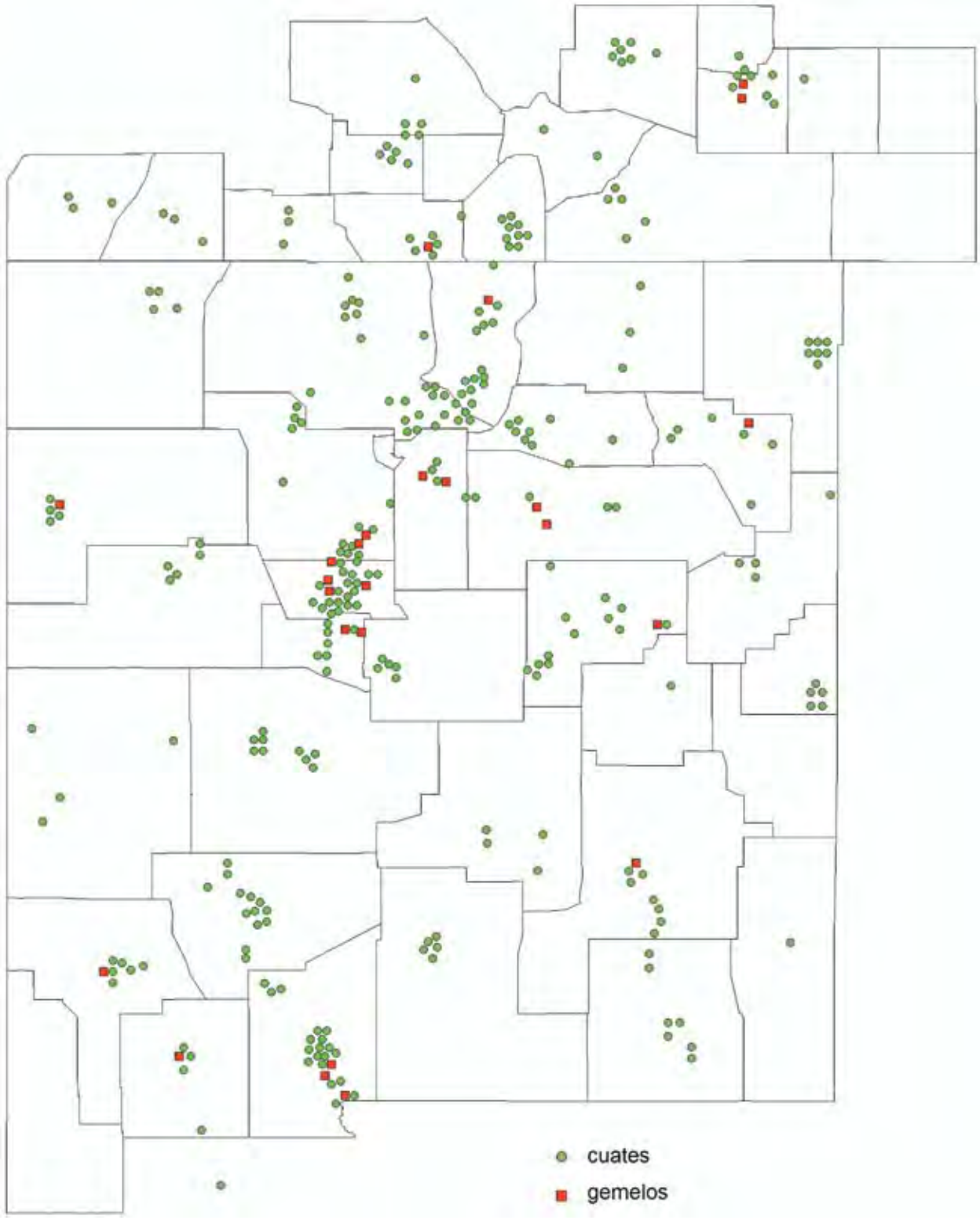
Another Nahuatlism that thoroughly dominates the NMCOSS landscape is the word for 'Owl,' shown in map 7-3. *Tecolote*, from *tecolo-tl* in Nahuatl (in which language it also means 'louse'), is the label selected by 286 of our consultants, 83% of those who were asked to identify this bird. There were 6 other persons who offered the close variant *ticolote*. The standard Spanish term *lechuza* was the preference of just 27 persons (8%). Map 7-3 indicates that this standard variant shows up mostly in Border Spanish areas, but remains very much the minority option even there. The other standard option *buho* (often also spelled *búho*) was proffered by only 1 person, consultant 53, the middle school Spanish teacher again.

Education, however, doesn't seem to play a significant role in the label choices for this bird because it is so deeply embedded in Hispanic culture and folklore and not just the name for a bird. *Si el tecolote canta el indio muere* ('if an owl cries out an Indian dies') goes the saying in Mexico (Rubio 1937, 418). As in much of the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, the relationship between owls and witches always lurks near the surface. We may illustrate this relationship with the following report by a seventy-five-year-old woman from Cleveland, New Mexico (interview 215):

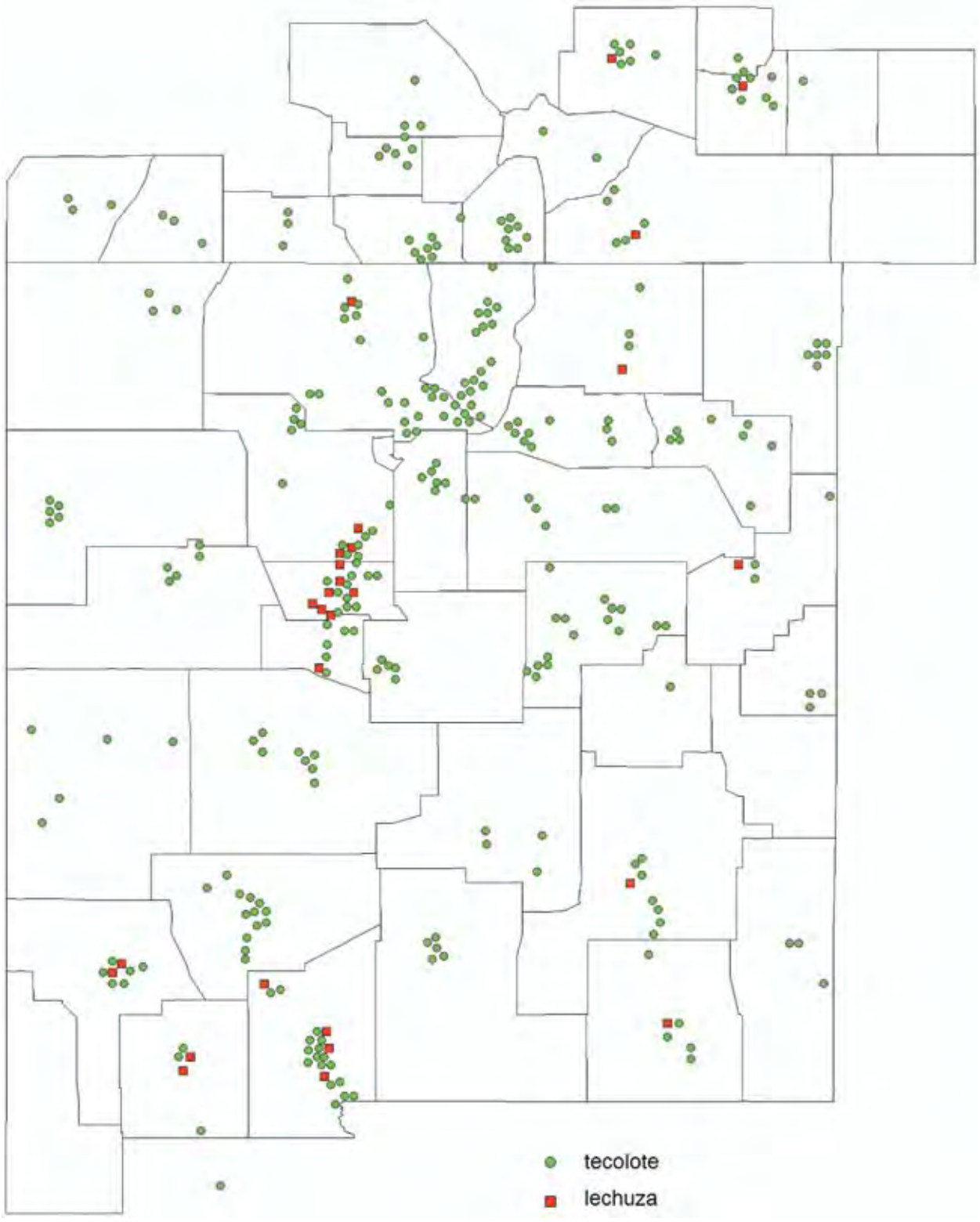
(7-9) *Tenía a mi abuelita allá, muy viejita. Y tenía un tío y una tía que vivían con ella. Nunca se habían casado pero vivían juntos todos. Y me platicaban que una noche habían ido al baile. Y cuando vinieron del baile, estaba un tecolote parado arriba del gallinero, la casa onde durmían las gallinas. Y entonces mi tío entró a la casa, agarró el rifle, y le puso una cruz a la bala, y dijo, "Yo mato ese tecolote porque talvez sea una bruja." Y entonces él le tiró un tiro y le dio al tecolote. El tecolote cayó pa' abajo del techo y cuando fueron a buscarlo, no lo hallaron. El cuento es que al siguiente día estaba una señora muy enferma. Y cuando fueron unas de sus vecinas a verla . . . le preguntó la vecina que si qué le pasaba. Izque le dijo, "Anoche fui a andar vuelta de tecolote y me dio Patricio un balazo."* 'I had my grandmother over there, a very old lady. And I had an uncle and aunt who lived with her. They never got married but they all lived together. And they told me that one night they had gone to a dance. And when they came back from the dance, there was an owl perched on top of the chicken coop, the house where the chickens sleep. And then my uncle went in the house, grabbed his rifle, and put a cross on the bullet, and said, "I'm gonna kill that owl because it might be a witch." And then he fired a shot and he hit the owl. The owl fell off of the roof and when they went to look for it, they couldn't find it. The story is that the next day there was a lady who was very sick. And when some of her neighbors went to see her . . . one neighbor asked her what had happened to her. She supposedly said, "I went out last night turned into an owl and Patricio shot me."'

Tecolote is a Nahuatl loanword that seems not to have spread beyond the areas of Aztec and Mexican influence. Of the 128 tokens of singular *tecolote* and plural *tecolotes* in the *CORDE* and 29 in the *CREA*, only 2 occur in documents outside Mexico and Central America. 'Owl' is not included in the *ALM*, but its use is certainly widespread in that country. It is another of those Nahuatlisms that Lope Blanch (1979, 35) found to reside in the vocabulary of practically all Mexicans of the capital city. Moreno de Alba (1992a, 119) tells us that it alternates there with *búho*.

An item elicited in both the *ALM* survey and the NMCOSS is the label for a humble dwelling, our 'Hut, shack' variable. This item turns out to be much more problematic than 'Owl' or 'Grasshopper' because the concept itself is subjective and elusive, since one person's home may be another person's hut. In addition, most people have more than 1 word to cover the reference, as our use of the 2 English words in the variable name indicates. Our consultants offered 41 distinct variants, but 28 of these were mentioned by only 1 or 2 persons. Many participants in both the *ALM* and the NMCOSS simply used the word for 'house' *casa*, usually as the diminutive *casita* or with some descriptive modifier (*de indio*



7-2. 'Twins'



7-3. ‘Owl’

'Indian,' *pobre* 'poor,' *tirada* 'falling down,' *vieja* 'old,' and so forth). These forms based on *casa* show no significant patterning either geographically or socially and are not further discussed here.

Map 7-4 shows the occurrence of just 3 of the most common terms used in New Mexican Spanish. The most frequently cited variant is the Nahuatlism *jacal*. With 110 first choices (including 5 *jacalito*), it is the preference of a third of the 329 consultants. This early borrowing from the Nahuatl *xahcal-li* was already being commonly used in the first years of colonial New Mexico, as attested in the Valverde interrogatory of 1602 that investigated Oñate's venture into the plains northeast of New Mexico (Craddock 2002, 93):

(7-10) *[H]auian muerto al capitan Umaña y a su jente, quemandolos en vn jacal* '[T]hey had killed Captain Umaña and his people, burning them in a native hut' (our translation).

The distribution of *jacal* in map 7-4 shows the same broad coverage of the NMCOSS territory as that of *chapulín* in map 7-1, *cuates* in map 7-2, and *tecolote* in map 7-3, but with considerably less density.

However, the viability of this Nahuatlism is being severely undermined by 2 other terms that may have their origins in English. One of these, *shaque* (which we could equally well spell *chaque*), is definitely an Anglicism, an adaptation of English *shack*. Thirty-seven consultants (11%) preferred this term for 'Hut, shack.' An important observation here is that 23 of these persons (62%) pronounced the initial consonant of *shaque* as a palatal fricative [š], as in the English pronunciation of the word, and not as a palatal affricate [č] as might be expected in Spanish. English has a contrast between palatal fricatives and affricates (*shop* and *chop* are two different things, as are *ship* and *chip*, *sheep* and *cheep*, etc.), but Spanish does not. However, many dialects of Spanish around the world, from Spain to Cuba to Chile to Mexico allow the *ch* to be pronounced as the palatal fricative [š] under certain conditions, especially in informal speech. Thus, *chico* may sometimes be pronounced [číko] and sometimes [šíko]. Many speakers of New Mexican Spanish participate in such phonetic alternation (see the study by Jaramillo and Bills 1982). But 62% is an awfully high proportion of [š] for the somewhat formal interview situation in which this word was elicited. Rather, this high frequency of the fricative suggests that the word was fairly recently borrowed into Spanish and is not yet completely integrated into the Spanish sound system.

It is also relevant that Espinosa's early study of the English elements in New Mexican Spanish (1914–15) does not include the word *shaque* (or *šaque*, as he would have spelled it) nor does "A vocabulary of New Mexican Spanish," the compilation by Gross (1935) of words appearing in Espinosa's publications. In addition, map 7-4 shows that the small number of consultants who chose this label are found in the Traditional Spanish area that has been more susceptible to adoption of English loanwords to replace existing terms (as we previously showed with *torque* for 'Turkey' in chapter 4, see map 4-3). All these facts tend to support the assumption that the word *shaque* is a fairly recent borrowing from English.

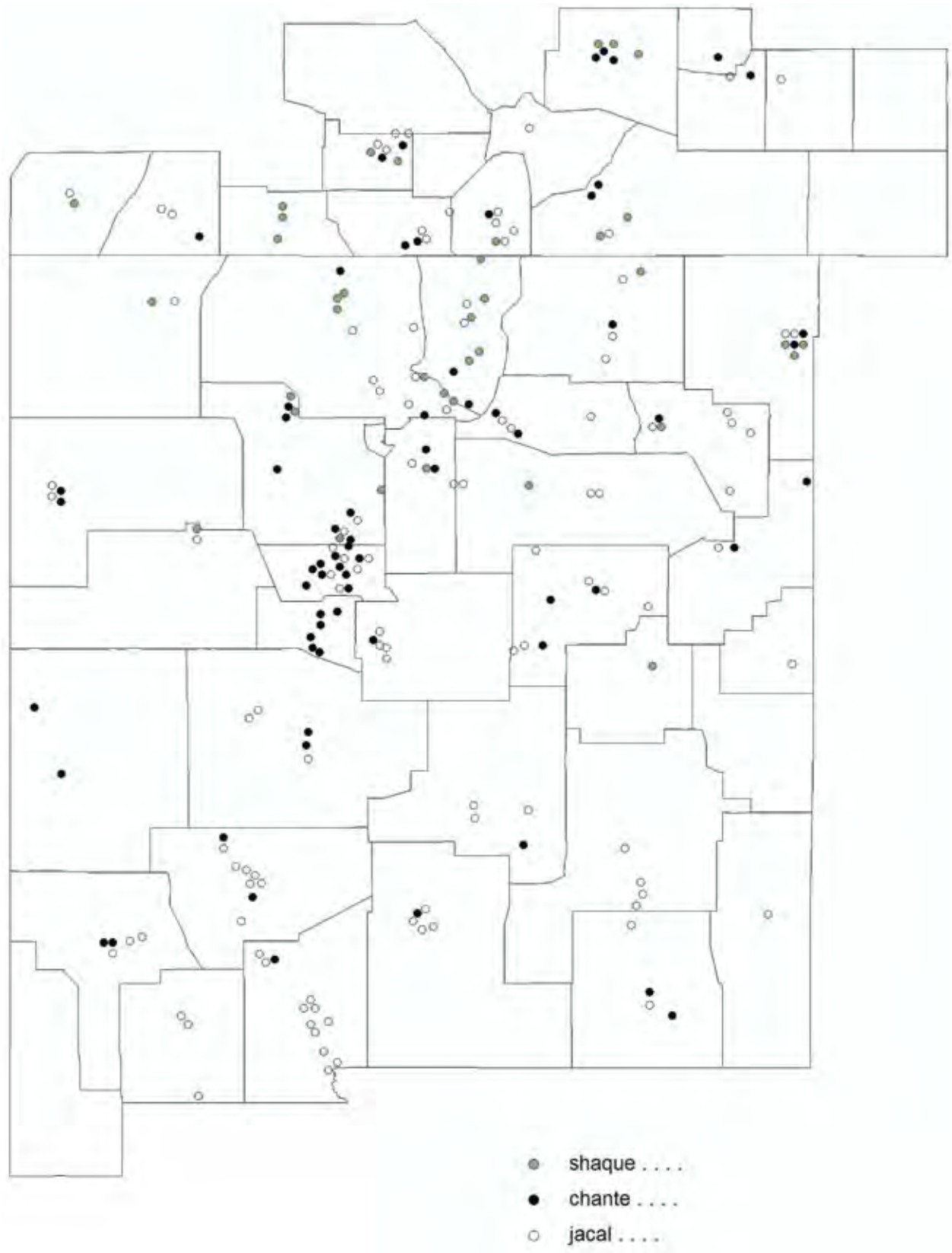
The origin of the third variant, *chante*, is less clear. A total of 68 consultants (21%) offered this form, including 6 cases of the diminutive *chantecito*. It looks very much like it could be a borrowing of English *shanty* (itself borrowed from Canadian French *chantier* as the term of a logger's temporary camp construction). In fact, Espinosa (1914–15, 258–59, 287) documents the form in New Mexican Spanish at the beginning of the twentieth century and identifies it as an Anglicism. He cites it with the initial consonant pronounced as a palatal fricative, *šante*, and reports that the same form occurs in the Spanish of Santa Barbara, California.

Blanco (1971, 558) for California and Cobos (2003) for New Mexico register the word as *chante*, and they too consider it an Anglicism. However, both identify the term as Pachuco slang, the extensively studied argot (also called *caló*) associated with the Mexican American youth subculture that became prominent in the Southwest in the 1930s and 1940s (see, e.g., Barker 1958; Coltharp 1965; Webb 1976). And in Pachuco slang *chante* is used to refer to one's home. Both Blanco and Cobos therefore cite only the meaning 'house, home,' as in Blanco's example:

(7-11) *¡Estaba guaino y me fui pal chante!* 'I was drunk and I went home!' (our translation).

Are we dealing with the same word here? Presumably so. The Pachuco argot is laden with Spanish slang vocabulary that developed over many centuries, but it was a U.S. phenomenon that incorporated many words from English. This fact gives strength to Espinosa's claim that *chante* is an Anglicism. The term is widespread in Mexican slang as well, and Quesada Pacheco (1991) documents its occurrence in youth slang of Costa Rica.

To complicate matters a bit more, Smead and Clegg (1990, 28) and Emiliano (1976, 99) include the word *chante*



7-4. ‘Hut, shack’

in their lists of Nahuatlisms, and Coltharp (1965, 145) also suggests a Nahuatl origin, though she prudently notes, "It may come from American 'shanty.'" Indeed, Karttunen (1983) provides the Nahuatl word *chantli* with the meaning 'home, residence,' and we would expect the integrated borrowing of this word to be precisely *chante*. We would not expect Spanish speakers to borrow a general word for 'house,' but it would be not at all surprising to borrow the term and give it the meaning associated with an Indian dwelling considered to be inferior, that is, a 'Hut, shack.' Also, it would not be surprising to find a later "upgrading" of meaning in slang use. Just as Pachuco *ruca* and its English translation *old lady* may be used by a young man to refer to his wife or girlfriend, so *chante* 'hut' might well be used slangily to refer to one's home.

The mystery deepens. Are we dealing with an Anglicism or a Nahuatlism? If *chante* were indeed a Nahuatlism, we would expect it to show up in Mexico. However, Santamaría (1959) fails to include that word or any other form that would seem to derive from Nahuatl *chantli*. Also, not a single informant produced this term for the 'Hut, shack' variable in the *Atlas lingüístico de México*. We think these findings shift the weight of the evidence toward the English origin.

It is also relevant to note the pronunciation of that initial consonant of *chante* by the NMCOSS consultants. Only 10 of these persons, 15%, used the palatal fricative [š] as in the English *shanty*. Recall that 62% employed that fricative sound for *shaque*. This difference suggests that *chante* is the earlier borrowing, that it has become more integrated into the Spanish sound system. The fact that Espinosa (1914–15) includes this word, but not *shaque*, in his inventory of Anglicisms provides additional support for this supposition. We conclude, then, that *chante* is a loanword from English *shanty*, and not a Nahuatlism.

But we're not yet finished with the 'Hut, shack' variable. In the *ALM*, 2 variants dominate, *jacal* and *choza*. The more frequent choice is the Nahuatlism *jacal*, representing nearly half of the responses in comparison with a one-third showing in the NMCOSS. Mejías (1980, 153) lists *jacal* as an early Nahuatlism that is documented in Mexico for both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that continues to be of absolute general knowledge in Mexico in the twentieth century. It is also included in the 99th percentile list of Lope Blanch (1979, 35).

But running second to *jacal* in Mexico with about a third of the responses is the standard Spanish *choza*. In the NMCOSS, only 14 consultants preferred the *choza* label. Those persons were scattered across the region and are not included on map 7-4. And once again life experiences with Spanish rather than geography seem to be the significant predictor in selecting the standard term. Of the 14, 6 had a parent or spouse born in Mexico, and another 6 had studied Spanish in high school or college.

Alterations

Early Nahuatlisms of the second type are those that continue to be widely used in New Mexican Spanish but show a substantial change in form or meaning in comparison with the variant typical of Mexico.

Let us first examine a few alterations in meaning. For instance, an early Nahuatl borrowing that has undergone a semantic alteration in New Mexican Spanish is the term *mitote*, derived from Nahuatl *mihtoh-tli* 'dance.' Santamaría (1959, 728), however, describes this as a special type of Aztec dance that involved heavy drinking. Cobos reports that in colonial New Mexico *mitote* was 'a dance with drinking and a great deal of noise,' which he supports with a translation from the *Colección de documentos inéditos* of the Antonio de Espejo's 1582–83 expedition: 'And day and night, during the three days that we stayed there, they always made *mitotes* and balls, and dances' (Cobos 1983, 112, a quote absent in Cobos 2003). The early meaning of a dance or loud party has been retained in Mexico as well as elsewhere in the Southwest (see, for example, Galván and Teschner 1975, 1977).

However, that original meaning appears no longer to be common in Traditional Spanish, where *mitote* now is associated primarily or solely with the idea of 'gossip,' particularly gossip of the malicious kind that creates trouble and discord (though the 2003 edition of Cobos also offers the meaning of 'a Saturday night dance with drinking and a great deal of noise'). In our experience, the extended sense is maintained in all derived forms such as *mitotear* 'to gossip, to spread rumors' and *mitotero* 'person who gossips a lot, troublemaker.'

This kind of semantic extension has also occurred with the word *comal* (from Nahuatl *comal-li*), which for the Aztecs was a flat earthen plate used for cooking corn tortillas. In Mexico that meaning is retained though the utensil may now also be made of metal (Brambila 1957), a usage reported as well for Costa Rica (Quesada 1991). In New Mexican Spanish *comal* is now typically used to refer to a metal griddle (see Cobos 2003) or the heated flat part of a stove, such as the old-fashioned wood-burning stove.

In addition, however, 15 NMCOSS consultants have further extended the meaning of this word to include 'Skillet.' In this case, the consultants were responding not to a small, thin skillet but specifically to a picture

of a cast-iron skillet in which chicken was being fried. Significantly, all 15 represent rural Traditional Spanish areas and all but 2 were over the age of seventy. It is doubtful that this usage was ever very widespread, but it is abundantly clear that it has now become a relic in the New Mexican Spanish museum. (Other terms for 'Skillet' are treated in chapter 9; see map 9-4.)

Another early Nahuatlism that shows a substantial change in meaning in New Mexican Spanish is *cajete*. The Nahuatl source, *caxi-tl*, referred to a 'cup, bowl, vessel,' and the word *cajete* in modern Mexican Spanish generally refers to an 'earthen bowl or basin.' In New Mexican Spanish, however, the meaning of the word has been changed to refer to the large metal 'Tub' or 'washtub' once so widely used for washing clothes as well as for bathing, and the original meaning of bowl or basin is generally lost. Over three-quarters of the NMCOSS consultants (251 of 328 respondents, 77%) chose *cajete* to label the metal 'Tub' concept. Map 7-5 shows that *cajete* is the usual term for 'Tub' throughout the Traditional Spanish region. In contrast, the Border Spanish term is the standard *tina*, the preference of 63 consultants (19%).

As just noted, a common use of the washtub was for bathing. It is quite natural, then, for speakers to further extend the meaning of the label for 'Tub' to cover the modern 'Bathtub.' Although three-fourths of the NMCOSS consultants (244 of 325) offered the standard Spanish term *baño* for 'Bathtub,' 27 persons in the Traditional Spanish area preferred the *cajete* label (and 33 persons in the Border Spanish regions preferred *tina*).

The Nahuatl word for a pottery spoon—*xomatli* in Siméon, *xumatli* in Molina—was borrowed into Spanish as *jumate*. This label has been extended in New Mexican Spanish to refer to 'Dipper,' the long-handled metal cup used especially for drinking water, for example, at a well or from a large water container, as illustrated in example 7-12:

(7-12) *Carreábamos agua del ojito. Teníamos un jumate pa' beber agua.* [Interviewer: *¿Todos bebían del mismo jumate?*] *Unhunh . . . antes no había* ***germs***. 'We'd bring water from the spring. We had a dipper for drinking water. [Did everyone drink from the same dipper?] Yeah . . . in those days we didn't have germs.' (interview 143)

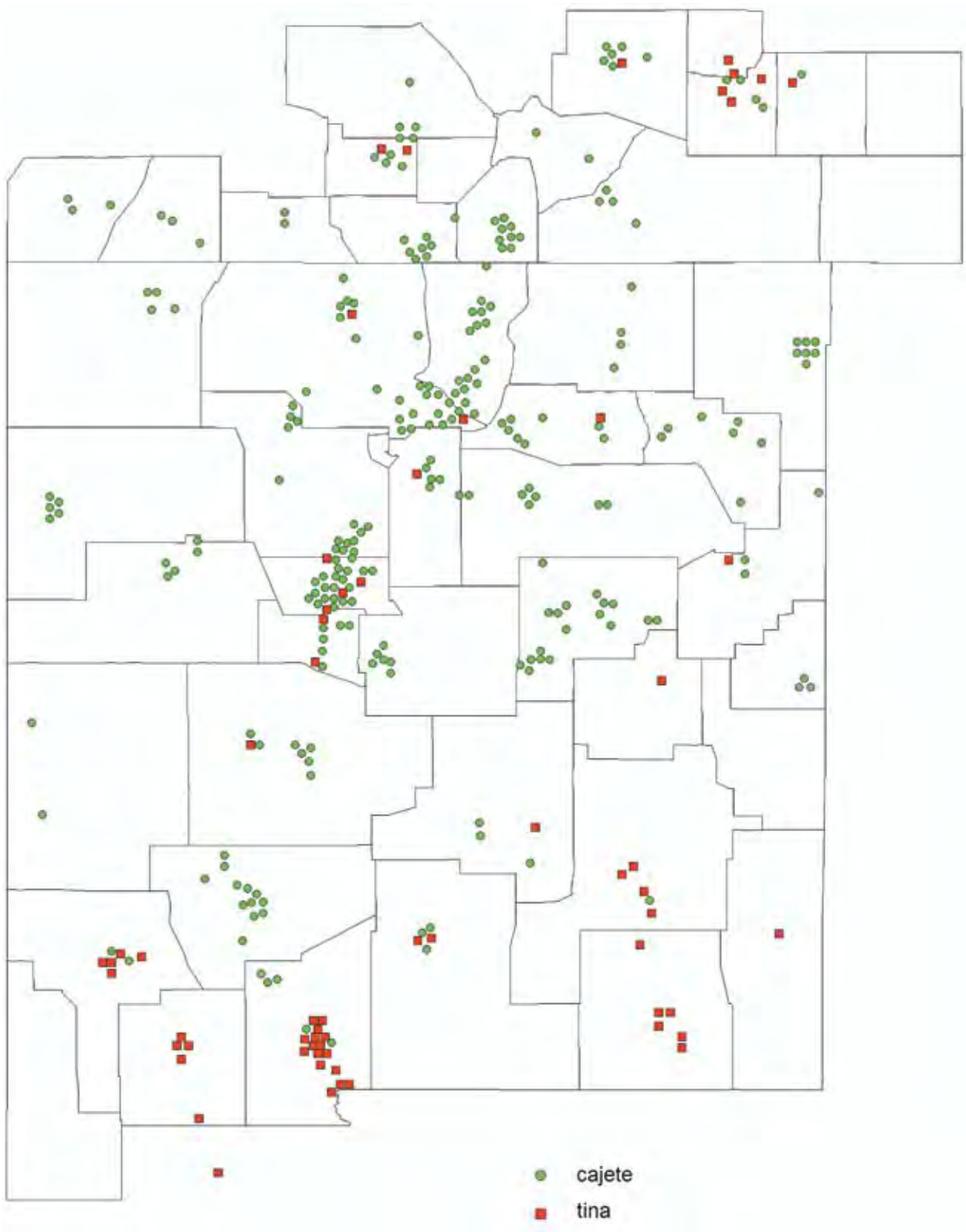
When presented a picture of a cowboy with this object in hand, nearly two-thirds of the NMCOSS consultants (210 of 325, 65%) responded with *jumate*, including 5 cases of the diminutive form *jumatito*. The only other form attaining more than 10 responses is a borrowing from English: 12 cases of unassimilated ***dipper*** and 18 cases of fully assimilated *dipa*.

The prominence of *jumate* for 'Dipper' in the Traditional Spanish area, as shown in map 7-6, indicates that it is a Nahuatlism brought early into Nuevo México. In rather sharp contrast, the resort to using the integrated borrowing from English shows up prominently in Border Spanish, quite at odds with our earlier observations regarding 'Turkey' and 'Hut, shack' that Anglicisms are often associated with Traditional Spanish.

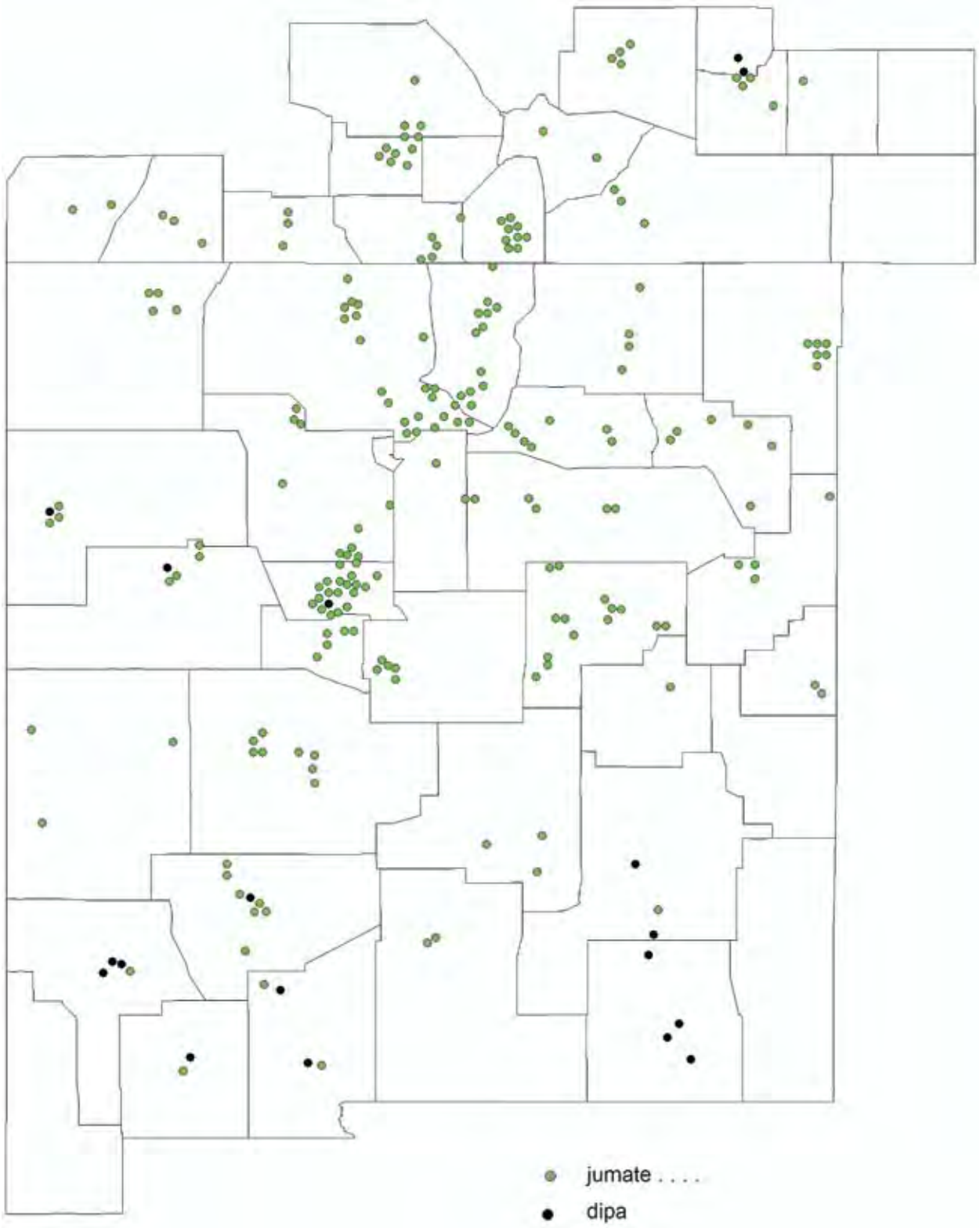
Why should this peculiar geographical contrast show up? The answer seems to lie in divergent cultural and linguistic histories in the development of the water-drinking implement. The *Atlas lingüístico de México* includes such an instrument, but it is represented as the half of a gourd shell. The use of a half-gourd to drink from, while long since absent from U.S. culture, is quite typical in Mexico. Consequently, the response to this stimulus in the *ALM* was almost always *jícara* (see mapa 891), which happens to be another Nahuatl borrowing, from *xical-li* 'gourd vessel.' Nevertheless, an occasional person in a half dozen communities in northwestern Mexico offered *jumate* (sometimes *jomate*). Santamaría (1959), too, reports that *jumate* occurs in northern Mexico for a half-gourd used as a spoon or for drinking water.

It appears, then, that 2 different Nahuatlisms came to be used for a drinking implement, with *jícara* now winning out in modern Mexico. The use of *jumate* must have once been more widespread there but now survives only in the remote northwest. We can feel confident that it is the term that was brought into the NMCOSS territory and that its meaning was extended to refer to the drinking implement made of metal. It appears that for those with closer ties to Mexico, there is no obvious term for this metal object, so it is quite understandable that persons in the Border Spanish areas might turn to English *dipper* to label this distinctive cultural artifact. Only 2 NMCOSS consultants ventured to extend the Mexican label *jícara* to cover this metal implement; the parents of both were born in Mexico.

The Nahuatl word for 'butterfly,' *papalo-tl*, seems to have been borrowed into Spanish as *papalote* at an early date for reference to the flying toy 'Kite.' Map 7-7 shows the distribution in New Mexican Spanish of the 2 principal labels for 'Kite,' *papalote* and a borrowing of the English word. The fact that the Nahuatlism is used throughout the Traditional Spanish territory indicates that it was likely brought into the area in the early colonial period. It is also the form offered as a first response by a majority (187, 57%) of the 328 consultants who provided



7-5. ‘Tub’



7-6. ‘Dipper’

data for this item. Pedrero (2002, 178–79) says that it comprises over three-quarters (76%) of the responses for 'Kite' across the five Southwest states in her study.

The only other variant commonly reported in the NMCOSS is a much later borrowing, this time from English. This borrowing was usually pronounced in unassimilated form as ***kite*** [kait] (98 cases), but sometimes more phonologically integrated as *caite* (12 cases). The Anglicism was the first choice of a third (34%) of our consultants, replacing *papalote* particularly in the younger generations. For instance, while 79% of those above the age of sixty-four preferred the *papalote* term, only 38% of those under the age of forty-one did so.

Papalote for 'Kite' can be found in Mejías's list of Nahuatlisms that are documented in Mexico for both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that continue to be borrowings of absolute general knowledge in Mexico in the twentieth century (1980, 153). Mapa 802 of the *Atlas lingüístico de México* confirms the current status, with *papalote* being the dominant form across the country and with *cometa* and *huila*/*güila* showing up as the principal minor forms in the northern half and the northeast, respectively. Only 1 NMCOSS consultant offered the standard variant *cometa*, though 1 young consultant only slightly missed that target with the response *cormeta*. Only 1 person preferred *huila*.

But while retaining that original Spanish meaning of 'Kite,' the term *papalote* has expanded the scope of its meaning in New Mexican Spanish to include a 'Pinwheel,' the toy fan on a stick that twirls when the stick is waved. The majority (52%) of the NMCOSS consultants used *papalote* to name this toy, and another 10% used the same Nahuatlism in the Spanish diminutive form, *papalotito*. Given that a fourth of the consultants could offer no Spanish response (22% no response and 3% English response), the 2 Nahuatlism forms represent fully 82% of those who actually responded with a Spanish word. The geographical distribution of the 2 forms in New Mexican Spanish is much like that of *papalote* for 'Kite,' that is, covering the entire region, so we do not include that map here.

In Mexico, the most widespread label for 'Pinwheel' is *rehilete* (with several variant pronunciations), a label favored by only 1 NMCOSS consultant. The extension of *papalote* to cover this concept is reported in the *ALM* (mapa 809), but there are only about 15 cases scattered across northern Mexico. The extension of meaning has advanced considerably more in New Mexican Spanish.

A still further semantic alteration is the very reasonable expansion of the term *papalote* to label a 'Windmill' of the western type used for extracting water from the ground. A total of 58% of the 334 respondents chose this term. However, 27 persons claimed to not have a label for this agrarian artifact and another 25 could offer only the English label ***windmill***. Thus, of those who could come up with a Spanish label, 70% reported the Nahuatlism.

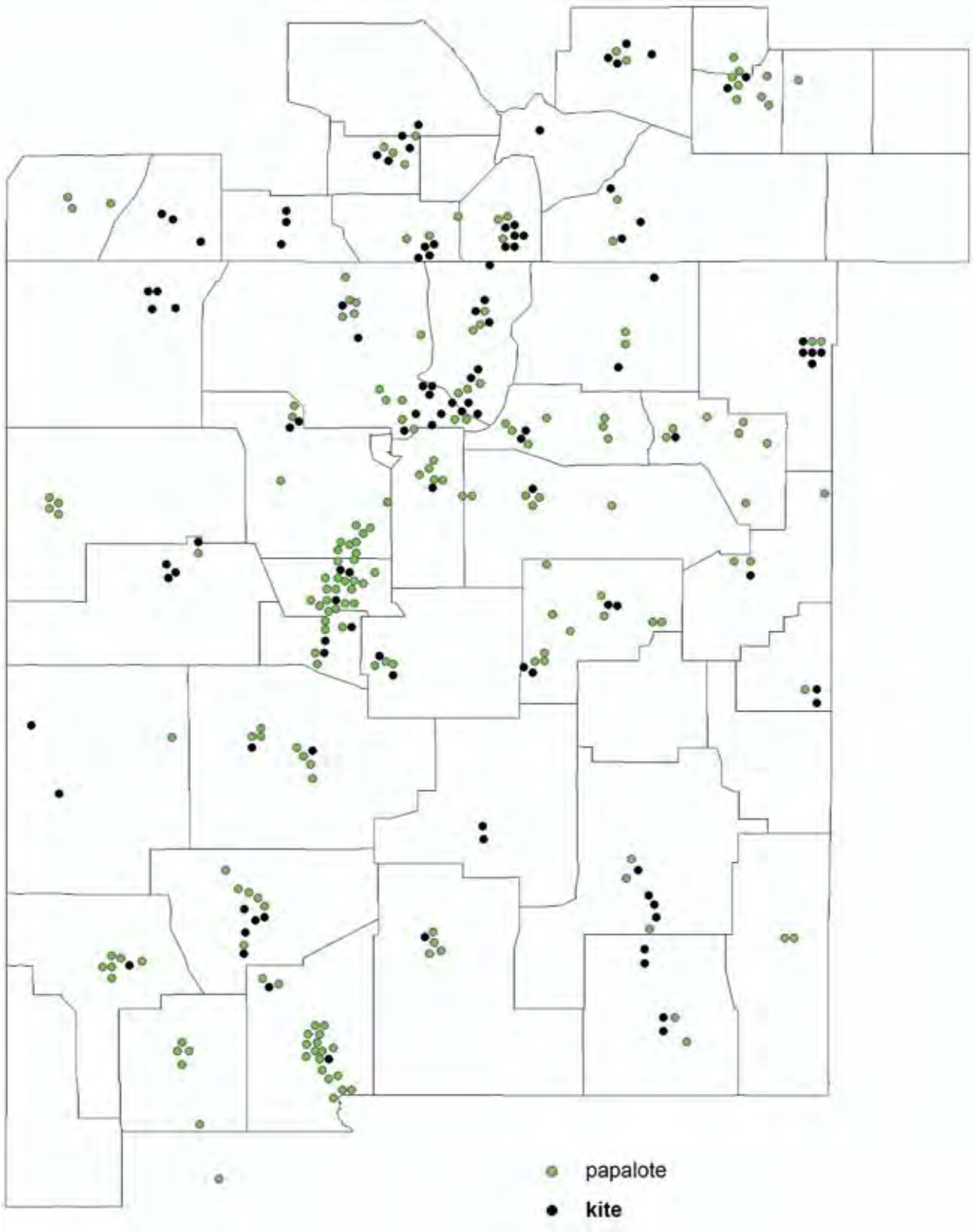
Coming in at a very distant second place in preferential terms with just 16% of the Spanish responses is the label *molino*, occasionally reported with modifications such as *molino de viento* (6 responses) or *molino de agua* (4 responses). *Molino* is the general word for 'mill' in Spanish, while *molino de viento* is the standard form for 'Windmill.' Map 7-8 shows that the restricted distribution of the *molino* variants appear prominently in the northeastern NMCOSS region, a restricted distribution that suggests a prominent subdialect area.

In contrast, the use of *papalote* for 'Windmill' is spread across the New Mexican Spanish territory. More important still is the strong manifestation of *papalote* in the southern area, implying that the same semantic extension may be present in Mexico, at least in the northern part. Regrettably, this lexical variable was not included in the *ALM*, but Santamaría (1959) acknowledges reports of *papalote* for 'Windmill' ("*molino de viento*") as a *fronterizo* usage, that is, in the borderlands of northern Mexico.

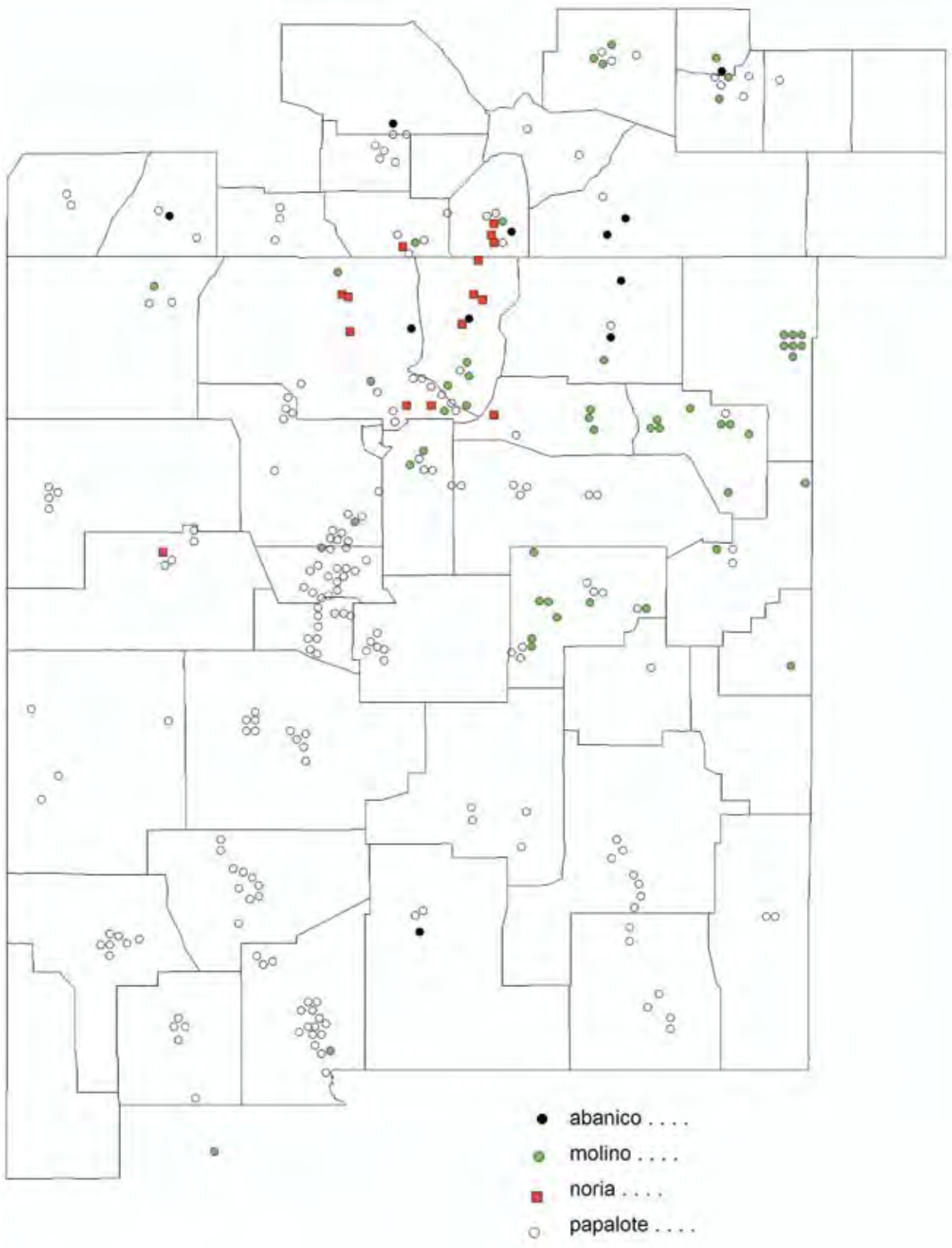
There are 2 other very minor variants that are of interest because of their occurrence primarily in the far northern part of the NMCOSS region. *Abanico*, the general Spanish word for 'fan,' received 11 responses (including 1 *abanico de agua*), mostly from speakers in this area. *Noria*, including variants such as *noria de aigre* and *noria de viento*, totaled 15 responses that occur in a tightly restricted area of the central north. As we will see later in the discussion of map 15-10, *noria* is the widely preferred term for 'Well' in New Mexican Spanish.

Turning now to alterations in form, an example of a Nahuatlism that retains its original Nahuatl meaning but appears to show a change in form is seen in map 7-9 for 'Buzzard' (the 'turkey vulture' common to the region). This map displays the distribution patterns for the 2 major Nahuatl reflexes—*zopilote* and *chupilote*—as well as a more recently entering form, *aura*. The sparseness of attestations on this map results from the startling fact that nearly half (45%) of the 339 respondents could not provide a Spanish label; 115 offered no term at all and 39 responded with an English word.

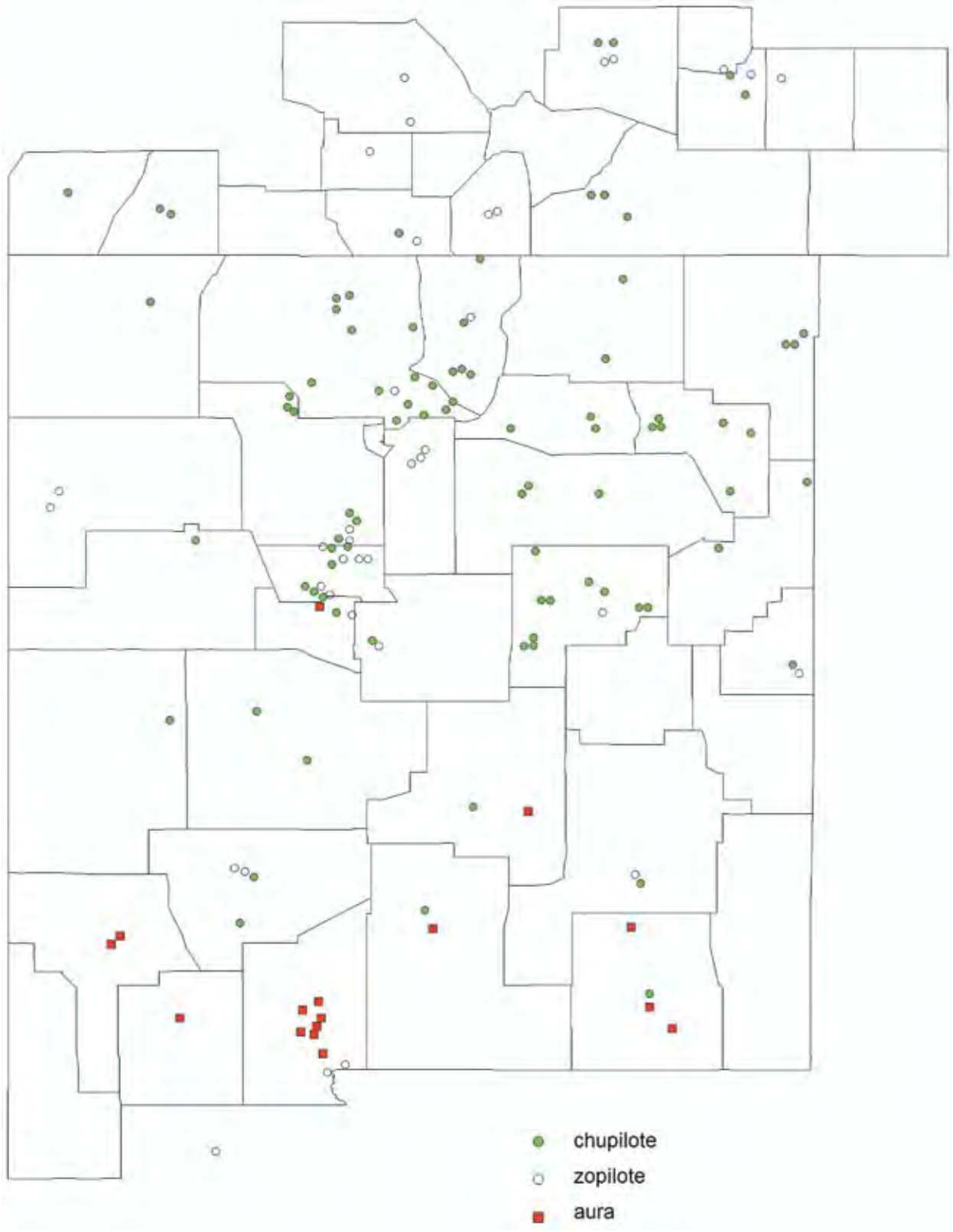
In Mexico the most general pronunciation for the Nahuatl borrowing is *zopilote* (from the Nahuatl *tzopilo-tl*). This variable was not included in the *ALM* survey, but *zopilote* is cited at length in Santamaría (1959)



7-7. ‘Kite’



7-8. 'Windmill'



7-9. ‘Buzzard’

and is acknowledged in the *DRAE* as typical of Mexico and Central America. This form also occurs in New Mexican Spanish, but only 40 of the NMCOSS respondents (12%) favor *zopilote* (or rarely, *zupilote*).

The by far more common New Mexican Spanish variant, with 85 responses (25%), has a different initial consonant, *chupilote*. In addition, there were 9 cases of *chopilote*, *chipilote*, or other similar variants. Taking into consideration the large number of our consultants who were able to provide no response or only an English response for this bird, we find *chupilote* and its variants with initial *ch* to be the favored word for over half (51%) of those who gave Spanish responses. This variant of the Nahuatl borrowing appears to be an innovation in form independent from Mexico. It is found neither in Santamaría (1959) nor in the *DRAE*. Alvar (2000, 282) reports this variant only in New Mexico and Arizona.

But we cannot be sure that *chupilote* represents an innovation that developed in New Mexican territory. The initial *tz* of Nahuatl *tzopilo-tl* represents an alveolar affricate sound [ts] like the *ts* of *Betsy* in English, a sound sequence that does not exist in the modern Spanish phonological system. It may be adapted to the American Spanish system by reduction to a simple [s], as happened to yield *zopilote*. Or it may be adapted to the only affricate of Spanish, the palatal *ch*, phonetically [tʃ]. Other Nahuatlisms in Mexican Spanish were adopted in this second way, for example, *chanate* 'grackle,' from Nahuatl *tzana-tl*. Thus, *chupilote* may well represent an early adaptation from Nahuatl that was brought along to colonial New Mexico in its first century.

Whatever its origin, as map 7-9 indicates, the *chupilote* variant is now a prominent characteristic of Traditional Spanish. *Zopilote*, on the other hand, has just 36 first choices and is scattered randomly across the NMCOSS area. Oddly enough, it is not even strong in the Border Spanish area, where a third variant, *aura* (the choice of 16 consultants), turns out to be the preferred label. *Aura*, which the *DRAE* assesses to be "of American origin," is a fairly recent linguistic immigrant from Mexico. It appears to be about equally favored with *zopilote* in Texas, according to the data collected by Alvar.

The preference for *zopilote* among the NMCOSS consultants is associated not with geography, but with two other kinds of exposure to Mexican Spanish: greater number of Spanish language courses and greater number of years of education in general. For example, while *zopilote* is favored by just 12% overall, it is the choice of 28% of those who had taken three or more Spanish courses.

A perhaps more significant change in the morphological shape of an early borrowed form concerns the term for 'Water salamander' (also locally called 'water dog'). In Mexican Spanish, the form is *ajolote*, which derives from the Nahuatl *axolo-tl*. This was the term of choice for only 6 of our consultants—2 from southern New Mexico (Las Cruces, Silver City), 1 from eastern New Mexico, and 3 from southeastern Colorado who had parents born in Mexico. Nevertheless, *ajolote* is quite likely the form that was brought into New Mexico in the early period. However, that label has been altered in New Mexican Spanish today to *guajolote*, sometimes realized as *guajalote*. These 2 variants are illustrated in the following two examples, which also reveal how this animal is associated with an intriguing myth that was mentioned repeatedly in our interviews:

(7-13) *Platicaban de antes . . . que se sentaban a usar el* ***bathroom*** *en un zacatal cuando caiba agua y el guajalote le entraba a una mujer.* 'They used to say that they [women] would sit down to use the bathroom in a patch of grass when it was raining and a water salamander would enter a woman.' (interview 245)

(7-14) *No vayan en la acequia, les van a meter los guajolotes.* 'Don't go into the irrigation ditch, the salamanders will crawl into you [a common warning to girls].' (interview 3)

Semantic matters make this case more interesting. As noted in chapter 4, for a good number of NMCOSS consultants the word for 'Turkey' also happens to be *guajolote* or *guajalote*, deriving from Nahuatl *huehx-olo-tl* 'turkey.' The synonymy of *guajolote* may well be an important factor contributing to the rapid expansion of the English borrowing *torque* for 'Turkey.' The sense of insecurity deriving from the synonymy may also relate to loss of a term for 'Water salamander.' Fully 35% of the NMCOSS consultants were unable to provide a Spanish word for that pictured reptile, while 13 persons could give only the Spanish word for lizard (*lagartijo*), and still others variously identified it in Spanish as a toad, tadpole, worm, and even snake! Another factor in this lexical loss, of course, must be the more limited rural experience of Hispanics today.

The preferred term for 'Pickaxe' (or 'pick') in New Mexican Spanish may also be a Nahuatlism, but there are several issues of form and interpretation. Let's begin with the NMCOSS picture provided in map 7-10, which depicts

the distributions of the 4 most common words for 'Pickaxe': *talache*, *talacho*, *pico*, and *pica*. Clearly dominant overall, and particularly characteristic of the northern Traditional Spanish area, is the form *talache*, numbering 178 cases and accounting for 53% of the total responses. In addition, there were 14 instances of minor variations on the form (*talacha*, *taliche*, *taloche*, *telache*, *telacha*, and *toloche*) that are not included on the map. However, there were also 14 cases (just 4%) of another variant, *talacho*, which is mapped because it occurs only in the Border Spanish areas. Finally, *pico* (50 cases or 15%) and *pica* (32 cases, 10%) are prominent in the southern half of the NMCOSS territory.

A comparison with Mexico is instructive. Let us first deal with the non-Nahuatlism variants. *ALM* mapa 882 shows that the clearly dominant form in Mexico, representing some 300 cases, is the standard term *pico*. This fact accords well with the prominence of *pico* in the Border Spanish areas of map 7-10. However, there seem to be only 3 instances of *pica* in Mexico, which suggests that the rather more significant tally of this form in New Mexican Spanish is some kind of innovation, perhaps related to the use of the term *pick* in English.

As in the NMCOSS, the preferred Mexican variant of the supposed Nahuatlism is *talache*, with some 100 responses (including 1 *talachi*) on mapa 822. The absence of *talache* in northwestern Mexico anywhere near New Mexico indicates that its presence in New Mexican Spanish derives from an early colonial introduction. In contrast, there are only 30–35 *talacho* citations and these do show up in northwest Mexico. Thus, the Border Spanish showing of *talacho* in the NMCOSS is no surprise. Finally in Mexico there were just 6 instances of *talacha* plus a single case of *tlalacha*. Given the relative strengths of these Nahuatlism variants as ascertained by the *ALM*, it is curious to find that *talacho* and not *talache* is included as a Mexicanism in the *DRAE*.

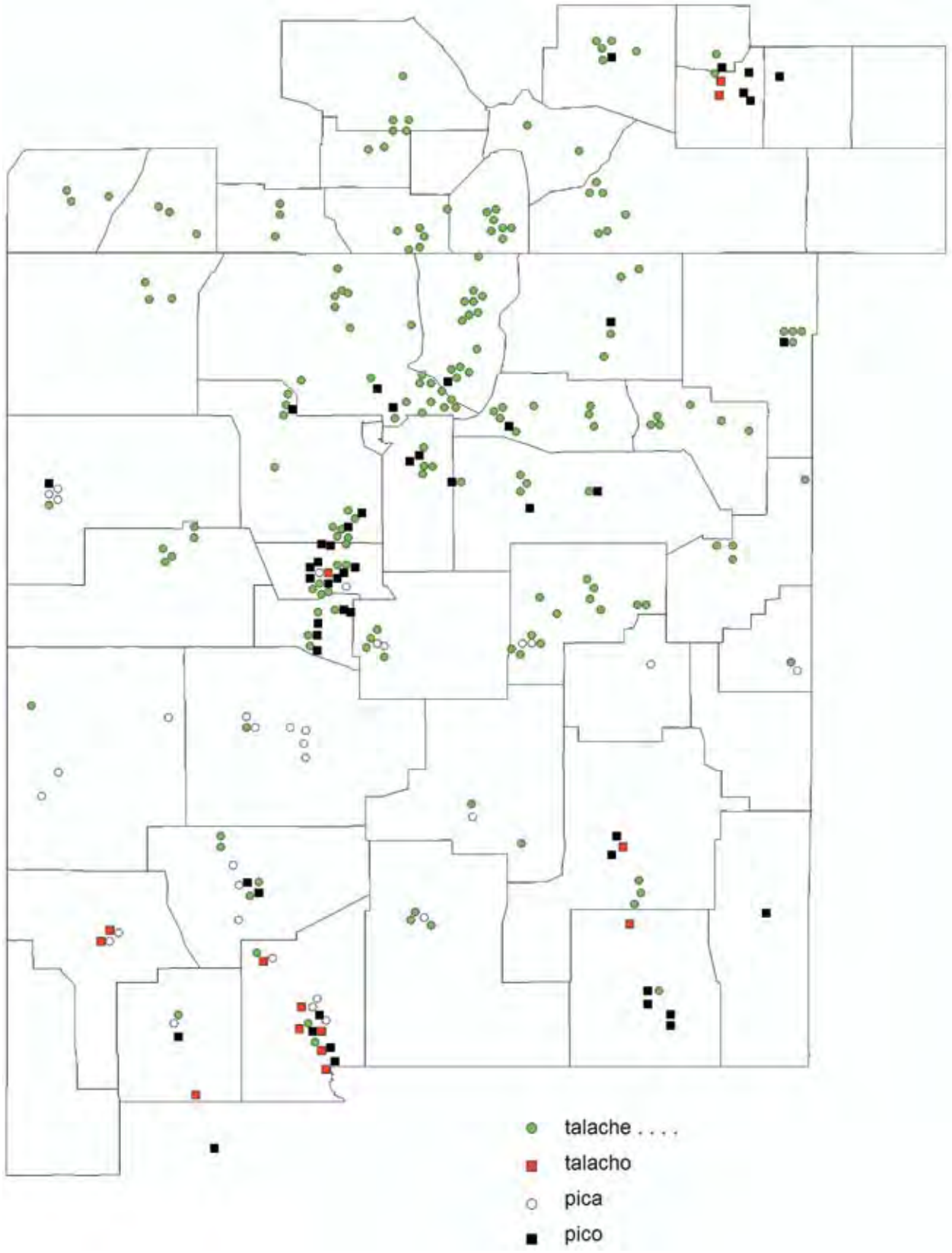
Now, is this form truly a Nahuatlism? Santamaría (1959) says it is. He claims that *talacha* derives from the combining of the Nahuatl *tlal-li* 'earth' and Spanish *hacha* 'axe,' thus *tlal-hacha* 'earth-axe' or 'ground-axe' (like the sole *ALM* case *tlalacha* of the preceding paragraph). He posits that the masculine gender *talache* and *talacho* are derivatives of that original form. However, in both Mexico and New Mexico, the feminine variants are rare (approximately 5% and 3% respectively). The masculine forms are clearly the rule. If the Nahuatl derivation is correct, there has clearly been a significant alteration in phonological and grammatical form over the intervening centuries. The evidence of the early introduction of the *talache* variants into New Mexico and the present distribution of those variants in Mexico suggest that this Nahuatlism, if it is indeed a Nahuatlism, was at one time in more widespread use in both countries. It has lost ground to *pico* in Mexico and to *pica* and *pico* in the NMCOSS territory.

An example of change in both form and meaning is the label for 'Trunk,' elicited with a picture of an old-fashioned metal and wood trunk for storing clothes and keepsakes. The 2 principal responses were 2 Nahuatlisms, *petaca* and *petaquilla*. *Petaca* is an early adaptation from Nahuatl *petlacal-li*, 'woven wicker hamper,' while *petaquilla* appears to be formed by adding the Spanish diminutive suffix to the earlier *petaca* (see Maffla Bilbao 2003, 360–62). The original meaning of *petaca* was a kind of suitcase or trunk and it continues with that meaning in Mexico today. The diminutive form, *petaquilla*, once had the meaning in Mexico of a woven basket for carrying fruits and such (Santamaría 1959, 838), though it could also mean a small trunk or suitcase. Unfortunately, the *ALM* includes no item for which either form could be elicited. However, Mejías (1980, 53) lists *petaquilla* as a Nahuatlism documented in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that is not generally known in the twentieth century. Lope Blanch (1979) reports that *petaca* is widely known in Mexico City nowadays, but *petaquilla* does not even fall into his "almost unknown" category. The *DRAE* includes *petaca* as a Mexicanism and makes no mention of *petaquilla*.

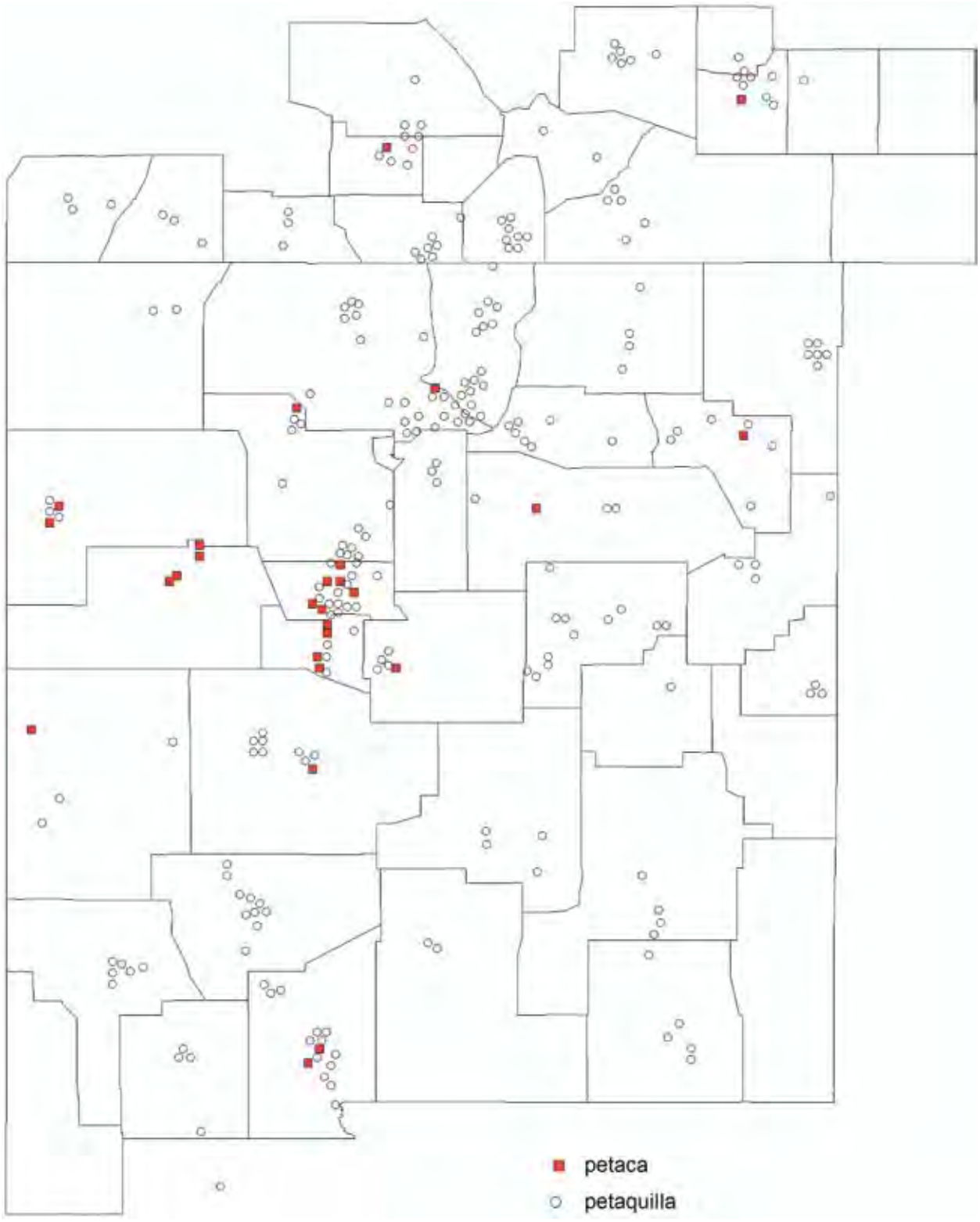
Conversely, as map 7-11 demonstrates, in New Mexican Spanish the form *petaquilla* has almost completely replaced *petaca*. Of the 331 NMCOSS consultants questioned for this item, 240 (73%) favored the diminutive *petaquilla* to label this large trunk, and there were an additional 10 distortions of this form (e.g., *patequilla*, *pecatilla*, *tapaquilla*) that are omitted from the map. In contrast, only 27 consultants (8%) offered the *petaca* form. It is somewhat surprising to observe that the more Mexican form, *petaca*, is not particularly associated with the typical Border Spanish areas but rather shows up most prominently in central New Mexico, the Albuquerque area in particular.

A still further extension of the meaning of *petaquilla* is for reference to the 'trunk of an automobile,' as illustrated by the following commentary by the husband of consultant 299 who intervened in the interview to explain some difficulties in understanding Mexicans:

(7-15) *Un muchacho de México . . . me dijo, "Déme los dados de la cajuela." Y cajuela yo sabía que era la petaquilla del carro. Anduve buscando y*



7-10. 'Pickaxe'



7-11. ‘Trunk’

le dije que "aquí no traes dados." Pos, tuvo que salirse de abajo del carro y dijo, "Aquí están," dijo. Eran los ***sockets***. 'A guy from Mexico . . . said to me, "Get me the *dados* from the *cajuela*." And I knew that *cajuela* was the trunk of the car. I went looking and I told him that "You don't have any *dados*." Well, he had to get out from under the car and he said, "Here they are," he said. They were the socket wrenches.'

Among the other responses for 'Trunk' are 16 cases of *velís*. These responses no doubt reflect a slight degree of lexical loss or confusion since *velís* in New Mexican Spanish is the heavily preferred (80%) label for 'Suitcase,' a container quite close to 'Trunk' in semantic space. There are also 10 cases of the standard label *baúl* (though pronounced *baule* 4 times and *bable* 2 times). Finally, 6 consultants resorted to the English ***trunk*** and another 5 made attempts to integrate this word into Spanish (*tranca*, *tronca*, *tronque*). None of these other responses display any geographical patterning and are therefore excluded from map 7-11.

Reductions

The third category of early Nahuatl borrowings includes forms that were once extensively used but appear now to be in the process of decline, becoming **relics**. An example of a form that may be on the decline is *milpa* 'cornfield' (from Nahuatl *mil-li* 'field' plus the postposition *-pan*). We can be confident that this word has long enjoyed use in the NMCOSS region. There is, for example, a reference to *las milpas de Santa Fe* at the time of the Pueblo uprising (Twitchell 1914, 9). Although neither 'cornfield' nor 'cultivated field' were included as items in our survey, we know that this Nahuatlism continues to be widely used in New Mexican Spanish. Nevertheless, we also get the feeling that it is losing ground of late to the English borrowing *fil* with its more general meaning 'field (of any crop),' exemplified in example 7-16:

(7-16) *En las noches cuando andábanos regando ahi en los files se vían por ondequiera.* 'When we would be irrigating the fields at night, you would see them [fireflies] everywhere.' (interview 279)

The more general meaning of *fil* no doubt proves more useful for an increasingly less agrarian society.

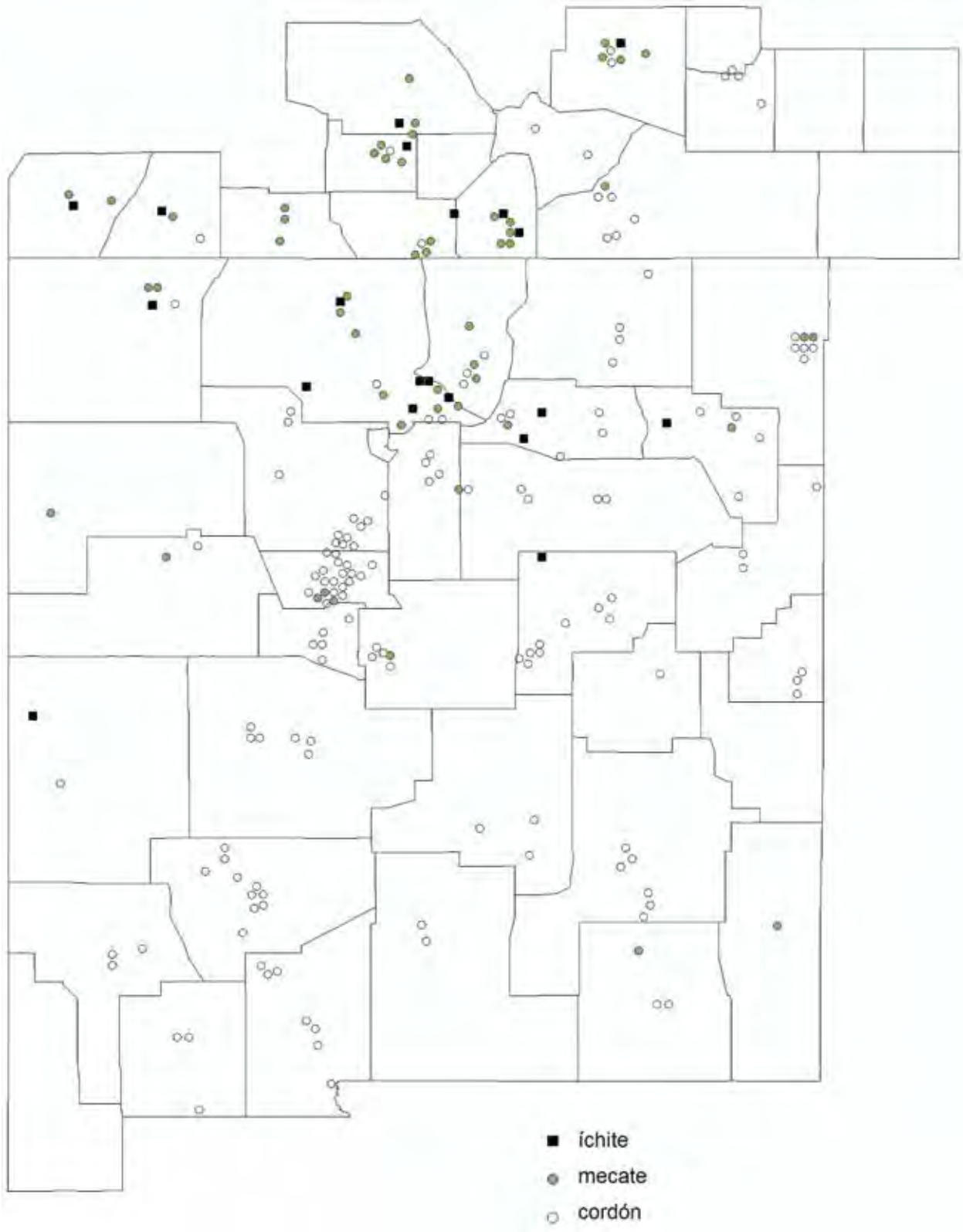
There are two traits that help us to identify Nahuatlisms in decline. First, such forms have a special distribution pattern: they are generally found only in the northern part of the survey region in rural areas where the early colonists settled. Second, as is characteristic of relic forms in general, they are used only by a small percentage of the consultants, typically the elderly.

Map 7-12 displays the distribution of 2 Nahuatlisms elicited as labels for 'String.' *Mecate* is derived from Nahuatl *meca-tl*, 'cord or rope, whip made of knotted cords, vine,' and *íchite* comes from Nahuatl *ich-tli* 'thread made from maguey fiber,' though both Cobos (2003) and Santamaría (1959) cite *ixtli* as the Nahuatl source. Only 20 of the 310 respondents (6%) gave *íchite* as their preferred label and 52 (17%) gave *mecate*. Both terms, *íchite* in particular, occur primarily in rural areas of the northern NMCOSS territory. In early New Mexico both forms probably referred to a crude cord made of vegetable fiber. It appears that as the artifact has developed into more refined manufactured string, the label has shifted to a more standard Spanish word, *cordón*, favored by nearly half (48%) of the NMCOSS consultants.

These findings contrast interestingly with the situation in Mexico. Mapa 821 of the *ALM* shows that *cordón* is rare among the numerous words for 'String' there. Instead, the most common label is precisely the Nahuatlism *mecate*, which is also listed in the *DRAE* as a term used from Mexico south to Venezuela. Map 7-12 shows that in New Mexican Spanish, a few cases of *mecate* show up in Mexican influence areas as well as in the rural north.

The other Nahuatlism, generally spelled *ixtle* in Mexico, turns up exceedingly rarely as the term for 'String' in that country. Mapa 821 includes only 4 instances of *istle* and 2 of *iste*. However, the *ALM* survey separately elicited a word for the fiber of the maguey plant (mapa 826), and in this case the Nahuatlism shows up predominantly but with many different pronunciations. The final syllable varies a lot (*tle*, *cle*, *tli*, *cli*, *te*, *ti*, *le*, *tre*, *clín*). But it is the reflex of the first consonant, *ch* [č], of the Nahuatl borrowing that proves more illuminating for comparative purposes. In Mexico that consonant tends to be *x* [š]; *s*; the spelling pronunciation [ks]; or even an aspirated [h]. But there is just 1 case of *ch*, transcribed as *ichtle*, and it occurs in the middle of Aztec country in central Mexico. The *CORDE* documents the unadapted *ichtli* in the sixteenth century in the famous manuscript, the Florentine Codex, of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, a Franciscan missionary to the Aztec people. There are *CORDE* cites for *ixtle* and *istle* only from the eighteenth century and all the cases are in Mexican documents.

It seems certain, then, that the New Mexican Spanish *íchite*, which retains the original form of the first consonant, represents a very early borrowing from Nahuatl.



7-12. ‘String’

Early colonists must have brought the original form to New Mexico, and here it became phonologically integrated by retaining the *ch* but adding a vowel to follow it (*í-chi-te*), a credible adaptation since *ch* never occurs in syllable-final position in native Spanish words. The integration solutions that prevailed in Mexico are quite different from the solution arrived at in New Mexico and southern Colorado.

It is common for the word for 'String' to be generalized to refer to what we label in English as 'Shoelace' or 'shoestring.' But the paths of generalization for Mexican and New Mexican Spanish have been quite different. The 5 principal terms for 'Shoelace' found in the NMCOSS are charted on map 7-13, and each 1 displays a geographical distribution of interest. Let us deal first with the 3 most frequently cited terms.

The Nahuatlism *mecate* surfaces more strongly here than for 'String,' cited by 89 of the 323 consultants (28%) queried for 'Shoelace'; there were also 2 deviant responses of *macate*. Map 7-13 shows again that the preference for *mecate* is very much a feature of Traditional Spanish, but it exhibits the relic distribution across the rural north that we might expect of a declining form.

In a tie with *mecate* for most popular is *cinta*, with 28% of the responses (90 preferences). Map 7-13 shows this label to be a characteristic of Border Spanish though it also displays a reasonable showing in Traditional Spanish. The prominence of *cinta* in the areas of Mexican influence suggests a form in ascendance. The standard *cordón* comes in a close third with 20% of the preferences (66 cases). *Cordón* contrasts with the preceding 2 by carving out a geographical niche for itself in central New Mexico, especially toward the west and in Albuquerque.

But the remaining 2 principal terms make an interesting geographical display more complicated and still more interesting. Coming in fourth place with 28 responses (9%) is *cintilla* (realized in 10 of those cases as *centilla*). This diminutive form, unlike its base *cinta*, is restricted like *mecate* to rural Traditional Spanish regions. It will be noted, though, that many occurrences of *cinta* in the Traditional Spanish area are tightly interlocked with these diminutives. Alvar (2000, 209) documents both *cintas* and *cintillas* for our region, but unfortunately Pedrero (2002, 58) combines these for her analysis. Finally, 16 NMCOSS consultants offered *correa* for 'Shoelace,' and map 7-13 indicates that these speakers are more closely associated with Border Spanish, especially the western part.

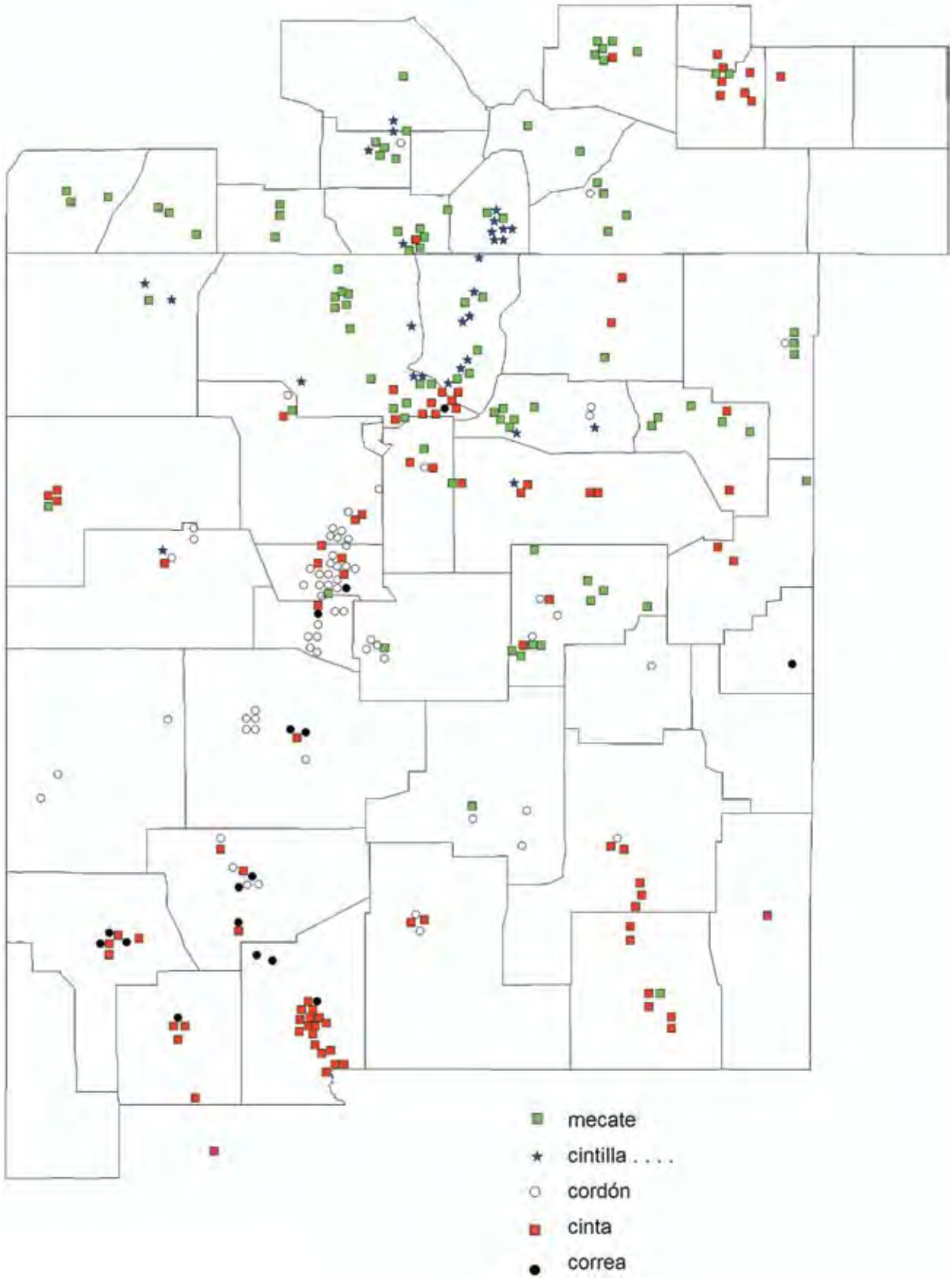
The contrasts with Mexico are sharp and informative. In the first place, the most common term for 'String' in Mexico, *mecate*, has failed to generalize to 'Shoelace.' Mapa 930 of the *ALM* shows only 6 instances of *mecate*, all in the northwestern state of Sonora, a region like New Mexico quite distant from the centers of Mexican influence. Significantly, Alvar (2000) also finds this term as the only label in his westernmost sample, Arizona, just across the border from Sonora.

Cinta, however, is 1 of the 3 most frequently cited terms for 'Shoelace' in Mexico. It shows up most strongly in northern Mexico, especially in Chihuahua, accounting for its pattern of distribution in the Border Spanish areas of the NMCOSS. *Cordón* is also one of the most common Mexican labels, but it occurs in the north mostly along the east and west coasts and is by far the dominant label in the Yucatán. Its western distribution in the NMCOSS results may reflect early and late influence from western Mexico.

The single most frequently mentioned term in the *ALM* is *agujeta*, which was mentioned only once in the NMCOSS (as *abujeta*). Not mentioned at all in our survey is the term *cabetes* (or *cadetes*), which is a significant minor form in Mexico. On the other hand, the fourth- and fifth-place terms in New Mexican Spanish, *cintilla* and *correa* (as well as the *cuerda* label offered by 5 persons), did not surface in the Mexico survey.

A Nahuatlism, like vocabulary of any other sort, may show a reduction in use not because it is displaced by another form, but because cultural change has made the particular reference less accessible. We will illustrate with 2 artifacts for grinding food. Traditionally prominent borrowings from Nahuatl are the *metate*, a large stone slab for grinding, corn in particular (from Nahuatl *metla-tl*), and the *molcajete*, the mortar, a small bowl-like stone, typically with three legs, for grinding chile and spices (from *molcaxi-tl*, which is a compound word formed of *mol-li* 'sauce, broth, gravy' and *caxi-tl* 'cup, bowl, vessel,' the same form that became the label for 'Tub' in New Mexican Spanish as previously discussed in connection with map 7-5). Both terms have been sufficiently incorporated into general Spanish to be included in the *DRAE*.

Both of these terms show attrition in New Mexican Spanish due to the decline in use of those instruments. Only 60% of 315 NMCOSS consultants offered *metate* to label the large 'Grinding stone.' A total of 59 persons (19%) could offer no response at all. Several respondents came close to the target (*metal*, *metale*, *petate*, *tepaque*), revealing an attempt to retrieve from storage the phonological representation of some long-unused lexical item. A number of others (17 altogether) resorted to the word *piedra* 'rock, stone' in isolation or with some descriptive elaboration, usually involving the verb *moler* 'grind' (e.g., *piedra de moler* 'grinding stone,' *piedra para moler* 'stone for grinding'). Others tried various



7-13. 'Shoelace'

more or less successful ways to say 'grinder': *mole*, *moledor*, *molero*, *molino*, and even *grandidor* and *granera*. More significantly, the second most common label (offered by 26 consultants) was precisely the label for the other artifact, *molcajete*. (The curious may want to know that the native Spanish *moler* 'to grind' has no etymological connection with *molcajete* or with *mole*, the typically Mexican sauce made from chocolate, peanuts, and chile, which derives from Nahuatl *mol-li*.)

It was only after we noticed the confusion of the two grinding instruments that we added a picture of a 'Mortar,' the bowl-like artifact, to the interview schedule. Consequently, only 238 persons were questioned about this item. Accuracy in hitting the traditional target was much worse. Only 53 consultants (22%) responded with *molcajete*. Another quarter (24%) could produce no label at all. Here also there were some misses (e.g., *malacate*), *piedra* forms, and 'grinder' forms. But the biggest response was the other Nahuatlism. Fully 43% used the term *metate*, many commenting explicitly that they use the same term for both artifacts.

In sum, of these 2 Nahuatlisms, *molcajete* shows severe attrition, being co-opted in the main by the other borrowing. But at the same time, the other form, *metate*, is being lost in its own right. Many respondents reported that they'd never seen such objects or that they vaguely remembered seeing them at a grandmother's house, or in Mexico, or pictured in a book. Although older consultants exhibited a stronger command of both forms, there was severe loss across the generations, especially with regard to *molcajete*.

Regardless of these cases of reduction in the use of Nahuatlisms, it is abundantly clear from the body of evidence presented in this chapter that on the substantial bed of Spanish brought over from Spain, the garden of New Mexican Spanish was sown with far more seeds of Nahuatl than of the Caribbean languages. Let us turn now to the unique dialect that sprouted from many Old World and New World seeds as the garden developed over a couple of centuries in the soils of New Mexico and southern Colorado.

PART III

The Development of Traditional New Mexican Spanish

CHAPTER 8

El Nuevo México

Independent Developments

We have seen that the vocabulary of New Mexican Spanish has been profoundly affected by the external influence of other languages. However, many of the features that most differentiate New Mexican Spanish from other dialects of Spanish are the changes made possible by resources internal to the language, the evolutionary process of linguistic "drift" and of cultural adaptation to new circumstances that occurs in all languages. From the beginning, speakers of New Mexican Spanish were separated from Mexico and the rest of the Spanish-speaking world by physical obstacles of distance and desert, as well as by political barriers later on. As a consequence, connections with mainstream Spanish were too weak for the speakers of New Mexican Spanish to keep pace with the changes taking place elsewhere in Spanish.

Juan Antonio Trujillo disputes the assumption of isolation and its linguistic impact on the development of New Mexican Spanish. His dissertation research (1997) examined nearly 53,000 words contained in New Mexican legal documents over more than two hundred years, from the late seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. His penetrating, exhaustive analysis of these data reveals no significant departure over time from apparent trends in general Spanish. As Trujillo acknowledges, however, his restricted sample of a particular kind of written language cannot be considered an accurate representation of spoken language. Indeed, that sample is heavily biased toward the language of educated persons, especially persons trained in the Spanish legal profession—precisely the persons who are most likely to be attuned to developments in the standard language.

Our study, in contrast, examines the mundane spoken language of regular people. Although our data are drawn from a narrow window of historical time, this ordinary language is the locus of the linguistic evidence of where the language came from and where it is headed. We have seen in previous chapters and will see throughout this book ample evidence that isolation has had a substantial effect on New Mexican Spanish. The sociopolitical marginalization allowed homegrown linguistic adaptations to take root and thrive. Autonomous change of this sort (including borrowings from local languages, which will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters) is the diachronic process that has led to the divergence of the Traditional Spanish dialect from that of Mexico.

The independent innovations in New Mexican Spanish occurred often, though by no means exclusively, as a response to different concepts and circumstances.

Not surprisingly, therefore, many of the independent developments have to do with vocabulary. These lexical changes can be separated into three kinds. Some involve a simple change in the form of a word, others involve a change in the meaning of a word, and still others involve creation of new words, typically by the compounding method favored by Spanish. In addition, unlike the external influences of Nahuatl and Taino, the creativeness inherent to a native linguistic system also makes possible innovative developments in grammar and phonology. We discuss these four categories of independent development in separate sections of this chapter.

Change in Form

The simplest kind of change is when the phonological representation of the word is altered. Sometimes that change is the result of a general phonological process that affects many words, such as the retention of *h* discussed in chapter 5 concerning forms like *hallar* and *honda*. A parallel change in English is the *h*-dropping of the Cockney dialect epitomized in the 'Enry 'Iggins (Henry Higgins) of the *My Fair Lady* musical. The fact that *h*-dropping characterizes standard Spanish but a disparaged variety of English exemplifies once again the arbitrariness of value judgments toward dialects.

In this section, however, we deal not with general processes but with innovations in pronunciation that affect individual words. One such innovation in New Mexican Spanish is the addition of an initial consonant to the word *oso* 'Bear,' yielding *joso*. This example doesn't represent the general process discussed in chapter 5 since this word, deriving from Latin *ursus*, never had an initial consonant in Spanish. The extent of this seemingly random and unmotivated change is seen in map 8-1, which shows that *joso* is particularly characteristic of rural Traditional Spanish. However, most speakers of Traditional Spanish prefer the standard *oso*. Only 17% of the NMCOSS consultants (57 persons) gave the *joso* variant.

We can only speculate that pressure from standard Spanish has limited the distribution of this nonstandard form. The New Mexico and southern Colorado region is known for its wildlife and a tradition of hunting. Bears are a topic that would arise with some frequency in conversations with outsiders, and the presence of that initial consonant is salient enough to be noticed and remarked on. It is very possible, then, that the stigmatization of *joso* has resulted in a reduction in its use and preference for the standard variant *oso*. The fact that *joso* is more prominent in the speech of the elderly (used by 23% of those age sixty-five and older and only 13% of those younger) suggests that the use of this innovative form was once more widespread and is now in decline.

Another independent development concerns the label for 'Children.' This item has many variants, as we should expect since speakers of any language seem to know several synonyms, such as *children*, *kids*, *youngsters*, *rug rats*, and so forth in American English. One of our consultants offered 8 Spanish variants. Although *niños* was the first response of more than half (52%) of the 320 NMCOSS respondents, numerous other basic variants occurred, most appearing also in diminutive form (which are included with the basic form in all the statistics cited here except for a special case to be discussed in the next two paragraphs). There were such common responses as *chamacos* (8% of first choices), *chavalos* (3%), *chicos* (3%), and *muchachos* (13%) as well as occasional mentions of *criaturas*, *escuincles*, *jóvenes*, *mocosos*, and others.

But there are 2 other variants of significant standing that merit particular attention here. Map 8-2 shows that the special labels *muchitos* and *plebe* are strongly diagnostic of the Traditional Spanish region. The following examples illustrate the use of these terms:

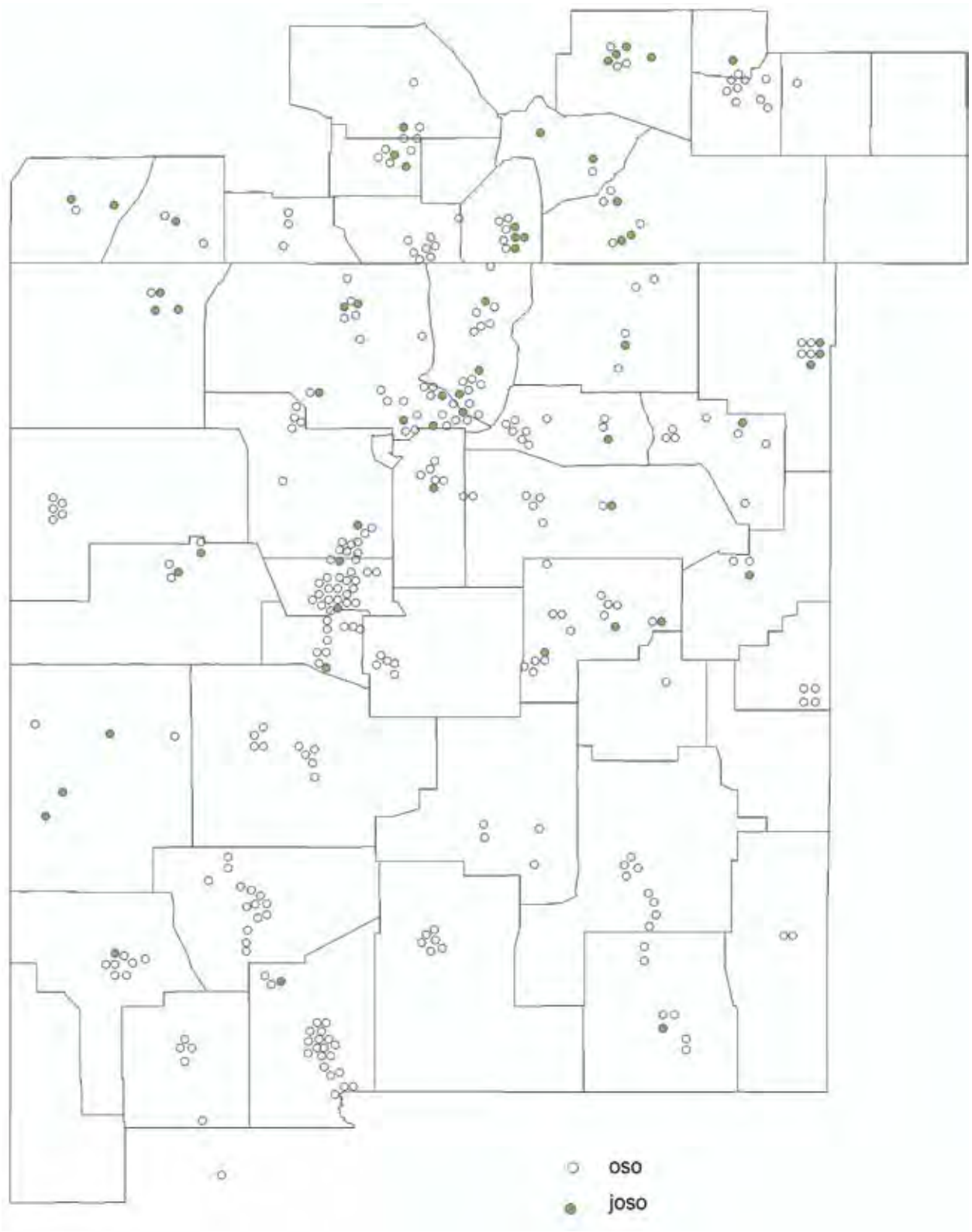
(8-1) *Esque le dijo Mano Cacahuate que si de ónde había venido el muchito ese.* 'They say Mano Cacahuate asked her where that little boy had come from.' (interview 291)

(8-2) *Cuando mi nuera se enfermó del último muchito, ella murió de eso.* 'When my daughter-in-law got pregnant with her last child, she died of that.' (interview 236)

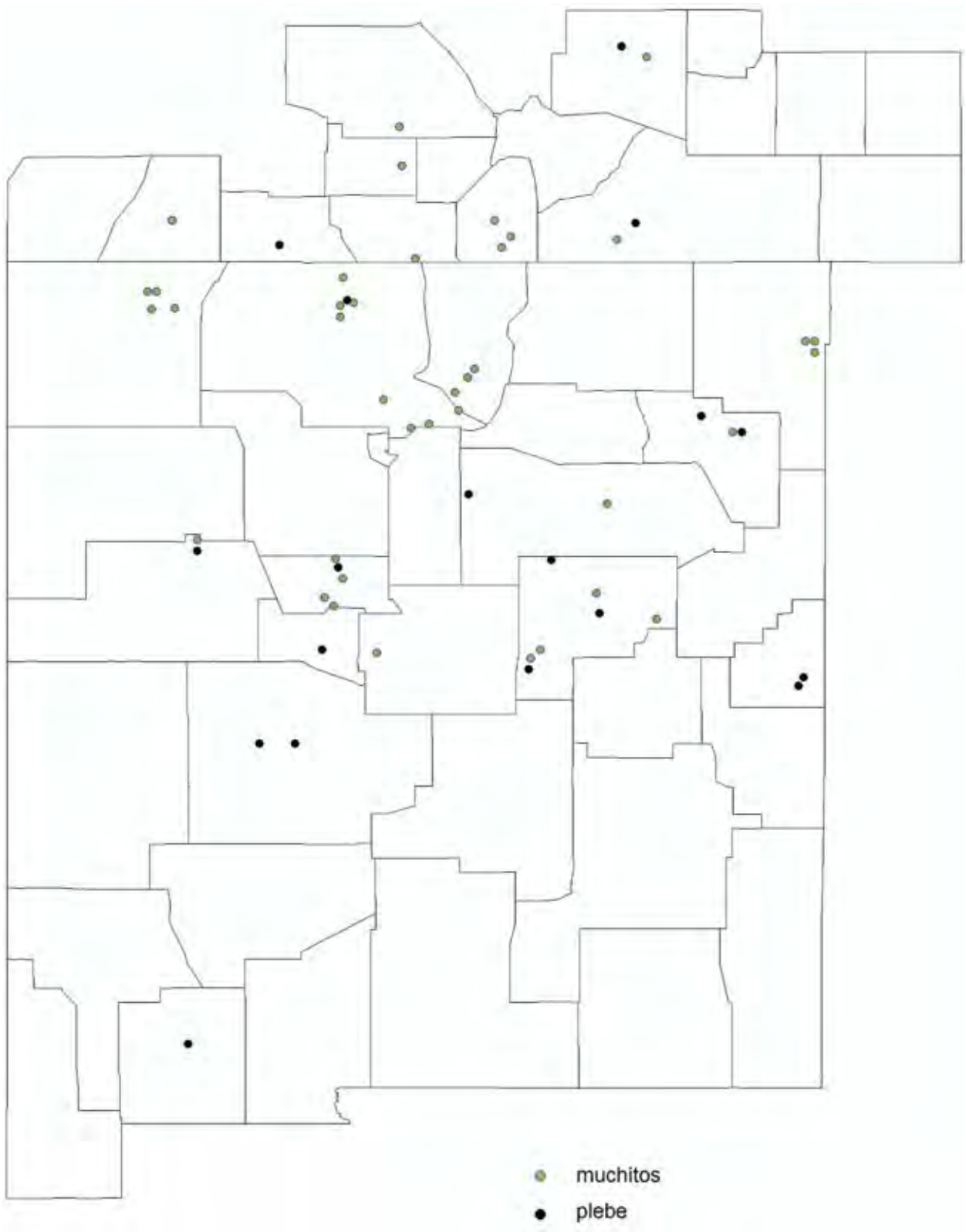
(8-3) *El cuento es que no aguantó muncho allá porque ella tenía plebe poco grandecita y eran muy atroces.* 'The story is that he didn't last long there because she had children who were older and they were very mischievous.' (interview 187)

(8-4) *Alineaban la plebe cuando sonaba la campana de ricés.* 'They would line up the kids when the bell for recess rang.' (interview 273)

Muchitos, with 39 first choices (12%) ranks third in frequency after *niños*/*niñitos* and *muchachos*/*muchachitos*. It is transparently a derivative of the diminutive *muchachitos* by loss of a syllable. A syllable-loss change affecting a single word is a commonplace phenomenon that philologists call "haplology." It occurs in particular in two adjacent syllables starting with the same consonant, as is the case here where *-cha-* is dropped before



8-1. ‘Bear’



8-2. 'Children'

-chi-. This new form *muchitos* appears to be a product of rapid speech use of a high-frequency lexical item. It is apparently unique to New Mexican Spanish. It is not listed in either the *DRAE* or by Santamaría (1959). It also does not occur as a noun in the *CREA*, where *muchito* appears only as the diminutive of the adverbial use of *mucho* 'much, a lot.'

Plebe, on the other hand, represents a semantic change, but for convenience will be treated at this point. Generally in Spanish, *la plebe* refers to people of a less elevated social class, the common people, like its cognate *plebeian* in English. The *DRAE* includes only this social class kind of definition. *Plebe* is not listed by Santamaría (1959).

In the NMCOSS, *plebe* turns up in fifth place in frequency as the first choice of just 18 persons (6%), and another 2 persons offered the diminutive *plebecita*. However, this label was actually mentioned as first or alternative choices by 94 consultants, representing 29% of the 320 respondents for this item and lifting it into second place after *niños* (57%) in the total count. *Muchitos*, on the other hand, gained only 15 mentions other than first choice. Why so many additional mentions for *plebe*? A little idiosyncrasy of the data collection occurred because a couple of interviewers were particularly interested in this label and frequently prompted their consultants to determine if they used it. We should point out that these additional mentions of *plebe* and *muchitos* also show up almost exclusively in the Traditional Spanish area with only a few cases on the fringes of Border Spanish. Incidentally, we elicited 'Children' in the plural instead of the singular 'child' precisely to permit the appearance of an inherently plural word known to be widely used in the region. *Plebe*, like *people* in English, usually occurs without the plural suffix but always has a plural reference, as illustrated in example 8-3.

Other changes in form result from **folk etymology**, when speakers substitute more meaningful elements for a word or part of a word that is semantically opaque for them, that is, that fail to clearly carry meaning for them. Speakers regularly reanalyze the forms of words to make them more semantically transparent, such as the child who renders the *Oh, tannenbaum* of the Christmas song as *Oh, 'tomic bomb*, or those who refer to Alzheimer's disease as Old Timers' disease. Or consider the following example: English borrowed from Spanish a word for 'dried meat,' not the *cecina* used in New Mexican Spanish, but *charque* or *charqui* (which Spanish had previously borrowed from Quechua *ch'arki*). English speakers adapted *charqui* as a more meaningful form *jerky*, which is also sometimes further extended to *jerked beef*. Thus, many English speakers make the false assumption that jerky is made by jerking the meat to assist the drying process.

A good NMCOSS example of folk etymology is the label for 'Porcupine.' In standard Spanish, the form is *puercoespín*, a compound formed from *puerco* 'pig' and a shortened form of *espina* or *espino* 'spine, thorn.' Thus, a *puercoespín* is a 'spiny pig' (which is also of course the etymological origin via French of the English word). Few speakers of New Mexican Spanish, however, commonly associate the word *puerco* with the notion of 'pig.' Three-fourths (75%) of the NMCOSS consultants give *marrano* as the preferred term for 'Pig,' and another 20% prefer *cochino*. Only 9 people (2.6%) selected *puerco* (although half of Lope Blanch's Mora subjects did, 1990a, 79). Instead, in New Mexican Spanish, *puerco* is used primarily as an adjective meaning 'dirty, filthy.' The Río Puerco east of Albuquerque is not 'Pig River,' as some might think, but 'Dirty River,' or more loosely 'Muddy River' as Julyan (1998, 278) suggests in his book on New Mexico place names. Consequently, the meaning of the first part of the compound *puercoespín* became obscure. Why call an animal 'dirty thorn'?

But folk etymology comes to the rescue. Spanish speakers had only to transpose two consonants of *puerco*, the initial *p* and the *c*, to yield a more felicitous compound, *cuerpoespín*, where *cuerpo* is the word for 'body.' 'Spiny body'! How good is that as a label for 'Porcupine'?

Very good indeed for speakers of New Mexican Spanish. Although nearly a quarter (23%) of our survey participants could provide no response or only the English word when presented the picture of a porcupine, 45% responded precisely with the folk-etymologized *cuerpoespín*. Many others responded with acceptably close variants such as the rapid-speech pronunciation of the unstressed first part of the compound as *corpo* or of the second part as *espino* or *espina*. Still others clearly aimed for the *cuerpoespín* target but missed pretty seriously with variants such as *corpoesquín*, *cuercaspín*, and *cuesporpín*. If we put all of these variants together, nearly two-thirds (65%) of our respondents (and in fact, fully 85% of those who provided a Spanish response at all) favored the folk-etymologized version.

In contrast, only 12 persons offered the standard variant *puercoespín* and another 8 the rapid speech *porcoespín*, totaling 7% of the responses. The proportion increases to 10% if we include all the variants that might be considered aimed toward the standard by virtue of having *p* as the initial consonant, including forms such as *porquespíno* and *puerpoespín*. Notice that this low response rate is in spite of the fact that the form of the English word with

initial *p* might be expected to have some influence. In fact, 1 person (a thirty-nine-year-old man from Santa Fe) offered *porquipino*! As might be expected, we find that those who offered the standard variant tended to be more highly educated and to have enjoyed more years of formal study of Spanish.

Map 8-3 shows the distribution of the principal responses for 'Porcupine.' For this display, we have combined the 2 principal standard forms—*puercoespín* and *porcoespín*—as well as the 4 principal folk etymological forms that have a unified distribution—*cuerpoespín*, *corpoespín*, *cuerpespín*, and *corpespín*. Notice that neither the standard variant nor the folk etymology reveals any geographical patterning. Standard forms associated with education tend to always display a somewhat random geographical distribution.

We have plotted separately on map 8-3 the 8 cases of *cuerpoespino* because they are geographically restricted. They are confined to the Border Spanish area. This distribution of *cuerpoespino* and the fact that the nonstandard *cuerpoespín* occurs solidly across the region suggest that the folk form is common also in Mexico. Although the *ALM* did not include this item and neither Santamaría (1959) nor the *DRAE* make any mention of *cuerpoespín* or related form, this folk etymology is actually used broadly across the Spanish-speaking world in spite of being somewhat stigmatized. For example, the *CORDE* includes a twentieth-century document from Spain, a collection of popular stories, that uses *cuerpoespín*, and Quezada Pacheco (1991) reports the use of *cuerpoespino* in Costa Rica.

Another new form resulting from folk etymology and that appears to be restricted to New Mexican Spanish is the term for 'Centipede.' The standard Spanish word is *ciempiés*, but *cientopiés* is also widely accepted. Like *centipede* in English, these words are literally 'hundred-feet.' But unlike the English word, the meanings of the parts, *cien* or *ciento* 'hundred' and *pies* 'feet,' are transparent to most Spanish speakers around the world.

The NMCOSS finds 4 major basic forms for 'Centipede,' all occurring sometimes with, sometimes without, a final *s*: *ciempié* (55 tokens, 16% of the total responses), *cintopié* (69 tokens, 21%), *cientopié* (70 tokens, 21%), and the folk etymology *santopié* (78 tokens, 24%). Now, why would such a transparent compound be reanalyzed converting the first element into *santo* 'saint, holy'? Perhaps because the meanings of the component parts were not so transparent to speakers of New Mexican Spanish after all. Several clues suggest that this is the case.

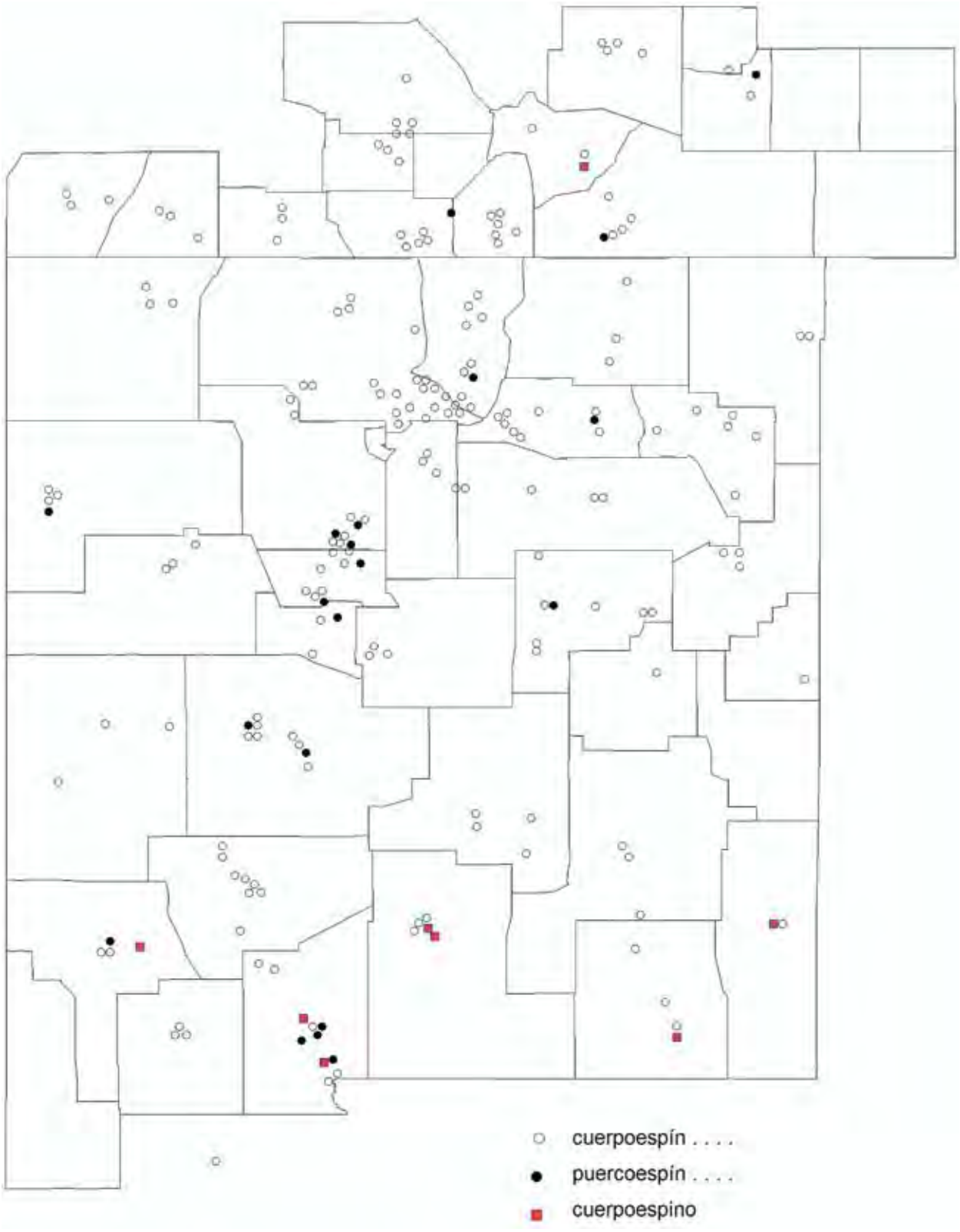
First, in the NMCOSS region (and far beyond), the most ordinary, everyday word for 'foot' (of any living thing, including humans) is not *pie*, but *pata*. Of the many different variants for 'Centipede' offered by our consultants, there was not a single case of *ciempatas* or *cientopatas* or other related form having *pata* as the second element. By way of contrast, for example, *ciempatas* makes a strong minority showing in the more remote areas of Colombia (*ALEC* vol. 2, mapa 181). This absence in the NMCOSS provides a bit of evidence, however indirect, that the second element of the compound is a little more opaque in meaning than might be suspected. In contrast, 4 persons responded with a 'thousand-legs' variant, and 2 of these gave *milpatas* (versus 2 *milpiés*), suggesting a more transparent semantics of 'foot' in association with *mil* 'thousand.'

Second, in standard Spanish, *ciempiés* and *cientopiés* invariably have the plural marking *s* on *pie* (even though the compound is a singular noun, *un ciempiés* 'one centipede'). This agreement of the head noun with the plural numeral in the compound word follows naturally from the Spanish grammatical system. However, of the 4 major forms surfacing in our survey, only the standard *ciempiés* occurred more frequently (80% of the time) with that final *s*. Two-thirds of the other 3 forms (147 of the 219 cases)—and fully 78% of the *santopié* variant—were uttered without the plural marking.

Moreover, for words ending in a stressed final vowel (as with *pie*), it is very common in New Mexican Spanish to form the plural in nonstandard fashion with *-ses* rather than *-s*. For example, in a section of the interview dealing explicitly with plurals, 55% of the NMCOSS consultants gave *mamases* as the plural of *mamá* and 58% gave *papases* as the plural of *papá*. However, only a handful of consultants produced *-pieses* as the second element of the 'Centipede' compound (1 *ciempieses*, 1 *cientopieses*, and 2 *santopieses*).

In brief, not only do most speakers seem not to recognize the 'foot' element in this compound, but also most seem not to recognize the 'hundred' element or the notion of plurality either. Putting *santo* on the label for such a curious animal might serve only to make the word more compellingly memorable.

Map 8-4 displays the distributions of just 2 of the principal variants. Although the folk etymology *santopié* is the most frequently cited variant in the NMCOSS, Alvar (2000, 281) documents that just 2 occurrences of this label turned up among the 27 persons from New Mexico and southern Colorado surveyed in that project, and Pedrero (2002, 338) fails to mention the form in her analysis. The map shows that the *santopié* forms are most prominent in the Traditional Spanish area, but they extend notably



8-3. 'Porcupine'

into the southern Border Spanish region. However, we have found no documentation of this form in Mexico. 'Centipede' was not included in the *ALM* survey and Santamaría (1959) makes no mention of a *santopié* form. It also does not show up in the *ALEC* map for 'Centipede' (vol. 2, mapa 181). Furthermore, there is no mention of this label in the *CREA* or the *CORDE*. It appears to be unique to New Mexican Spanish.

On the other hand, the *ciempié* forms are strongly associated with Border Spanish and the mainstream Mexican Spanish that this entails. The other 2 major variants, *cientopié* and *cintopié*, are distributed loosely across the NMCOSS region and reveal no geographical clustering of interest.

Semantic Change

Some of the lexical innovations involve semantic extensions—altering the meaning of a form that already existed in Spanish. Sometimes this amounts to nothing more than simply broadening the meaning of a word. An example is the extension of the Nahuatlism *papalote* to label the technological innovation 'Windmill' as we saw in the previous chapter in connection with map 7-8.

Another good example is the use of *ganso* for 'Turkey' illustrated by map 4-2 in chapter 4. Both the bird and the word were most assuredly brought to the New World by the earliest colonists. For reasons shrouded in the mists of unrecorded history, someone—perhaps in Mexico, perhaps in New Mexico—extended the meaning of the term to include that other large domesticated fowl, turkey, and that semantic innovation certainly took firm root in New Mexican soil.

A captivating case of the extension of meaning is the use of *espelma* for 'Earwax.' A third (32%) of our consultants could not produce a Spanish word for this matter. For the rest, the most common responses were *cerilla* at 25% (which is by far the principal label in Mexico also) and *cera* at 22% (mentioned by only a handful of persons in Mexico). But 28 of the 314 NMCOSS persons queried (9%) responded with the unique *espelma* form seen in the following jocular example:

(8-5) *Cuando comes el chile se te redite la espelma en las orejas*. 'When you eat chile peppers, the wax in your ears melts.' (interview 53)

Similarly, 1 of the 4 persons that Lope Blanch (1990a, 83) interviewed in Mora offered this term for 'Earwax.'

Espelma is a slight modification of *esperma* (preferred by 1 consultant), which is the Spanish word for 'sperm.' In this case, the reference relates to products of the sperm whale, specifically the waxy substance in the huge whale's head that was much sought after in earlier centuries for commercial purposes. Santamaría (1959) reports that *espelma* in Mexico, like the standard *esperma*, refers to a candle made of that waxy substance. Cobos (2003) and L. Trujillo (1983) both report that *espelma* also refers to 'paraffin' or 'wax' in New Mexican Spanish, a meaning cited by a number of the NMCOSS consultants:

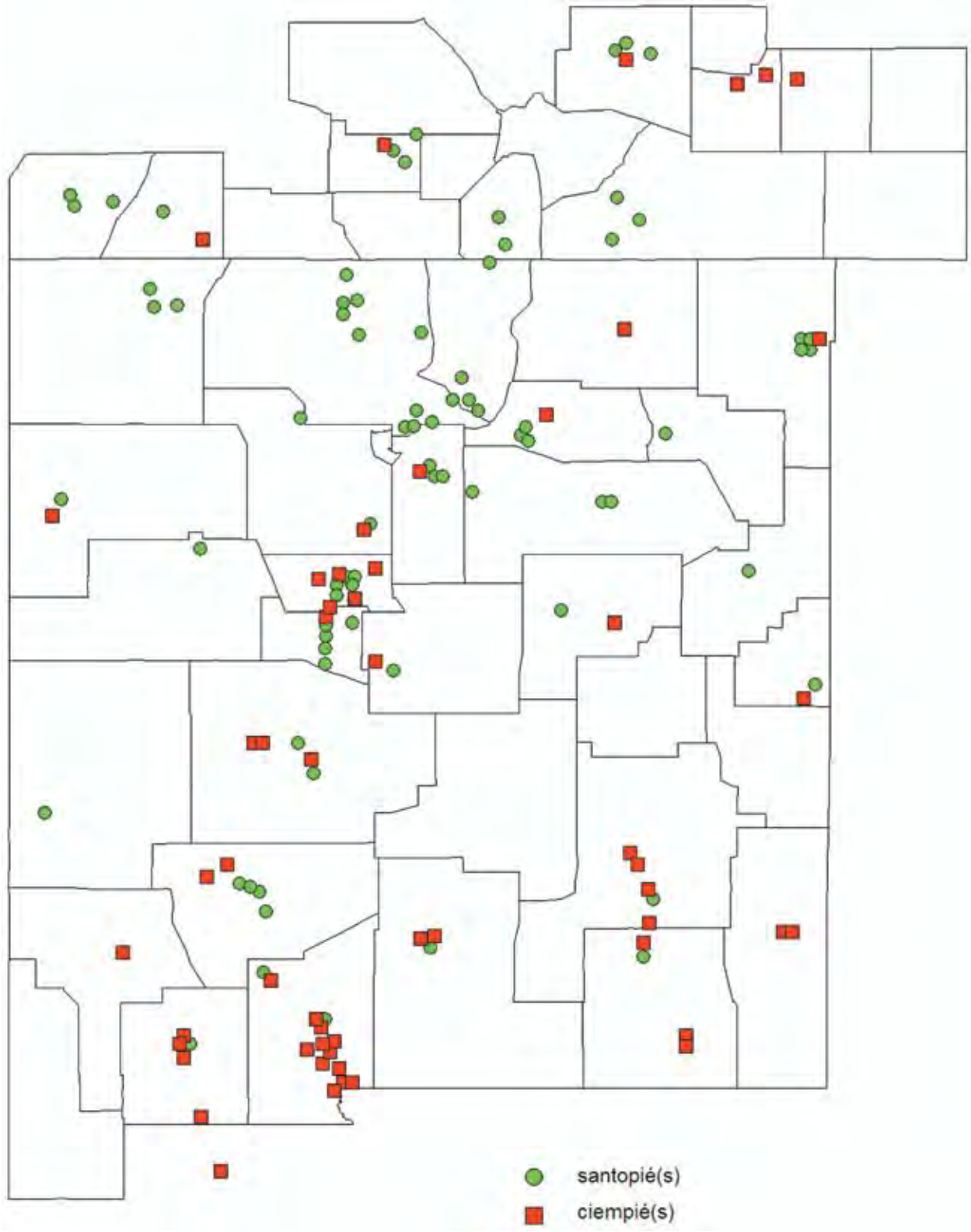
(8-6) *Tenía yo una araña en el oído y me puso un tubo de lino que tenía espelma en el oído; lo prendió y me sacó el bicho del oído*. 'I had a spider in my ear and she put a linen tube with wax [an ear candle] in my ear; she lit it and took the bug out of my ear.' (interview 38)

The extension of *espelma* from 'candle wax' to 'Earwax' is not a great leap. It is noteworthy, however, that there was not a single occurrence of *espelma* for 'Earwax' in the Mexico survey (mapa 724).

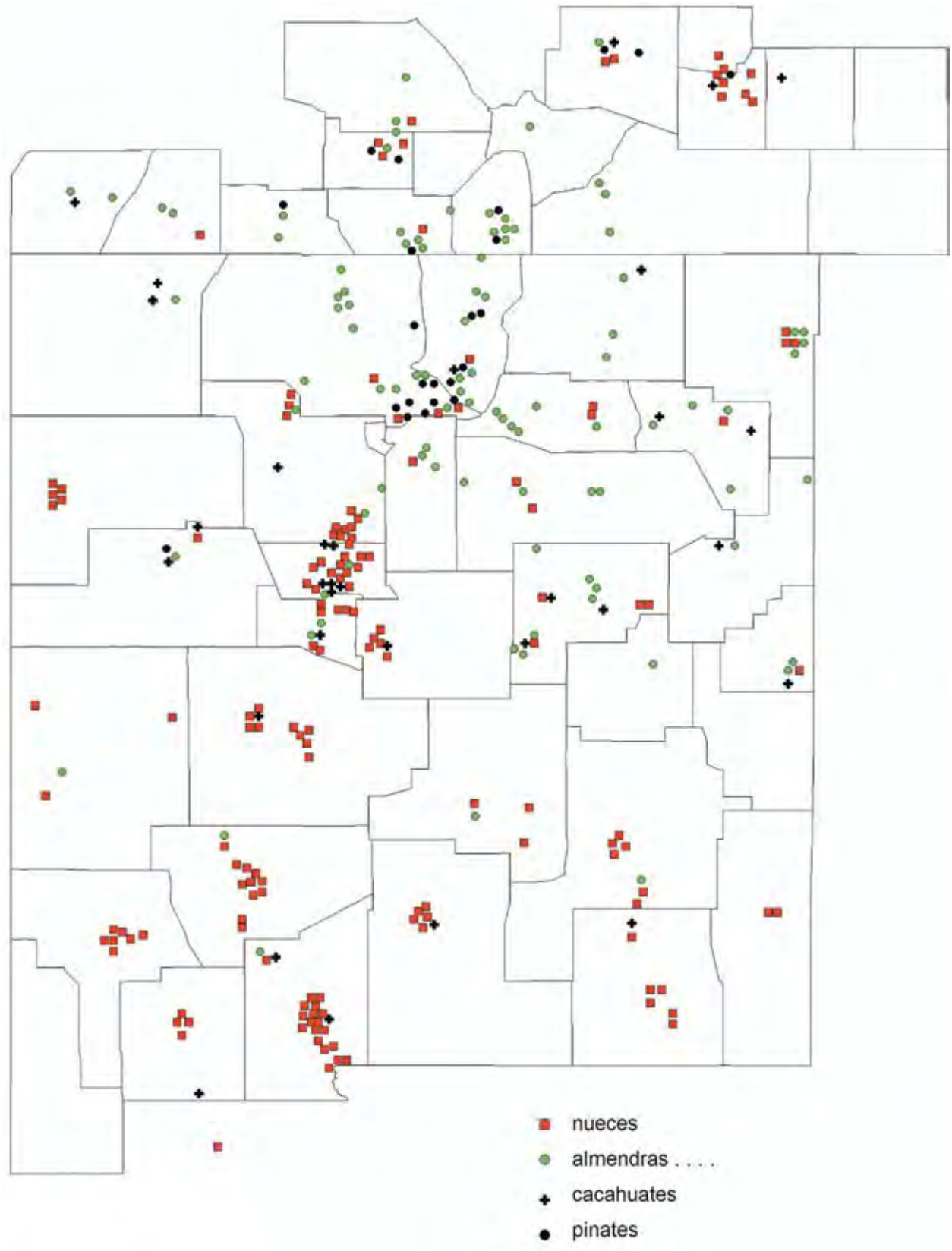
Another kind of broadening of meaning is where the label for a specific entity (the subordinate label) comes to be used to refer to the class of entities (the superordinate label). The general word for 'Nuts,' which was elicited with a picture of a bowl of mixed nuts, provides an example. The superordinate term in most Spanish dialects is *nueces*, and this was the most common response in our survey, preferred by 154 of the 333 respondents (46%). But 96 of our consultants (fully 29%) preferred to label 'Nuts' as *almendras* (the total number includes 6 cases of *almiendras*), illustrated in example 8-7.

(8-7) *Pa' Crismes pus agarrábanos como un presente y lo demás eran almendras o dulces, naranjas, pero no había los Crismes que hay ora, tanto parquete*. 'For Christmas we would get just one present and the rest was nuts or sweets, oranges, but there weren't Christmases like there are now, so many packages.' (interview 201)

Now, generally in Spanish *almendras* is the term for 'almonds,' a specific kind of nut. Map 8-5 shows that this generalization of *almendras* to superordinate status is spread across the Traditional Spanish territory, but is especially prominent north of Albuquerque. Reflecting this Northerner usage, Cobos (2003) comments explicitly, "The term *almendras* in NM-CO Spanish refers to all kinds of nuts except peanuts."



8-4. 'Centipede'



8-5. 'Nuts'

The reason for the expanded meaning of *almendras* is not obvious to us. Perhaps playing a role is the fact that *nuez* is also the word for 'nutmeg' in New Mexican Spanish (Cobos 2003), or that *nuez* for many speakers here refers specifically to 'pecans,' a narrowing of meaning. But whatever the reason, such semantic drift is a common occurrence in language change. A similar thing, for example, happened in English whereby *dog*, once the label for the male canine, came to be the general term, replacing *hound* (compare the German word for 'dog,' *hund*, that we see in the name of the "weenie dog," *dachshund*), and *hound* in turn actually suffered a narrowing of meaning.

Our survey also found 2 other terms for 'Nuts' that arise from a broadening of meaning. The Nahuatlism *cacahuate* and the Anglicism *pinate* are more generally used for reference to 'Peanut' (treated in chapter 10, map 10-8). Nevertheless, 32 consultants promoted *cacahuates* to superordinate status and 23 chose *pinates*. Map 8-5 shows that the *pinates* variant occupies a portion of the Traditional Spanish area more restricted than that of *almendras*. *Cacahuates* for 'Nuts' displays a more diffuse distribution around the NMCOSS area but is generally absent from the Traditional Spanish core area where *almendras* and *pinates* dominate.

The 'Nuts' variable, then, seems to represent a remarkable display of independent development in New Mexican Spanish with 3 different terms upgraded from subordinate status to superordinate status. This upgrade may have taken place long ago for *almendras*, but the upgrades of *cacahuates* and *pinates* is surely a quite recent phenomenon.

Very similar to *almendras* in elevation to superordinate status as well as in geographical distribution is the adoption of *trucha* as the general term for any kind of 'Fish.' In most of the Spanish-speaking world, this word has a much narrower meaning, referring to a particular kind of fish, specifically a 'trout.' In standard Spanish, the general word for fish is *pez* or *pescado* (the latter prescriptively reserved for a caught, edible fish).

Map 8-6 shows that the NMCOSS consultants used all 3 terms to identify the picture of a live and swimming perch-like fish quite distinct from a trout. The majority of the 337 respondents (205 persons, 61%) prefer the standard Spanish form *pescado*. It is used widely and is practically the only form that occurs in the southern half of the region.

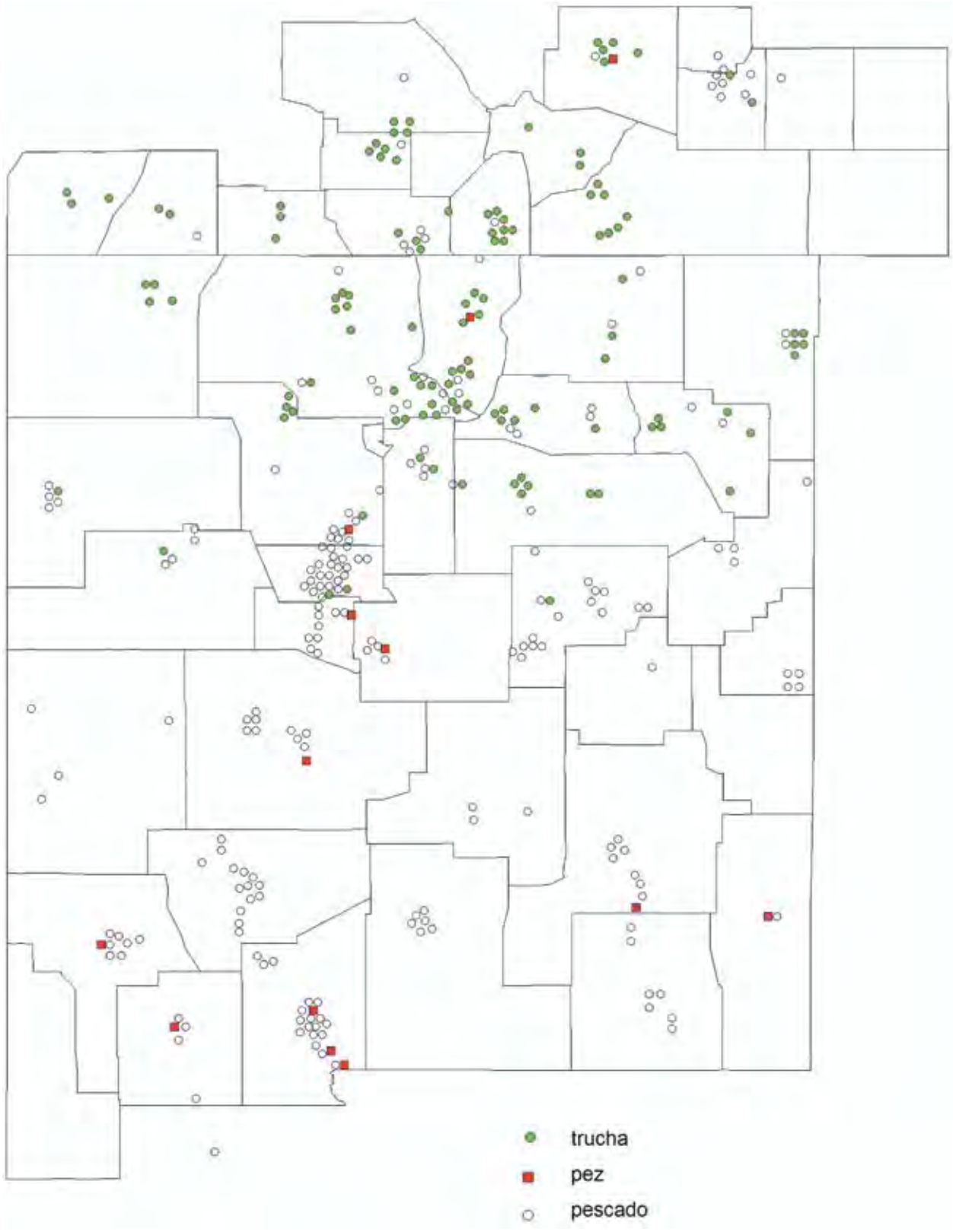
Nevertheless, the extended meaning for *trucha* is the preference of over a third (35%) of our consultants. The map reveals this use of *trucha* to be a prominent characteristic of northern Traditional Spanish, particularly in rural areas. The data provided by Alvar (2000, 283) and Pedrero (2002, 319, 339) also find *trucha* only in northern New Mexico, apparently with 7 tokens for the live version and 11 for the caught version. It is not difficult to speculate how this semantic extension took place. Trout are the common fish in the rivers and streams of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. We can readily imagine that children growing up where *trucha* was the only form heard would begin to apply this word to all fishes.

The standardly appropriate *pez* for reference to this live fish hardly occurs at all. Alvar reports not a single case of *pez* in the New Mexico and Colorado area. Only 13 of the NMCOSS consultants (4%) offered this label. There was a clear tendency for those persons to be more highly educated and to have had more formal study of Spanish in the classroom. It needs to be mentioned that *pez* and *pescado* are closely related words deriving from the Latin word for 'fish,' *piscis*. *Pescado* is a noun based on the past participle of the verb *pescar* 'to fish, to catch' and thus can mean literally the 'fished, caught' thing (whence the prescriptive restriction of *pescado* to the edible fish that is caught, not one freely swimming about).

It happens that we also solicited the term preferred for the activity 'To fish.' Two-thirds of the 329 consultants selected the bare verb *pescar* (e.g., *está pescando* 'he's fishing'). But 68 people (21%) offered the created verb *truchear*, illustrating yet another independently developed form. *Truchear* adheres to the usual method of adding *-ear* to a noun root to create the verb infinitive. It needs to be pointed out, however, that when *-ear* is attached to verb roots ending in *ch* (or *sh* in English borrowings such as *push*), the *e* is absorbed by the palatal consonant and typically not audible unless the stress falls on the *e*. To illustrate, a forty-one-year-old woman (interview 25) from Llano Quemado, New Mexico, produced the following utterances at different points in the interview:

(8-8) *Nojotros nos poníamos a truchear* (phonetically [tručár]). 'We would set to fishing.'
(8-9) *Yo trucheo* (phonetically [tručéo]). 'I fish.'

Another 24 persons preferred to include the noun *trucha* in their description of the activity 'To fish.' The usual phrasing is *pescar trucha*, but we also received *andar en la trucha*, *cazar trucha*, and *ir a la trucha*. The use of *truchear* and verbal phrases constructed with *trucha* is restricted to rural areas in the northern half of the NMCOSS territory, a geographical distribution like that seen for the noun *trucha* in map 8-6.



8-6. 'Fish'

Our elicitation of the term for 'Throw rug' (pictured as a bath mat in the bathroom) reveals the use of 2 semantic extensions, 2 labels used with very different meanings elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world. Nearly half (44%) of the 319 NMCOSS consultants questioned prefer the term *piso* for 'Throw rug,' with nearly 1 in 5 of these responses (24 cases) being the diminutive *pisito*. Another 29% prefer the term *jerga*, realized almost half the time in diminutive form as *jerguita* (44 cases). Examples 8-10 and 8-11 provide clear attestations of this usage of the 2 terms:

(8-10) *Metíanos [en una cuilta] hasta un piso de esos del suelo, estando bien viejito. Metía uno adentro y le ponía forro.* '[Inside a quilt] we would even put one of those floor rugs, if it was real old. You'd put one inside and put on a covering.' (interview 219)

(8-11) *Agarré el* ***vacuum sweeper*** *. . . y cuando jalé, estaba la olla con agua ahi. Volqué toda la agua en esta jerga, oh, y tuve que agarrar garras y garras pa'* ***soak it up***. 'I grabbed the vacuum sweeper . . . and when I pulled it, the bucket of water was there. I spilled all the water on this rug, oh, and I had to get rags and rags to soak it up.' (interview 114)

In standard Spanish, *piso* generally has meanings that cover the two senses of English 'floor,' that is, (1) a flat surface intended to be walked on in any construction (for which *suelo*, as seen in example 8-10, is perhaps the more common label in New Mexican Spanish), and (2) a level of a multitiered building (which some New Mexican Spanish speakers call a *vivienda*). However, in some varieties of Spanish, *piso* also means a small cloth, usually one placed for decorative effect on a table or mantel. It is not difficult to see how this *piso* label might be extended to refer to a small cloth placed underfoot.

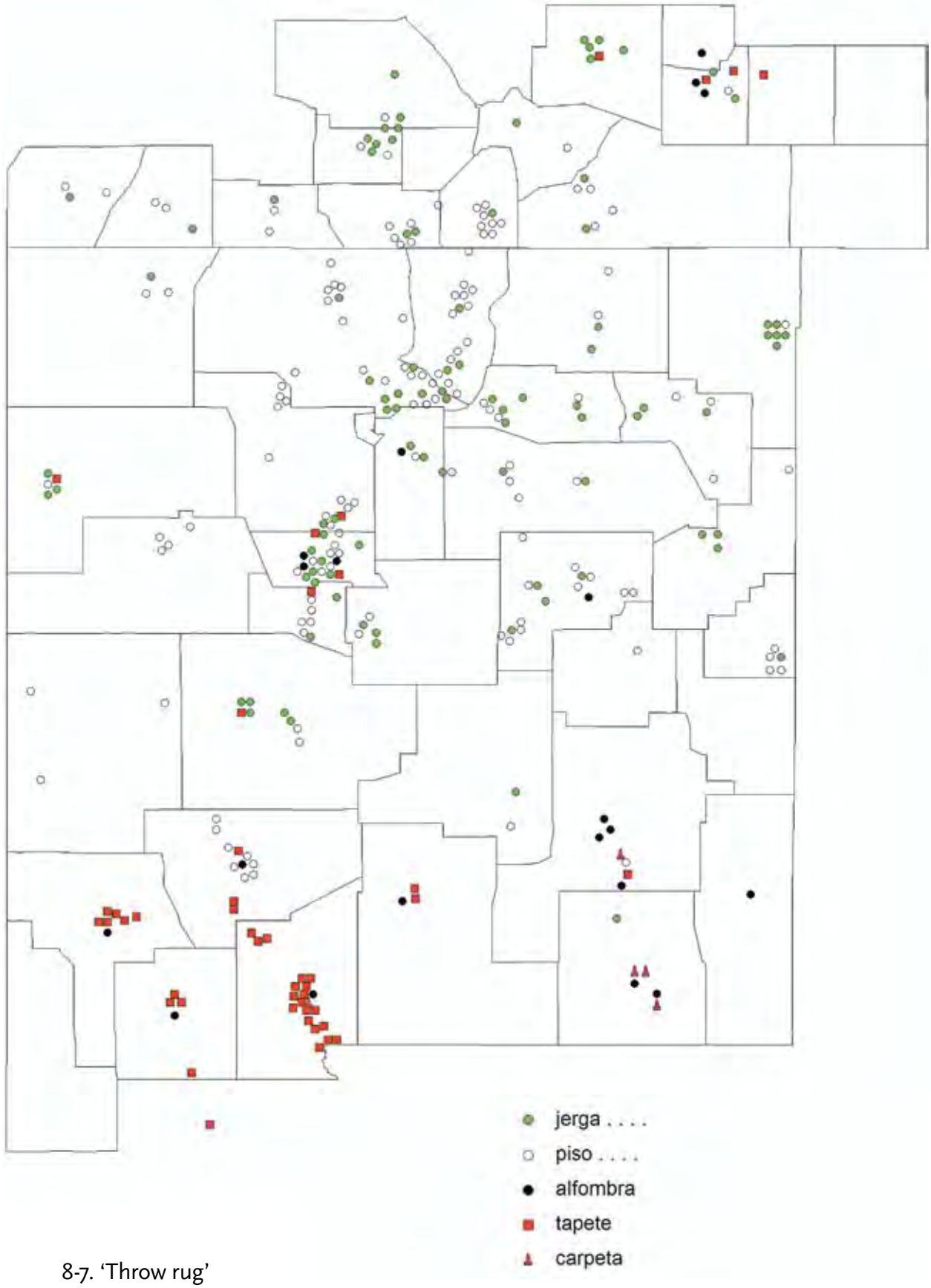
Jerga in standard Spanish also refers to a kind of cloth, usually coarse and of little value. For some speakers it is a 'saddle blanket' (typically called *colcha*, *subadero*, or *sudadero* in the NMCOSS region), and for some it is a 'rag' (*garra* being the usual term here, as example 8-11 illustrates). Again, the extension of meaning to refer to a woven fabric crude enough to place on the floor and actually walk on seems not a great stretch. *Jerga* is also the general Spanish term for 'slang' or 'jargon,' but that seems irrelevant for the present discussion. Map 8-7 demonstrates how comprehensively these 2 terms carpet the Traditional Spanish territory. And how interchangeably they occur, both forms surfacing as first choices in almost all communities. In fact, 19 consultants mentioned both forms as appropriate labels for 'Throw rug.'

But map 8-7 depicts the distributions of 3 additional labels, all characteristic of Border Spanish. The standard Spanish label *tapete* comes in a distant third in frequency, preferred by just 46 of our consultants (14%). In Los Angeles, in contrast, *tapete* is the overwhelmingly preferred label (at least as elicited there for a 'door mat' inside the front door), according to Domínguez (1983). A still more widely used standard Spanish term, *alfombra*, was offered by just 21 persons (7%) in our survey. It too occurs almost exclusively in the Border Spanish areas. And finally, though the preferred choice of only 5 consultants, the label *carpeta* displays a distribution tightly restricted to southeastern New Mexico, with 1 case in the Las Cruces area.

The mention of *alfombra* takes us to a related variable in our survey, 'Carpet,' the stimulus for which was wall-to-wall carpeting in a living room. In this case, the Border Spanish response is overwhelmingly *alfombra*, and there is considerable spillover of this label into the Traditional Spanish region (yielding a total of 88 preferences, 26%). Also confined mostly to Border Spanish areas are 23 responses of *carpeta*, a word that in Spanish generally refers to a 'file' or 'folder' but whose meaning has been extended under the influence of the English word.

The terms for 'Carpet' that characterize the Traditional Spanish area are again *jerga* and *piso*. But showing an important difference from the 'Throw rug' findings, *jerga* was favored by 174 persons (52%) while *piso* was favored by just 28 persons (8%). The majority semantic view seems to be that *jerga* refers to a large floor covering and *piso* to a small one. Nevertheless, both sizes of rug may be called a *jerga* by some speakers and *piso* by others.

Terms for 'Safety pin' vary widely in Spanish. In New Mexican Spanish, however, there is considerable uniformity of opinion. Almost three-quarters (72%) of the 325 respondents use the term *broche*, as do all 4 of Lope Blanch's Mora subjects (1990a, 95). For Spanish speakers elsewhere, *broche* is usually a decorative clasp, a brooch, though there is a lot of variation in exactly what this term refers to. That variation is also manifest in New Mexican Spanish. Cobos reports the use of *broche* for "brooch; safety pin; a snap, as on a harness" (2003, 32). L. Trujillo (1983) adds the meanings 'hook and eye' and 'clothespin.' We have also had responses of *broche* for 'Clothespin' as well as for 'Hairpin' and 'Bobby pin.' But the strongest agreement on the use of *broche* in the NMCOSS is with reference to the ordinary 'Safety pin.' Map 8-8 shows how strongly the term *broche* dominates for 'Safety pin' in



8-7. 'Throw rug'

New Mexican Spanish. It shows up particularly strongly in the Traditional Spanish area, but it also makes a significant appearance in the Border Spanish areas.

There are 2 quite minor forms that are included on this map because of their restricted distributions in rural Traditional Spanish areas north of Santa Fe. *Fistol* is a relic form cited by just 8 persons, mostly elderly. This is an old Spanish word documented from 1617 in the *CORDE*. The *CREA* cites 7 modern examples, all coming from Mexico, where the meaning seems consistently to be 'tie tack,' the adornment for a man's tie. The use of *fistol* for 'Safety pin' seems to be unique to New Mexican Spanish.

The other minor form is *tenaza* or its diminutive variant *tenacita*. Only 9 persons offered this term for 'Safety pin.' *Tenaza* (usually in plural form, *tenazas*) is the common word for 'pliers' in New Mexican Spanish. Its use with the meaning 'Safety pin' is so tightly constrained geographically to suggest a small subdialect region along the Chama River.

Map 8-8 indicates that there is another major variant for 'Safety pin': *seguro*, the choice of 59 consultants (18%). We see that this term is characteristic of Border Spanish. Not surprisingly, then, it is also the heavily dominant term for 'Safety pin' across Mexico (*ALM* mapa 901). The *DRAE*, however, fails to acknowledge this usage. *Broche* occurs in Mexico but is somewhat rare, reported by only 15 or so respondents in the *ALM*, though Mendoza Guerrero (2002, 125–26) reports that 5 of his 60 consultants mentioned this label. Neither *fistol* nor *tenaza* show up on *ALM* mapa 901. But there is 1 other 'Safety pin' term that unites Mexican and New Mexican Spanish: the standard term *imperdible* was never mentioned in the NMCOSS and is exceedingly rare in the *ALM* survey.

Other expansions of meaning are of more recent vintage. A political boundary that reduced interchange with the rest of the Spanish-speaking world was erected in the middle of the nineteenth century just as the repercussions of industrialization were beginning to be felt in the new U.S. Southwest. As the Spanish language elsewhere settled on terminology for the technological advances, New Mexican Spanish was left pretty much to its own devices. Many new terms, such as *traque* for 'railroad' and 'train tracks,' were simply taken from the closest available source, English; we postpone dealing with the incorporation of Anglicisms until chapter 10. Many adaptations, however, were carried out using the creative possibilities of the mother tongue.

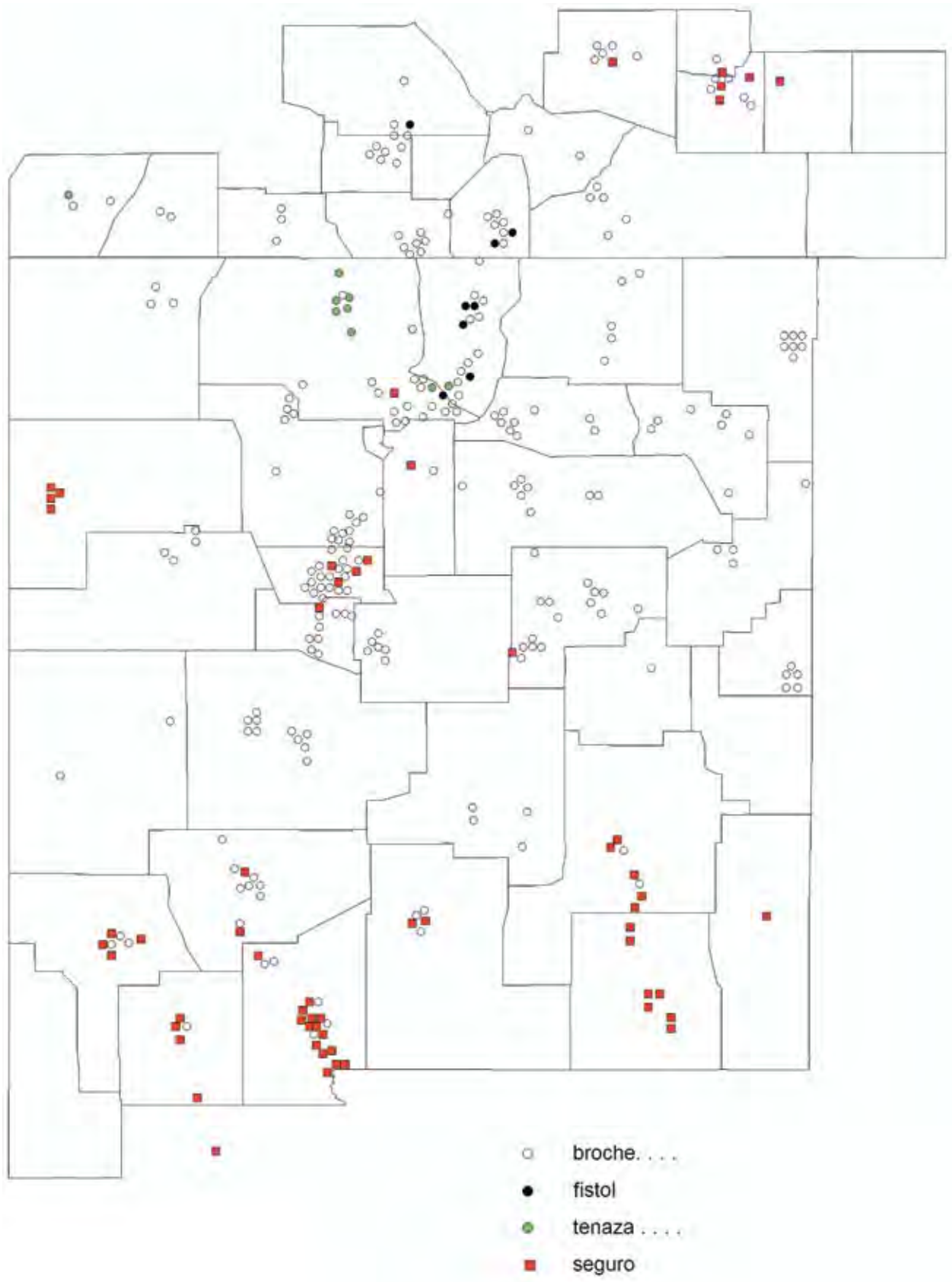
Automobiles were one such innovation that appeared after New Mexico and Colorado became a part of the United States. New Mexican Spanish, like much of American Spanish, simply extended the meaning of the word for 'cart' or 'wagon,' *carro*, to cover this new means of transportation. But how to describe the activity of the person who handled this new vehicle, the variable 'Drive'? Standard Spanish settled on "managing" the car, *manejar*. The solution adopted in Traditional Spanish was to extend the meaning of the word used to keep a group of animals moving, *arrear*. Notice that the same solution was reached in English. Perhaps independently, but who knows?

A slight majority (54%) of 318 NMCOSS consultants responded with the standard Spanish term for 'Drive.' However, *manejar* was more frequently realized as *manijar*, a more colloquial pronunciation. We tallied 104 preferences for *manijar* and 67 for *manejar*. The innovative *arrear* has a very prominent showing as the preference of 133 persons (42%). Map 8-9 shows that *arrear* is particularly manifest in the Traditional Spanish area, suggesting that it was once the consensus norm in New Mexican Spanish. However, *manejar*, particularly in its modified form *manijar*, is also well represented in Traditional Spanish.

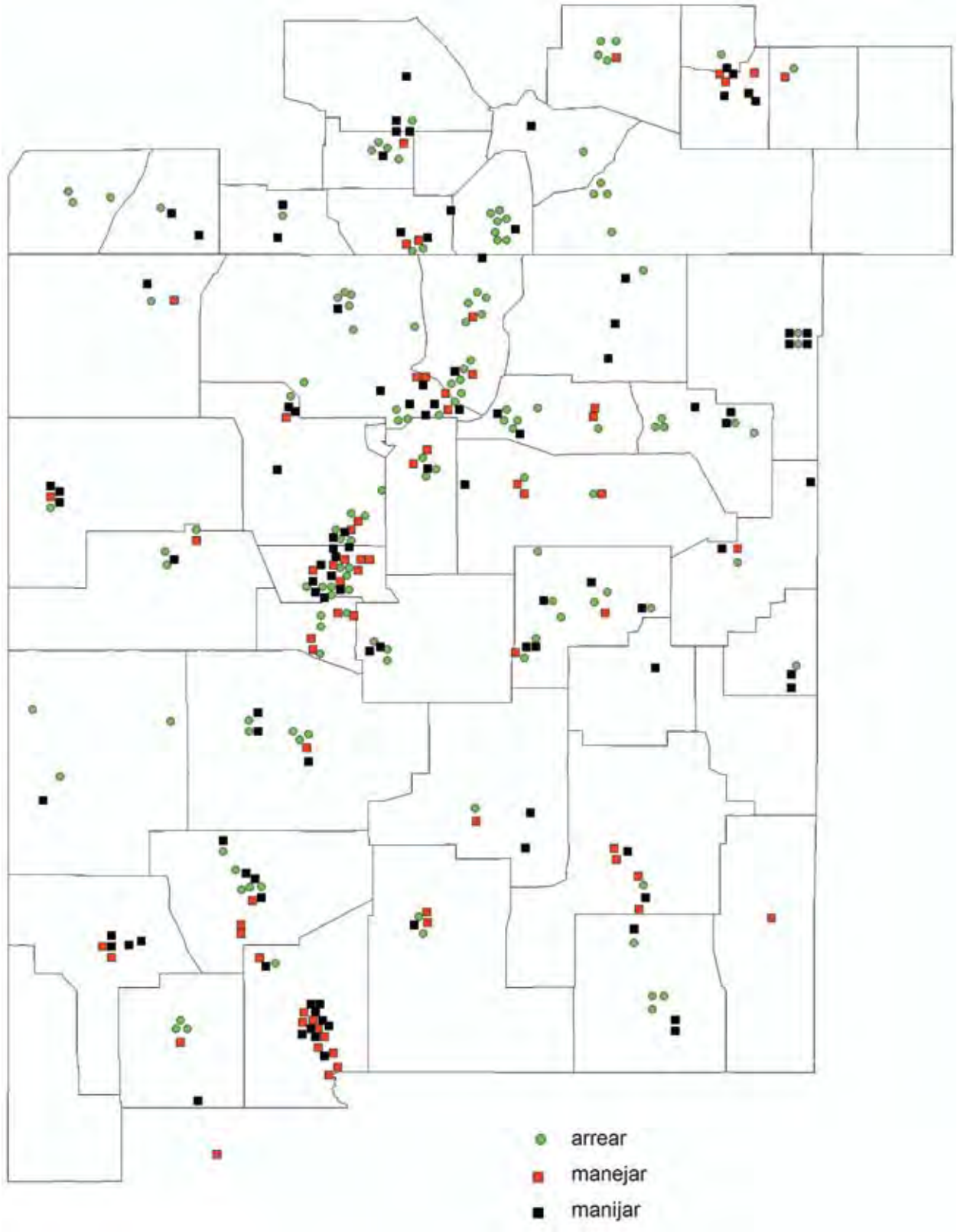
In contrast, *arrear* is sparsely represented (though far from absent) in the areas of more recent Mexican immigration, where the standard-based solutions dominate. It is interesting to observe, however, that the standard *manejar* and the more colloquial *manijar* are equally represented in the Border Spanish regions. This finding suggests that the colloquial variant is of common currency in Mexico, though regrettably the *ALM* did not include the 'Drive' variable. Also of interest is the fact that neither *manejar* nor *manijar* exhibit any significant associations with social variables such as age and education. That is, the independent development *arrear* seems to be holding steady in the NMCOSS region without losing ground across the generations or under increasing exposure to standard Spanish. Such stability is quite unusual for nonstandard words in New Mexican Spanish.

Lexical Compounds

Altering the meaning of an existing word is one common means of independent lexical development. Another common strategy involves **compounding**, putting together two or more existing words to yield a combined meaning distinct from the meaning of the individual words. Thus, the two-word compound *cell phone* was created to label a new phenomenon, which coincidentally led to the creation of another compound, *landline* to contrastively label the older phenomenon. Similarly, the compound *gallina de la tierra* was created very early in the New World to refer to a new entity, a 'Turkey.' This



8-8. 'Safety pin'



8-9. 'Drive'

resulted in the need for a contrastive *gallina de Castilla* for 'chicken' in order to be clear in certain situations, such as in the following excerpt from Alonso de Zurita's 1585 *Relación de los señores de la Nueva España* (as documented in the *CORDE*):

(8-12) *mandar que cada un pueblo dé tanta cantidad de gallinas de la tierra, y tanta de gallinas de Castilla, y no por cabezas, sino que se haga el repartimiento de ellas conforme a la gente que en ella hay, de manera que a cada casado salga una gallina de la tierra, y el viudo o soltero una de Castilla que vale la mitad menos.* 'to order that each village give a certain amount of turkeys and a certain amount of chickens, and not per person, but that the distribution be done according to the people who live therein, so that from each married man comes a turkey, and from a widower or bachelor a chicken, which is worth half as much.' (our translation)

A simple case of the formation of a new compound word in New Mexican Spanish is a variant label for 'Bed.' In olden days in this territory, one's bed, *cama*, would be directly on the floor or quite commonly on a raised adobe "shelf" built out from the wall. When a stand-alone bed came along, this very different entity was referred to as a *cama-alta* 'high bed,' usually written as pronounced, *camalta*. The use of this compound is considered significant enough to be reported in the dictionaries of both Cobos (2003) and L. Trujillo (1983). When presented a picture of a typical modern bed, the vast majority of the NMCOSS consultants (272 of 319, 85%) identified it as a *cama*. However, 41 persons (13%) chose to label it a *camalta*. These persons are scattered across the rural areas of Traditional Spanish and notably absent from the Border Spanish areas and the cities (see map 8-10). Alvar (2000, 214) documents *camalta* for speakers in 9 of 12 New Mexico communities, all north of Albuquerque.

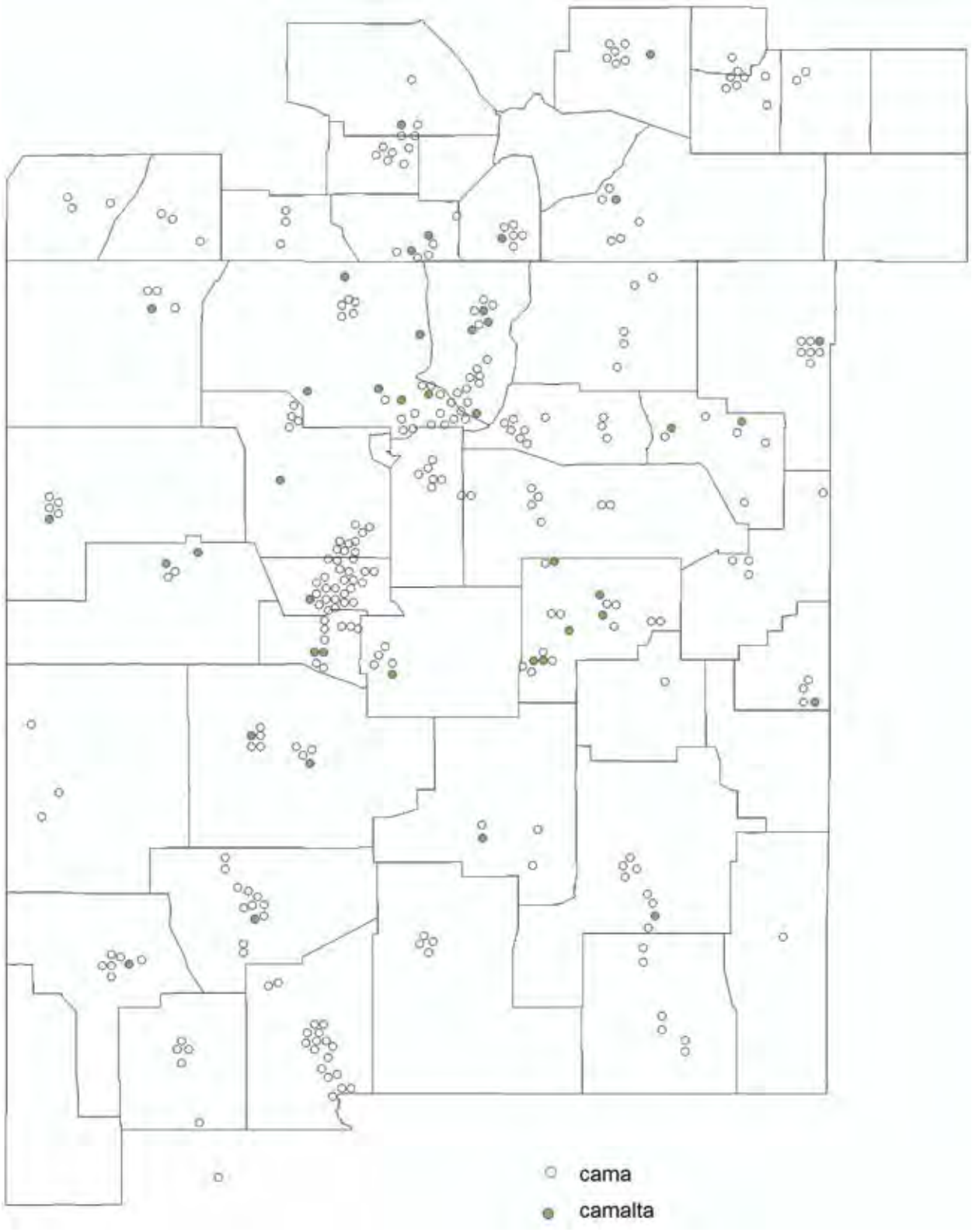
The use of *camalta* marks a person as a speaker of New Mexican Spanish, and many seem to be aware that *cama* is the "correct" term. Indeed, all of our consultants seem to know and use the standard form *cama* for reference in general to the sleeping place. We may guess that the novel compound word is more widely used in settings of a more familiar nature than our interview. The fact that 20% of those age sixty-five and older chose *camalta* while only 6% of those age forty or younger did so supports that assumption and suggests that the use of the nonstandard term is dying out.

An innovative compound form for the flying mammal 'Bat' developed in New Mexican Spanish. The word for 'Bat' in general Spanish is *murciélago*. This word is itself an old, old compound from Latin, *murciégalo*, the two parts originally translatable as 'blind mouse.' However, the componential semantics of the word is now inaccessible to most Spanish speakers because of two changes over time. On the one hand, the *mur* element meaning 'mouse' was lost from Spanish many centuries ago—replaced bafflingly by *ratón*, the augmentative of *rata* 'rat.' A mouse is a big rat? No one should believe that weirdness is restricted to nonstandard dialects. On the other hand, the easy perceptibility of *ciego* 'blind' in the original form has been blocked by the metathesis that has yielded the now standard form. (**Metathesis** is a common linguistic change in form involving the switching of sounds between syllables; some metatheses often heard in New Mexican Spanish are *estógamo* for *estómago* 'Stomach,' *idomia* for *idioma* 'Language,' *pader* for *pared* 'wall,' *probe* for *pobre* 'Poor,' and *reditir* for *derretir* 'Melt'—see example 8-5.)

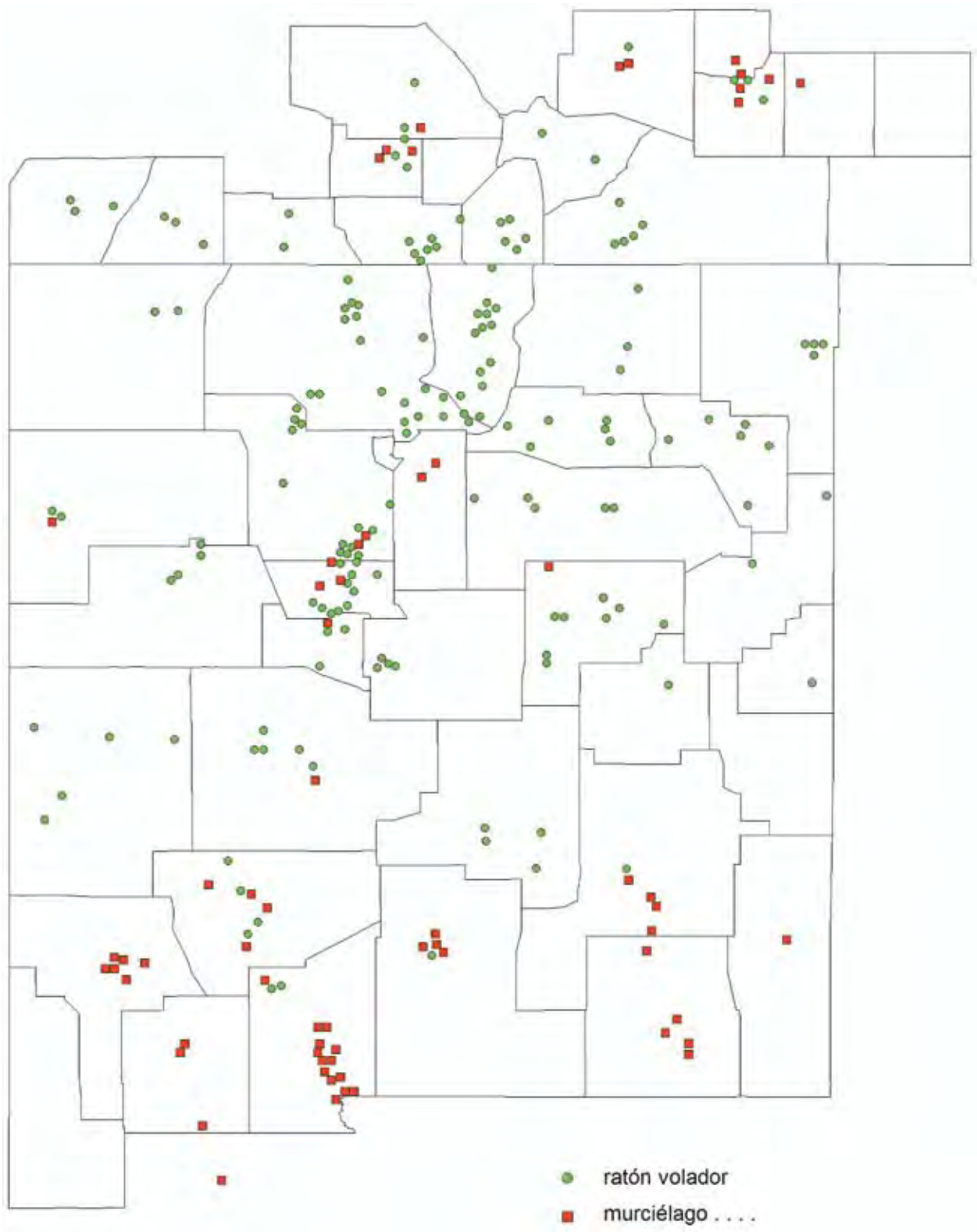
Despite the lack of semantic transparency, this long word *murciélago* endures as the standard word for 'Bat' throughout the Spanish-speaking world. But to make matters more mysterious, also widespread is the nonstandard variant *murciégalo*. Is this variant a retention of the original form, or perhaps a new metathesis, reversing the effect of the first metathesis? It is impossible to determine.

It is unclear to us why the speakers of Traditional Spanish should have felt the need to create a new label, and an even longer label, for this creature that is so common in the area. Maybe there was a collective memory lapse of long duration. Whatever the cause, the result was a new term created by compounding, *ratón volador*, literally 'flying mouse' (identical to the German solution of *Fledermaus*). Map 8-11 shows that this form is clearly the majority preference in Traditional Spanish. It is cited in both the Cobos 2003 and the L. Trujillo 1983 dictionaries, and 3 of Lope Blanch's 4 subjects from Mora also offered this response (1990a, 76). Overall, it accounts for 166 (fully 48%) of the 343 NMCOSS responses for this item.

This new compound is a pronounced dialect marker for Traditional Spanish. The 13 cases of *ratón volador* documented by Alvar (2000, 282) and Pedrero (2002, 346–47) occur only in the NMCOSS region and not in the other three states. The norm elsewhere in the Southwest is *murciélago* (or some variant thereof), as confirmed also in the Lope Blanch survey (1990a). *Murciélago* also is the usual form in Mexico, documented in mapa 618 of the *ALM*. The independently developed *ratón volador* does



8-10. ‘Bed’



8-11. 'Bat'

not appear at all in that atlas (though there are sporadic occurrences of *ratón viejo* 'old mouse' and *ratón ciego* 'blind mouse' in central Mexico), nor does it occur in the more fine-grained study of the state of Sinaloa by Mendoza Guerrero (2002, 69–71).

As is to be expected, then, map 8-11 reveals that in New Mexican Spanish, the standard form, with or without metathesis, is found mainly in the Border Spanish areas: in the south, in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and along the Arkansas River in Colorado. Combined on this map are the 48 cases of *murciélago* and the 17 cases of the new metathesis or perhaps retention *murciégalo*, which account for just 19% of the NMCOSS responses.

A third competing option that is almost as prominent (15%) as the *murciélago* forms is to just make use of the English word, usually pronounced as a spontaneous borrowing with English phonetics, ***bat***, and occasionally as a fully integrated *bate* (10 cases). The English option shows no geographical patterning and is excluded from map 8-11. It seems to be gaining ground in the speech of younger persons.

A particularly intriguing case that seems to represent independent development in New Mexican Spanish is the most common label for 'Sty' (of the eye). *Chile de perro* is a compound that might be literally if grossly translated as 'dog pepper.' Pedrero's analysis (2002, 27) indicates 12 cases of this "semantic creation," and Alvar (2000, 187) confirms that they occur only in the NMCOSS area. Lope Blanch, too, finds only *chile de perro* in his Mora sample and no cases among his subjects in the other three Southwest states (1990a, 82). The term is not listed in Santamaría's *Diccionario de mexicanismos* (1959) except as the name of a plant, and not surprisingly it is not recorded in the *DRAE* or in Corominas's *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (1954). No such variant for 'Sty' is documented in the *ALM* (mapa 717), which shows *perrilla* to be the overwhelmingly preferred term in Mexico, as it is in Texas according to Alvar (2000).

Map 8-12 demonstrates the prominence of the imaginative compound in New Mexican Spanish and its universally preferred status in the Traditional Spanish area. It was the first response of 48% of the 324 respondents—an especially significant proportion considering that one-fourth could only provide the English word (13 cases) or no response at all (66 cases). An interesting comparison is that, according to the analysis provided by Pedrero (2002), over a third of Alvar's Southwest sample also failed to provide a response.

For the display on map 8-12, we have combined 3 variants of the compound: the most common form, *chile de perro* (90 preferences), the diminutive *chilito de perro* (34 preferences), and the apparently rapid speech form *chile perro* (30 preferences). Only rapid speech forms are provided in L. Trujillo (1983), *chile perro*, and Cobos, *chile 'e perro* in the 1983 edition but unfortunately omitted from the 2003 edition. Not included on the map are several such delightful near misses as *chilito de puerco*, *chulo de perro*, *chile cayote*, and *ojito de perro*.

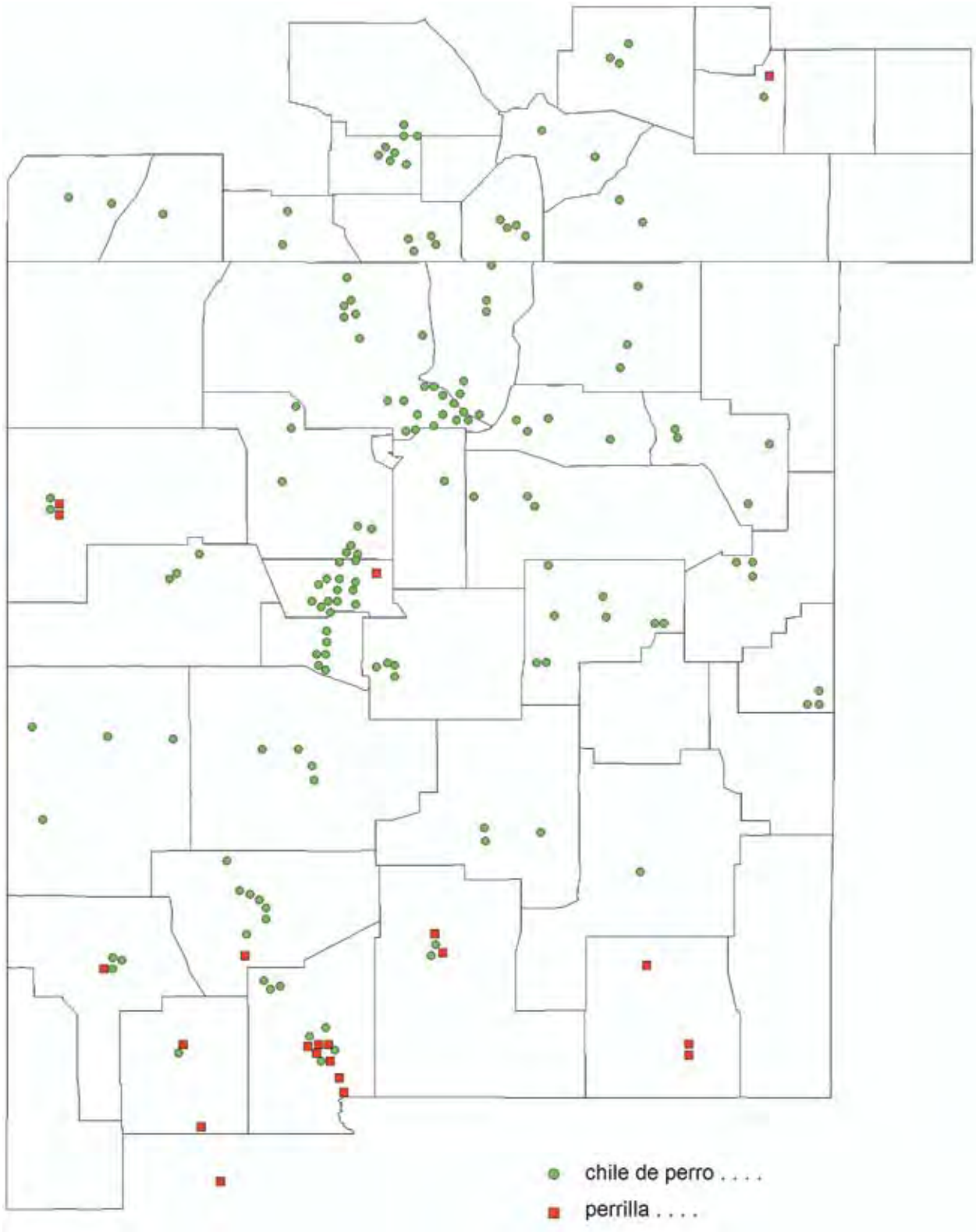
The origin of the label is a mystery. Many consultants expressed fascination and curiosity upon reporting a term they considered humorous. A sixty-six-year-old woman from Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, gave a cause-and-effect explanation given to children that was repeated by quite a few others concerning *chile de perro*:

> (8-13) *Si ya vías un perro haciendo su negocio, te salía uno.* 'If you were to watch a dog doing its business, you'd get one.' (interview 342)

Which came first, the label or the warning? We don't know. But it seems likely that there is some connection to the label considered next.

The use of *perrilla* for 'Sty' was reported by only 20 persons (6%), but its distribution is significant. Map 8-12 makes clear that it is restricted to the Border Spanish areas. The *DRAE* includes this word as a Mexican term, and indeed the *ALM* (mapa 717) shows *perrilla* to be the preferred label there, overwhelmingly so across the northern two-thirds of the country. The *DRAE* offers the speculation that it is derived from *perlilla* 'little pearl,' but that seems quite a stretch with regard to form if not for meaning. It happens, however, that *perrilla* is a diminutive form of *perra* 'female dog, bitch.' The occurrence of the 'dog' reference in the labels in Mexican and New Mexican Spanish, and apparently *only* in these dialects, seems more than accidental.

Nearly twice as prevalent as *perrilla* in our survey is the occurrence of *grano* and its diminutive *granito*, offered by 40 persons (12%). In Mexico, a dozen or so persons along the northwest coast also reported the use of *grano*. But in the NMCOSS, the *grano* responses show no regional pattern; they are scattered very much at random across the region and therefore are not presented on the map. We suspect that the elevated proportion of this label in our survey is due to the fact that the none-too-clear picture was often supplemented with the oral explanation, *Un granito que sale en el ojo* ('A pimple that erupts by your eye').



8-12. 'Sty'

Grammatical and Phonological Change

Traditional Spanish also manifests a variety of grammatical and phonological phenomena that may represent independent developments. None of the cases that we mention in the following paragraphs, however, is unique to New Mexican Spanish. In fact, as Penny notes, "With the exception of lexical innovations . . . there are exceedingly few features observed in American Spanish which do not also belong to some variety or varieties of Peninsular Spanish, and which are therefore likely to have their origins in Spain" (2000, 136–37).

A feature that is highly characteristic of this region is the placement of stress on the **antepenultimate** (third from the last) syllable in first person plural forms of the present subjunctive mood instead of on the **penultimate** (next to last) syllable as in standard Spanish. For example, it is very common to hear in New Mexican Spanish present subjunctive verb forms such as:

(8-14) *háblemos* '(that) we talk' versus standard *hablemos*
cómamos '(that) we eat' versus standard *comamos*
sálgamos '(that) we go out' versus standard *salgamos*

It is unlikely that this stress pattern is a grammatical innovation that arose independently in this region. Alvar (2000, 380–81) indicates, with evidence from 7 different verbs, that it occurs in all five of the Southwest states where he collected data. It is perhaps an archaism since Buesa and Enguita (1992, 201) point out its occurrence in western Spain as well as elsewhere in the Americas.

Another construction that may have developed independently is the use of *-nos* instead of *-mos* as the first person plural verbal suffix. Although this substitution occurs in many other areas (see, for example, Quesada Pacheco 2000, 101), it has been extended in New Mexican Spanish to all verb forms having antepenultimate stress, including the just-mentioned present subjunctive. All 7 of the verbs in present subjunctive in Alvar's data show some use of *-nos*, mostly in the NMCOSS area, but there are also some cases in Texas and Louisiana. To exemplify with all the antepenultimate stress forms of 1 verb:

(8-15) *háblenos* '(that) we talk' (present subjunctive) versus standard *hablemos*
habláranos '(that) we talked' (past subjunctive) versus standard *habláramos*
hablábanos 'we were talking' (imperfect) versus standard *hablábamos*
hablaríanos 'we would talk' (conditional) versus standard *hablaríamos*

A couple of examples from the speech of our consultants illustrate the pervasiveness of the phenomenon:

(8-16) *En la escuela, fíjese, yo me acuerdo cuando—si hablábanos español cuando salíanos a* ***recess****, nos daban una cubeta pa' que levantáranos piedras, pa' quitar las piedras del* ***playground****.* 'At school, listen, I remember when—if we would speak Spanish when we went out for recess, they would give us a bucket to pick up rocks, to clear the rocks off the playground.' (interview 336)
(8-17) *Si no lo aprendíanos, no pudríanos hablar con ella*. 'If we hadn't learned it, we wouldn't have been able to talk with her [the grandmother].' (interview 343)
(8-18) *Los castigaban si hablábanos en español*. 'They would punish us if we spoke Spanish.' (interview 48)

This last example illustrates another grammatical phenomenon—the use of *los* for *nos*—that conceivably could have arisen independently in New Mexican Spanish even though it occurs in many other Spanish dialects (see, for example, Kany 1951, 100–101). The first person plural clitic pronoun that accompanies the verb and corresponds to direct and indirect objects is *nos* in most varieties of Spanish. In New Mexican Spanish rapid speech this pronoun is often heard as *los*, which happens to also be the third person singular direct object clitic pronoun. A couple of additional examples:

(8-19) *Ella los hablaba en español*. 'She would talk to us in Spanish.' (interview 344)
(8-20) *A nosotros no los gustaba*. 'We didn't like it.' (interview 48)

Note, then, that example 8-18 is potentially ambiguous, having also the meaning 'They would punish them if we spoke Spanish.' But the larger context in which it occurs (not to mention the inferential probability!) makes the intended meaning absolutely clear. In fact, the intended meaning of the merged form is almost always transparent in context and rarely produces any communicative confusion. For example, the meaning of example 8-19 is clear because the pronoun would have to be the indirect object clitic *les*, not *los*, for reference to 'them,' and example 8-20

yields no possibility for ambiguity because of the redundant emphatic pronoun *nosotros* 'we, us.'

A grammatical innovation that is perhaps most likely to represent independent development in New Mexican Spanish is the generalization of the truncated form of the verb *haber* 'have' that occurs in the present-perfect construction. The *ha-* root of the second and third persons (*tú has comido* 'you have eaten,' *ella ha comido* 'she has eaten') is extended to the first persons for many speakers in our survey:

(8-21) *yo ha comido* 'I have eaten' (standard *yo he comido*)
nosotros hamos comido 'we have eaten' (standard *nosotros hemos comido*)

Following are a few examples of this regularization extracted from conversations during the NMCOSS interviews:

(8-22) *Todo esto que hamos hablado, que sí los ha oído*. 'All of this that we've talked about, why yes I've heard them.' (interview 269)
(8-23) *Yo no los ha visto aquí*. 'I haven't seen them here.' (interview 300)
(8-24) *Yo ha sido muy suertudo*. 'I have been a very lucky guy.' (interview 308)
(8-25) *Aquí ha vivido toda mi vida*. 'I've lived here all my life.' (interview 317)

Although the grammatical phenomena illustrated in examples 8-14 to 8-20 were not specifically elicited in our survey, the first person uses of *haber* were indeed included. They were elicited by asking the consultant to give full sentence negative responses to sentences like *¿Ha visto usted a Juan?* 'Have you seen John?' and *¿Han visto ustedes a Juan?* 'Have you (plural) seen John?' Now, the natural negative response to such questions in ordinary conversation is simply, 'No.' Requiring the respondents to give full sentences (e.g., *No, no lo he visto*) creates a test-like situation in which they can be expected to adopt whatever they may consider their "best" linguistic behavior. Even so, the results demonstrate that these innovative forms are widely used: 48% of the NMCOSS consultants used the innovative *ha* instead of standard *he*, and 38% employed *hamos* instead of *hemos*. Map 8-13 for 'I have' shows that innovative first person singular *ha* occurs across the NMCOSS territory. A map for the plural forms (not presented here) displays the same broad distribution.

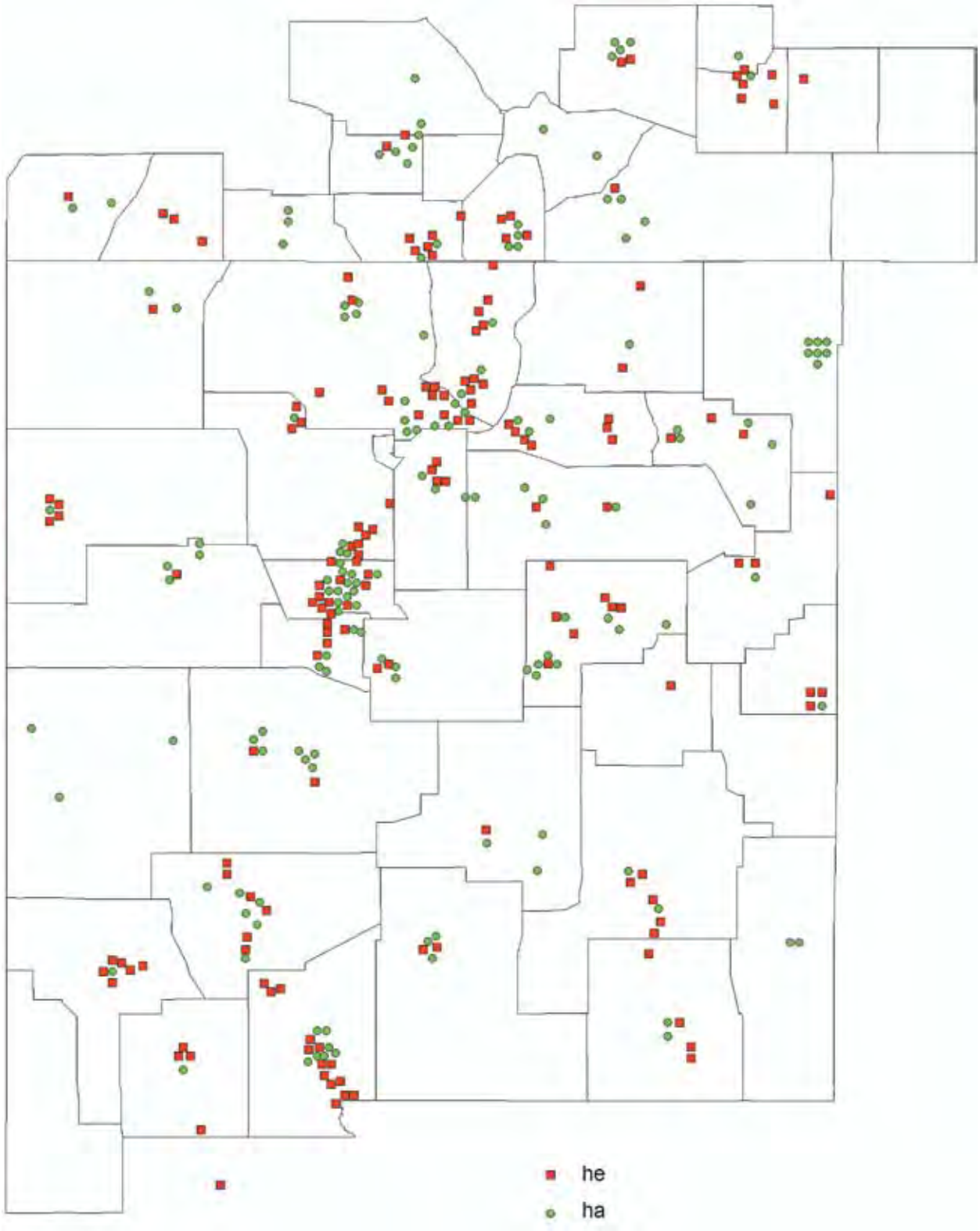
Although only the plural form was included in the *Atlas lingüístico de México*, it is striking to find not a single instance of *hamos* documented there (mapa 591). Does this confirm that *ha* and *hamos* are truly independent developments in New Mexican Spanish? No, not necessarily. We know that these generalized forms occur in colloquial speech elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world (e.g., in El Salvador), so again we may be dealing with some sort of archaism.

The evidence from an examination of social factors, however, indicates that these innovative forms appear to be a fairly recent development in New Mexican Spanish that is gaining strength over time. For example, while only a third (32%) of speakers age sixty-five and older report use of *ha* for *he*, nearly two-thirds (63%) of those age forty and younger do so. Moreover, this grammatical variable is also associated with educational variables. For example, only 37% of those who had taken three or more courses in Spanish used *ha* for 'I have,' but 54% of those who had no formal Spanish study did so. That is, we find that the use of innovative *ha* and *hamos* is favored by younger people and disfavored by the more educated. But there is a confounding interaction between these social factors since it is precisely the younger consultants who tend to be more highly educated.

A two-way cross-tabulation incorporating both social variables can sort out these contradictory influences. Table 8-1 shows the results of such a cross-tabulation for the innovative *ha*, grouping the consultants into three age groups and four levels of formal study of Spanish. We see that within each age group there is a trend toward declining use of first person *ha* with more coursework in Spanish. But *ha* use by even the least Spanish-educated among the oldest speakers (45%) never rises to the level of the youngest speakers having three or more Spanish courses (53%). And over three-fourths (77%) of the youngest age group who have never taken a course in Spanish prefer the innovative *ha*. Thus, if we completely remove the standardizing influence of classroom Spanish, we find a strong increase in the use of *ha* across the generations, from 45% to 77%.

Education in general appears to have an even greater standardizing influence, as table 8-2 indicates. We see the same overall pattern as that manifested in table 8-1. But for those who did not complete high school, there is an exceptionally strong increase in preference for *ha* across the generations, from just 41% of the oldest generation to fully 100% of the youngest generation.

The influences of formal Spanish and education on the use of first person plural *hamos* closely parallel the



8-13. 'I have'

TABLE 8-1. Use of first person *ha* by age and Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	AGE 15–40	AGE 41–64	AGE 65–96
No courses	76.9	58.1	45.1
1 course	64.7	51.9	38.5
2 courses	66.7	53.3	14.3
3 or more courses	53.1	36.4	6.3

TABLE 8-2. Use of first person *ha* by age and Years of education (percentages)

	AGE 15–40	AGE 41–64	AGE 65–96
11 years or fewer	100.0	62.9	40.9
12 years	88.2	56.1	33.3
13–15 years	53.8	50.0	28.6
16 or more years	50.0	36.0	7.1

results for first person singular *ha*. These findings strongly support the conclusion that these two grammatical generalizations are independent developments in New Mexican Spanish that may have taken root rather recently, perhaps within the past century or so, and that assuredly are now expanding in use.

In the realm of phonology, it is still more difficult to support a claim that an observed phenomenon arose independently. However, there are at least three features of Traditional New Mexican Spanish that may be tentatively discussed as innovations in that they are not typical of Mexican Spanish. First, many speakers of New Mexican Spanish have a tendency in rapid speech to pronounce the syllable-initial as well as the syllable-final /s/ as a velar or glottal fricative (like the *j* of Spanish or the *h* of English). In the following joke told by a man who grew up near Anton Chico, New Mexico, all the *j*'s (except the last one, where *juerte* represents a colloquial pronunciation of *fuerte*) correspond to *s* in standard Spanish. The English word *hall* is pronounced approximately like *jol* and understood by the elderly man as *sol* 'sun.'

(8-26) *Llegó de Antón Chico un señor ya mayorcito a la oficina de su doctor en Albuquerque y le preguntó a la recepcionista, que era bilingüe, "Ejte, jeñorita, nejejito ver al dotor." "Sí, cómo no, no más que ahorita el doctor está ocupado. ¿Por qué no lo espera ahí en el* ***hall****?" Se quedó pensando el señor, y luego dijo, "Ejte, jabe, jeñorita, mejor lo ejpero en la jombra porque el jol ejta muy juerte."* 'An elderly man from Anton Chico arrived at his doctor's office in Albuquerque and spoke to the receptionist, who was bilingual, "Uh, Miss, I need to see the doctor." "Yes, of course, it's just that the doctor is busy right now. Why don't you wait there in the hall?" The man stood there thinking, and then he said, "Uh, ya know, Miss, maybe I'd better wait in the shade 'cause that sun's pretty hot."' (interview 118)

There is a huge body of research publications that describe the **aspiration of syllable-final /s/** around the Spanish-speaking world. But there has been surprisingly little documentation of the aspiration of *syllable-initial* /s/, which is a striking characteristic of New Mexican Spanish. The variable aspiration of syllable-initial /s/ in conversational speech occurs throughout the NMCOSS territory but is particularly notable in certain areas, particularly along the upper Río Grande between Albuquerque and Taos. The following excerpts from our conversational data illustrate syllable-initial aspiration on a variety of words. Notice that these are words used with high frequency, which is a major constraint on such aspiration (E. Brown 2004, 2005; E. Brown and Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003). In these examples, every *j* represents the aspiration of /s/. Note that not every /s/ is aspirated, which is the nature of variable phenomena.

(8-27) *Le pregunté que ji quería cajarse conmigo.* 'I asked her if she wanted to marry me.' (interview 196)

(8-28) *Estaba jacándoselaj . . . y soloj je salen.* 'He was pulling them out . . . and they came out by themselves.' (interview 241)

(8-29) *Aquí no hajían laj casaj ajina.* 'Here they didn't make houses that way.' (interview 279)

(8-30) *Dijían que ji estaba un tecolote en la puerta no puede jalir uno.* 'They used to say that if there was an owl at the door you couldn't go out.' (interview 289)

(8-31) *Yo no jé qué clas de trucha jerá.* 'I don't know what kind of fish it is.' (interview 316)

(8-32) *Era una tristeja; no jabía qué hajer.* 'It was so sad; he didn't know what to do.' (interview 318)

Although this kind of aspiration of /s/ is not stereotypical of Mexican Spanish, it has recently been documented for parts of northern Mexico: the states of Chihuahua (E. Brown and Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003), Sonora (D. Brown 1993), and Sinaloa (López Berríos and Mendoza Guerrero 1997). Given its prominence in New Mexican Spanish, it may well be that syllable-initial /s/ aspiration is far more widespread in colloquial Mexican Spanish than is generally thought.

Similarly restricted to variable realization is attaching to the ends of words the vowel *-e* (sometimes realized as *-i*; note the humorous title *Yo seigo de Taosi* of Torres 1992). This **paragogic *-e*** occurs on words that otherwise have a final stressed syllable and end in a consonant produced with the tip of the tongue against the gum ridge just behind the upper teeth (that is, **alveolar** consonants, specifically /r, l, n, s/). For example, it is commonplace to hear such variable pronunciations as *trabajare* and *trabajar* 'to work,' *alcojole* and *alcojol* 'alcohol,' and *ratone* and *ratón* 'mouse.' Following is a sampling of the phenomenon as it occurs in the NMCOSS conversational data:

(8-33) *Yo era muy tomadore.* 'I was quite a drinker.' (interview 198)

(8-34) *¿Qué sone?* 'What are they?' (interview 200)

(8-35) *Todos nacieron en Taosi.* 'They were all born in Taos.' (interview 236)

(8-36) *Nos enseñaron a ler en el papeli.* 'They taught us to read in the newspaper.' (interview 255)

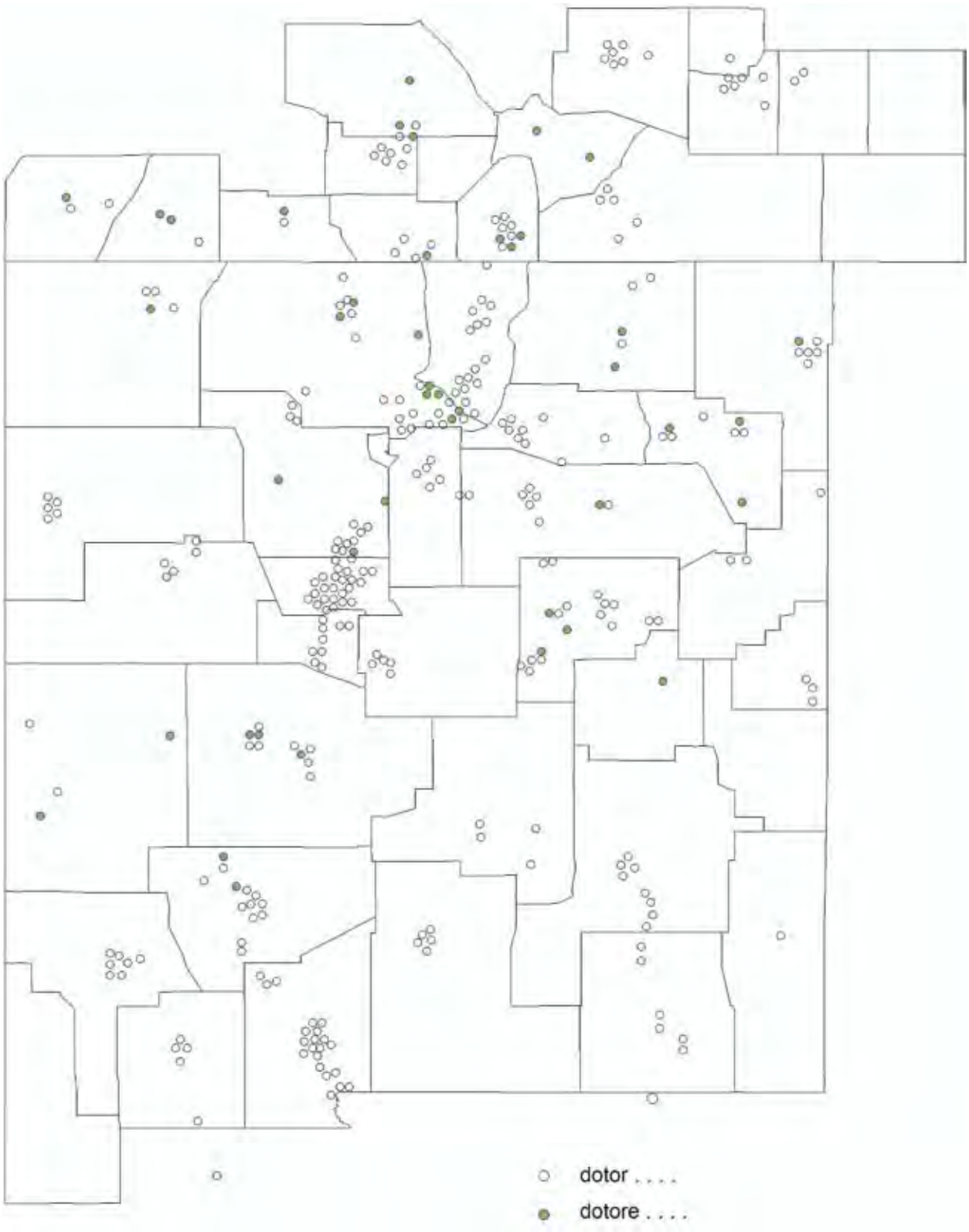
There are constraints on the occurrence of the paragogic *-e*. For instance, as the preceding examples indicate, the add-on vowel seems to occur only at a point where the speaker pauses (or as linguists would say, in breath group final position). The only careful exploration of this phenomenon is the paper by Hernández Chávez and Pérez (1991) that unfortunately has never been published.

To illustrate the occurrence of paragogic *-e* in New Mexican Spanish, let us look at the responses for 1 item elicited in our survey, a term for 'Doctor.' The responses vary in three ways. First, the lexical item is usually *doctor* (317 cases) but sometimes *médico* (19 cases). Second, in the case of *doctor*, the *c* may be pronounced (standard Spanish) or absent (colloquial Spanish), thus *doctor* versus *dotor*. As we would expect in the NMCOSS results, the colloquial variant is more common (214 responses, 63%) while the standard variant (103 responses) is associated with education.

The third source of variability, the one that interests us here, is the potential for a paragogic *-e* on *doctor* and *dotor*. Both have final stress and end in the alveolar consonant *r*. Furthermore, the picture identification procedure often, though far from invariably, results in the pronunciation of the word in isolation or otherwise at the end of a breath group (e.g., *Es un dotor* 'He's a doctor'). The conditions are favorable enough that we actually received 43 responses with the paragogic *-e* (13% of the total responses). And naturally enough, the colloquial paragogic *-e* occurred more frequently with the colloquial pronunciation: 39 *dotore* and 4 *doctore*. We include on map 8-14 only the responses of *doctor*/*dotor* with and without paragogic *-e* and exclude all other responses (e.g., the 19 cases of *médico*). We see that the paragogic *-e* occurs exclusively in the Traditional Spanish area. Unlike initial /s/ aspiration, the paragogic *-e* is characteristic of Traditional Spanish and absent from Border Spanish.

Now, the reader conversant with Latin might note a relationship of the paragogic *-e* with the phonological structure of that language, for example, Latin *amare* 'to love' becomes Spanish *amar*, Latin *scribere* 'to write' becomes Spanish *escribir*. Could this phenomenon be not an independent development but an archaic retention from many, many centuries ago? We have found this *-e* documented in only one other place, an indigenous community on the Pacific coast of Costa Rica (Quesada Pacheco 2000, 52–53), and that author poses the same suggestion, noting the possibility of relic forms in such similarly remote regions.

Another feature that appears to be more broadly distributed in New Mexican Spanish is the vocalization



8-14. ‘Doctor’

of /r/ before alveolar consonants (yep, those consonants again!) in words such as *carne* 'Meat,' *cárcel* 'Jail,' and *perla* 'Pearl.' The resultant sound is a retroflex semivowel much like the /r/ of English where the tip of the tongue is curved up and back. However, if you happen to hear this sound in the Spanish of our region, you should not jump to the conclusion, as some scholars have done, that this pronunciation arises from the influence of English. It does not. It is a perfectly natural product of the Spanish phonological system. Related modifications of syllable-final /r/ are widespread in Spanish dialects. Besides, fluent speakers of New Mexican Spanish who pronounce *cáRcel* (using *R* to represent the retroflex sound) would never say *peRo* for *perro* 'dog' and *pero* 'but' as English speakers might do.

Thus, New Mexican Spanish changes over time, as all languages do. The Latin language, spread by the Romans across southern Europe, diverged over a thousand years into diverse dialects and eventually to the distinct Romance languages. In like fashion, the Spanish language, spread across the New World, diverged into diverse dialects. Wherever there is a weakening of communication between groups of speakers of the same language, the speech of those groups will tend to diverge over time. Thus, the diverse varieties of New World Spanish have arisen.

The group of Spanish speakers of the New Mexico region—in their remote outpost on the northern frontier of New Spain, later on the fringe of the young nation of Mexico, and then embedded in a linguistically distinct country—certainly experienced a weakening of communication links with other Spanish speakers, and as a consequence the dialect we call Traditional New Mexican Spanish developed. Natural linguistic processes of internal change contributed to this development. But change in this new dialect was fostered, not solely by a weakening of contact with other Spanishes, but also by a strengthening of contact with speakers of other languages. The next two chapters examine these external sources of change.

CHAPTER 9

Uneasy Alliances

The Contribution of Local Languages

New Mexican Spanish carries evidence of prior contacts with other languages: the Arabic language of the Moors in Spain, the native languages of the Caribbean, the language of the Aztecs, and many other languages. New linguistic contacts took place as soon as the first permanent Spanish-speaking colonists settled in New Mexico in 1598, and that potential for externally motivated change has endured for over four centuries. However, prior to its contact with English, which began in earnest only in the last half of the nineteenth century, the nascent New Mexican Spanish was exposed to just two external influences and those influences turned out to be minor. Those two linguistic contacts were the local Native American languages and the French language.

Native American Influence

The Native Americans that the Spanish speakers encountered in the New Mexico colony were of two principal kinds, the sedentary Pueblos and several largely nomadic tribes. The "Pueblo" Indians were labeled thus by Spanish speakers because they lived in towns. The so-called Pueblo languages actually represent three distinct linguistic groups: Zuni, Keresan, and Tanoan (pronounced Ta-NO-an, not TA-no-an like the subdivision in Albuquerque). The Zuni language, spoken in a pueblo near the Arizona border, is a linguistic isolate. Its relationship to any other language is still unclear. The Keresan language family is spread out west of the Río Grande south of Santa Fe and is represented today by the pueblos of Acoma, Cochití, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia. The Tanoan family is spoken generally east and north of the Keresan languages and is composed of three linguistic subgroups: Towa (spoken in the pueblo of Jemez), Tiwa (pueblos of Isleta, Picuris, Sandia, and Taos), and Tewa (pueblos of Nambé, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Ohkay Owingeh [previously called San Juan], Santa Clara, and Tesuque). Closely related linguistically to the Tanoan family also are the more nomadic Kiowa, a Plains Indian group now located primarily in southwestern Oklahoma. This Kiowa-Tanoan family is more distantly related to the Uto-Aztecan languages, of which Nahuatl (or Aztec) is the most southern member (and the most northern members, as the family name suggests, are the Paiutes or Utes, whence the name Utah).

Most of the nomadic tribes in the New Mexico–southern Colorado region during the colonial period were speakers of two linguistic families: Athapascan and Uto-Aztecan. The Athapascan family is represented in this area by Navajo and several Apache varieties (Jicarilla and Mescalero now in New Mexico, and others in Arizona). Apache and Navajo are closely related languages whose next closest relatives were spread out in the northwestern United States and western Canada, from northern California to Alaska. The prominent members of the Uto-Aztecan language family in this area are the Utes and the Comanches.

For centuries, Hispanic and Pueblo interactions with the nomadic groups were usually quite hostile, involving raids on each other's establishments and taking of slaves. Given a long history of this kind of contact, it is unsurprising that there has been almost no linguistic influence on Traditional Spanish from the Apache and Navajo languages. Cobos (2003), for example, identifies only two words as possibly from Navajo (*chihuil* 'small valley' and *josquere* in the phrase *andar en el josquere* 'to be sowing one's wild oats') and one from Apache (*gileño*, referring to the Gila Apache), terms that apparently are only marginally known or used today. However, the reverse direction of lexical influence was more substantial. In Navajo, for example, the terms for 'money' (*béeso*) and 'Anglo' (*bilagáana*) were borrowed from Spanish *peso* and *americano*, to mention only two everyday words (see Young and Morgan 1987, 7).

Interaction with the Pueblos, on the other hand, was very different. These Native Americans were stable farmers along the waterways of northern New Mexico. They lived in well-constructed cities of multistoried dwellings. And they appear to have been amiable if unwilling hosts to the arriving Hispanics. In fact, Oñate and his colonists established their first settlement next to San Juan Pueblo, and the priests immediately set to work converting to Catholicism the people of all these Pueblos, with considerable success, as partly indicated by the current names of several Pueblos (e.g., San Felipe, Santa Clara). The contact of the Pueblo peoples with the Hispanic community, then, was seemingly intimate on some levels and therefore amenable to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic fertilization. For example, the Pueblos adopted Catholicism across the board, though without giving up traditional religious beliefs and practices.

Furthermore, the Hispanics were a numerical minority through much of the colonial period. The Native American population seems to have exceeded the tiny Hispanic population by tens of thousands throughout the seventeenth century (see Gutiérrez 1991, 92, table 2.1), and the Hispanics remained a minority until at least 1760 (see Gutiérrez 1991, 167, table 4.2; J. A. Trujillo 1997, 127–28). But relative population numbers have little to do with how one language influences another, as we will see again when the tables are turned with the arrival of the Anglo.

And it most certainly is the case that Traditional Spanish has seen exceedingly little linguistic influence from the local Pueblo languages after four centuries of contact. How could there be so little influence after so many years of multifaceted interaction between the Hispanics and the Pueblo Indians? For one thing, after a hundred years of interaction with other indigenous languages in the New World, particularly Taino and Nahuatl, as discussed in preceding chapters, much of the lexical need to identify New World entities such as flora and fauna had already been satisfied prior to the colonization of New Mexico.

But more important, the lack of influence also reflects three local social factors. First, although the local Native Americans outnumbered the Hispanics for nearly two hundred years, the Pueblo population declined rather rapidly and spoke a variety of different languages.

Second, the Hispanics considered their culture and their language supreme, and they were heavy-handed in dealing with the Native Americans, particularly with regard to religion and tribute (J. A. Trujillo 1997, 329–30):

> (9-1) Despite the highly developed civic and religious culture of the indigenous population, the Spanish clung to the ideals embodied in the *casta* [racial classification] and *encomienda* [forced labor and tribute] systems, rejecting the cultural influence of their neighbors and engaging in a concerted effort to strip them of every vestige of their supposedly heathen culture.

As Trujillo observes, similar heavy-handedness later characterized the behavior of the English speakers in dealing with the Hispanics of the region, a point emphasized also by Gutiérrez in his epilogue (1991, 337–40).

The third and probably most significant social factor is that the Pueblo Indians themselves were able to erect rigid barriers around their culture, tying native religious practice and language together as private possessions to be safeguarded from outsiders. By doing so, they have managed to protect and preserve their cultural integrity for four hundred years. (And another consequence is that very little documentation of these languages is available

in the public domain, making still more difficult the task of confirming Spanish-Pueblo cross-linguistic influences, as will be apparent in the following discussion of loanwords.)

The result of these special social conditions was a stable societal bilingualism involving the two groups. The Hispanics spoke Spanish, the Río Grande Pueblo Indians spoke their native languages, and mediating between the two were lots of bilinguals—but those bilinguals tended to be the Native Americans, not the Hispanics. Interactions between the two ethnic groups, therefore, tended to be conducted in Spanish since few Hispanics spoke a Pueblo language.

One consequence of this unidirectional type of bilingualism is that the Pueblos tended to borrow a substantial number of words from Spanish, mostly having to do with religion, government, material culture, plants, animals, time words, and numbers. For example, Spencer (1947) documents 100 or so fully integrated Spanish borrowings in the Keresan languages in general, and W. R. Miller (1959–60) identifies some 140 such borrowings in the Acoma language.

In contrast, very few loanwords were adopted into New Mexican Spanish (see Cobos 2003, xii–xiii). People generally don't borrow words from languages they don't speak. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Espinosa reported that the local Native American element amounted to "perhaps not more than a score of words" (1911, 13). More recently, Cobos's dictionary (2003) specifically identifies a total of only 16 Pueblo loanwords and several are only tentative identifications. Aside from the names for specific peoples and places (e.g., *Ácoma*, *Jémez*, *Tegua*, *Taos*, *Zuni*) and cultural artifacts (e.g., *cachina* 'ceremonial doll,' *quiva* 'kiva, underground ceremonial chamber'), only a handful of words have been attributed to the Pueblo languages, typically having to do with foods (*chaquegüe* 'a blue-corn gruel,' *tosayes* 'sun-dried pumpkin strips') and plants and herbs (*coyaye* 'rattlesnake weed' and perhaps *oshá* 'wild celery').

The specific elicitation component of the NMCOSS included only 3 cases in which a local Native American loanword played a significant role, and 2 of these involve the same word, *cunques*. Already in 1581, the scribe for the Chamuscado expedition noted that an Indian group used the word *cunque* for 'corn' (Hammond and Rey 1966, 86). Cobos (2003) claims that this word has its origin in the Zuni *cunques*, meaning 'bits of ground corn or cornmeal used for ceremonial purposes.' But Jerry Craddock (1996, 357–58; personal communication) finds the likely source to be Río Grande Tewa, as attested in Robbins, Harrington, and Freire-Marreco (1916, 16), where the words (leaving aside several orthographic details that are unimportant here) *kun* 'corn plant' and *ke* 'grain' form the compound *kunke* 'grain of corn.'

We were pleasantly surprised to find that Santamaría (1959) reports that *cunque* occurs in northern Mexico with the meaning of cracked or coarsely ground corn used to feed baby chicks. He cites a quote from Brondo Whitt's description of her experiences in northern Mexico (1935, 223):

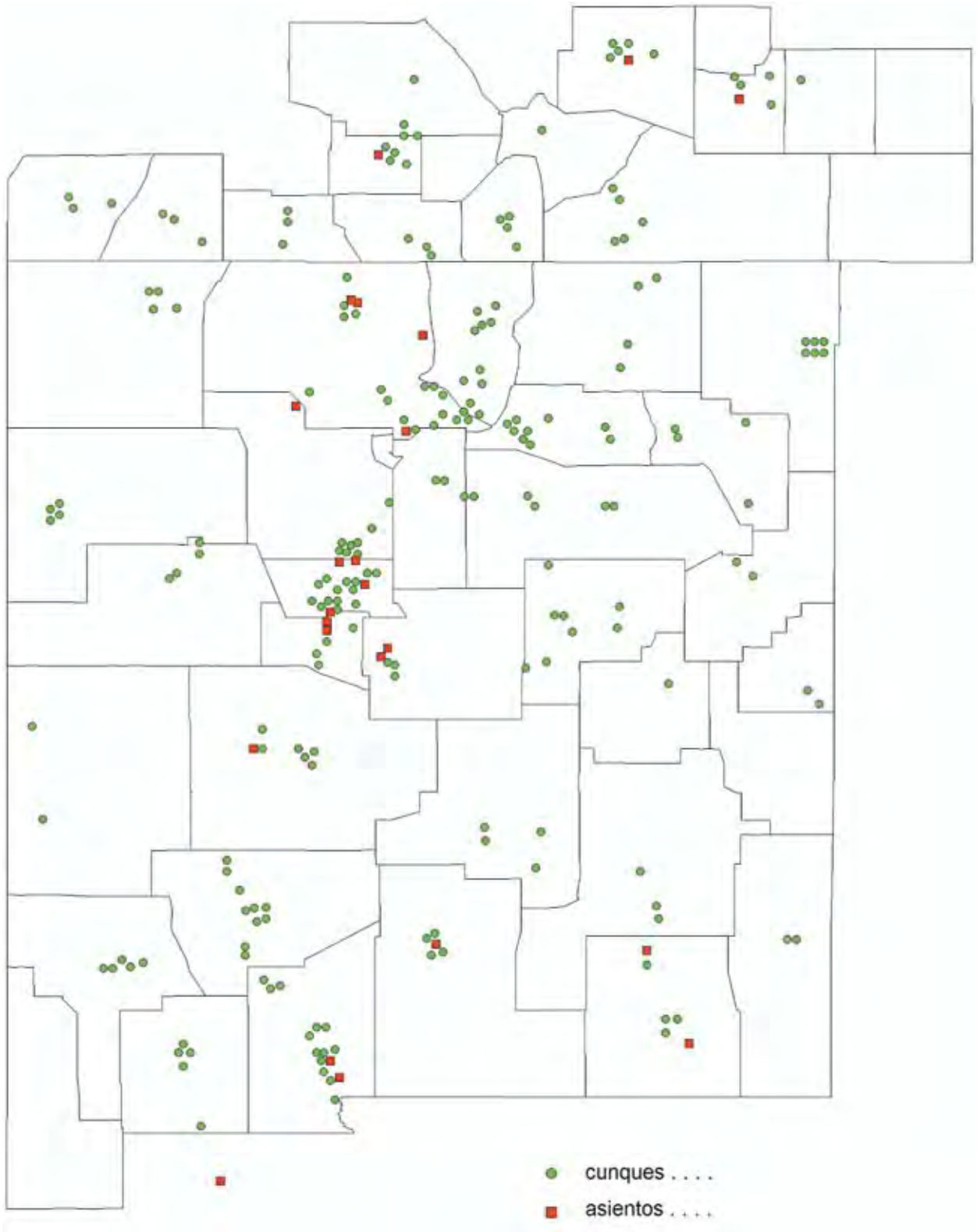
(9-1) *Y yo no sé de dónde ha venido el llamar* ***cunque*** *al maicito quebrado que dan de alimento a los pollitos*. 'I don't know where that use of *cunque* for the cracked corn they feed to chickens comes from.'

He in turn would be surprised to learn that it may well be an import from the United States!

But 'chicken feed' is not the usual meaning of *cunques* in New Mexican Spanish today. L. Trujillo (1983) gives only the meaning 'coffee grounds.' Cobos (2003) gives that meaning but also includes 'dregs' more generally and 'crumbs' in his explanation of the word. Our survey questionnaire included two of these meanings: 'Coffee grounds' and 'Crumbs.'

The more widespread use of *cunques* in the NMCOSS is for reference to 'Coffee grounds,' the bits of coffee that settle to the bottom of a cup or pot. Map 9-1 demonstrates that *cunques* is far and away the preferred term for 'Coffee grounds' in every part of our territory. Including 3 cases of *conques*, 11 of *cunquis*, and 12 of *cunque*, this label was the choice of 222 of the 271 respondents, an impressive 82%. Only 23 persons (8%) offered the usual Spanish term *asientos*, and another 17 reported knowing no Spanish word for that concept.

In contrast, *asientos* is the heavily preferred term for 'Coffee grounds' in Mexico today (*ALM* mapa 840). However, the *ALM* encountered 6 responses related to *cunques* (all of which seem to be secondary responses); 3 of these responses are *cunquis* and there is 1 response each of *conquis*, *conque*, and *junque*. All occurred in three northern localities in Chihuahua, the state bordering New Mexico. Note, however, that our consultant who was born in Chihuahua prefers *asientos*. What are we to make of this showing of *cunques* for 'Coffee grounds' (not to mention for 'chicken feed') in Mexico? It looks very much like a Pueblo loanword has spread not only across the NMCOSS territory but across the border as well. New Mexican Spanish seems to have contributed something to Mexican Spanish other than Anglicisms.



9-1. 'Coffee grounds'

The other common meaning of *cunques* in New Mexican Spanish is 'Crumbs,' conceptually close enough to coffee grounds (and indeed cracked corn) to be a reasonable semantic extension. The NMCOSS consultants were asked to identify the crumbs fallen from the edges of chocolate chip cookies. As map 9-2 demonstrates, the most widely used label is the standard term *migajas* with 51% of the consultant responses (163 of 319 respondents). Included with *migajas* for the display on this map are 20 cases of the close but slightly off *midajas*. Another 16 persons aimed for this label with a variety of other less accurate shots such as *magajas*, *mijagas*, and *miragas*, but these are not represented on the map.

Although a *migajas* target is the clear majority preference in New Mexican Spanish, 1 in 5 consultants offered *cunques*. This is the preference—if we include 6 variant pronunciations as *conques*, *conquis*, and *cunquis*—of a total of 64 persons, a sizable 20% of the sample. The distribution of the *cunques* forms in map 9-2 is strikingly consistent with Cobos's proposed Zuni origin of the term. Zuni Pueblo is located on the western edge of New Mexico in McKinley County. It is approximately thirty miles south of the city of Gallup, where the 2 northernmost western instances of *cunques* occur, as shown on map 9-2. The use of *cunques* for 'Crumbs' forms a coherent pattern to the south and east of the traditional Zuni homeland. On the other hand, if the word *cunques* is a borrowing from Tewa (San Juan), we find striking the general absence of this meaning in the area of the Tewa Pueblos, all located along the upper Río Grande above Santa Fe. In this connection, it is relevant to note that Lope Blanch's Mora subjects in northeastern New Mexico mirror our findings; they reported only *migajas* forms for 'Crumbs' and only *cunques* forms for 'Coffee grounds' (1990a, 90). It is also notable on map 9-2 that the use of *cunques* for 'Crumbs' extends pretty far south in New Mexico. However, not a single occurrence of a *cunques* form is reported for 'Crumbs' in the *Atlas lingüístico de México* (mapa 839).

Another apparent borrowing from a Pueblo language is the term *guayabes* for 'Pancakes.' Only 14 persons (just 4% of the 337 NMCOSS respondents) preferred this label. But despite its low frequency of occurrence, map 9-3 reveals that it generally occurs in an area very reminiscent of the distribution of *cunques* for 'Crumbs.'

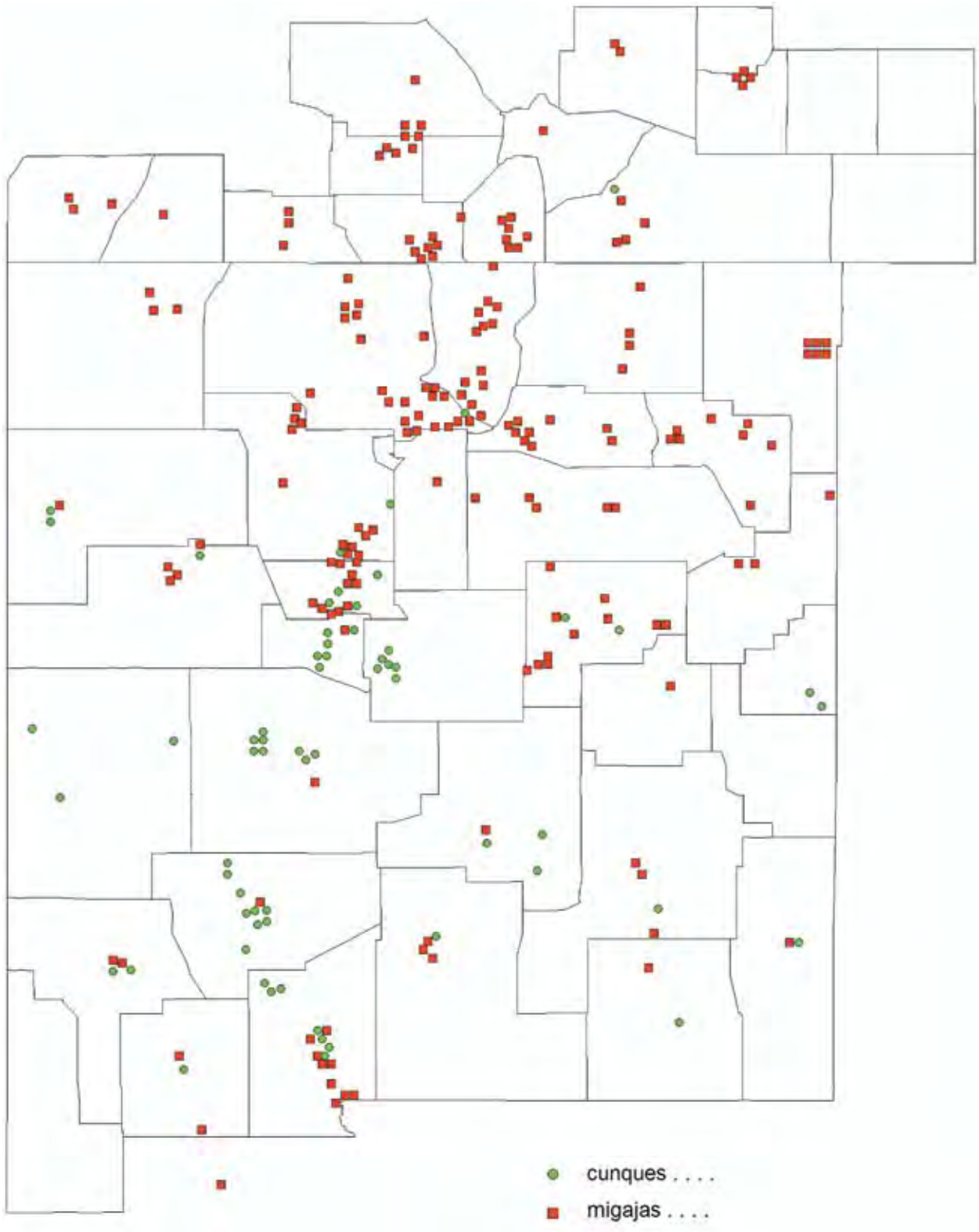
Cobos (2003) asserts that *guayabe* derives from Tewa *buwayabe* 'paper bread' and specifically notes that Zuni has a different word, *hewe*, for this kind of bread. He describes the meaning of *guayabe* in New Mexican Spanish as 'a kind of wafer-like bread made with blue cornmeal.' Curtin (1947, 119) spells it *guallabe* and also assigns it the wafer-bread meaning. But if this word is a borrowing from Tewa, it is once again curious that we found no cases in the upper Río Grande area where a Tewa language is spoken today. Perhaps the term is more widely used in New Mexican Spanish with the wafer-bread meaning? We don't know. The picture that elicited these responses is a very traditional American stack of pancakes topped with a pat of butter and a ladle of syrup.

Map 9-3 indicates that the term for 'Pancakes' used by the great majority of speakers of New Mexican Spanish is a loanword from English, an Anglicism (the focus of the next chapter). In fact, fully 93% of the responses represent some form of the Anglicism. The only other responses besides *guayabes* are 2 cases of *breles* (itself apparently an adaptation of the English 'bread'), 2 of *buñuelos*, and 1 of *galletas*—all perhaps motivated by the desire to offer *some* Spanish word and avoid using an Anglicism.

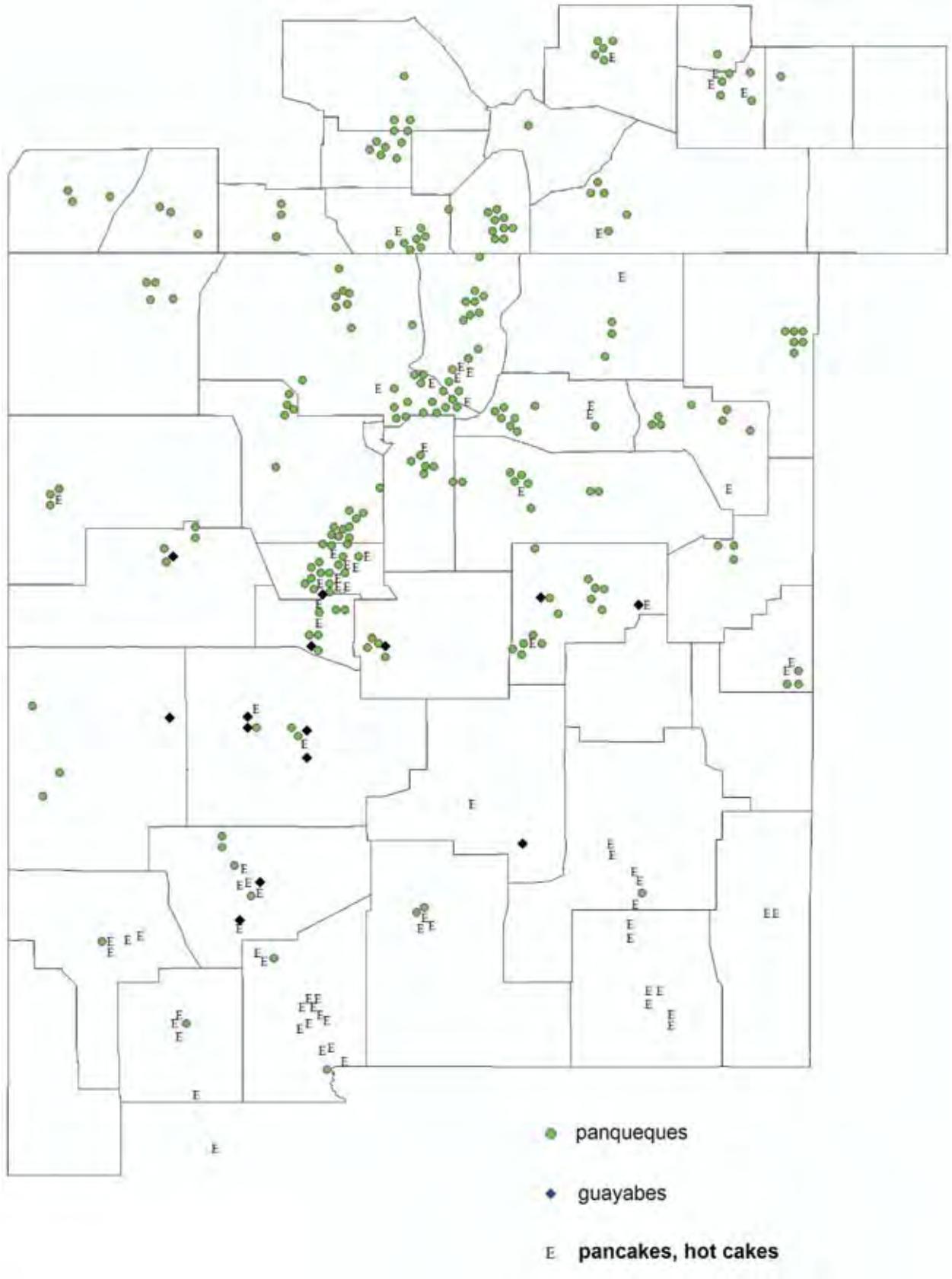
Pancakes represent a cultural adoption from the Anglo newcomers to the NMCOSS region. It seems that only a small number extended the meaning of an existing word, *guayabes*, to identify this food. Most simply adopted the English label along with the new menu item. We show on map 9-3 that the English borrowing to label 'Pancakes' surfaces in two principal ways: as a spontaneous borrowing with pronunciation as in English (e.g., ***pancakes***, ***hotcakes***) and as a form fully integrated into the phonology of Spanish (e.g., *panqueques*). Nearly a quarter (24%) of the 337 responses are spontaneous borrowings, 55 cases of ***pancakes*** and 25 cases of ***hotcakes***. Most of the responses, however, were the fully integrated *panqueques*, offered by 65% of the respondents (218 persons). The other English-based terms offered were isolated cases such as *jatquequis*, *pancaques*, and *panques*.

Now, the map shows that the 2 ways of adopting the English term correspond to pretty much complementary geographical distributions. The integrated loanword *panqueques* is characteristic of the Traditional Spanish area while the spontaneous borrowing (either ***pancakes*** or ***hotcakes***) is characteristic of the Border Spanish areas. Since phonological integration of a foreign word by a bilingual population requires time, typically at least a generation or two, we can plausibly assume that the introduction of this food took place first in the Traditional Spanish area and that the use of the nonintegrated Anglicism is a much more recent incorporation into the speech of those with closer ties to Mexico.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that the integrated borrowing *panqueque* occurs more broadly



9-2. ‘Crumbs’



9-3. 'Pancakes'

in the Spanish-speaking world. The *CREA*, for instance, contains 55 cases of this term in plural form and 29 cases in singular form. But 87% of these cases come from South America and not 1 represents Mexico. The failure to integrate the label for this cultural import appears to be another display of the unity of Mexican Spanish and Border Spanish.

French Influence

Contact with the French language arose already at the end of the seventeenth century as a result of "the intense rivalry between Spain and France for possession of the vast wilderness in the interior of North America" (Simmons 1977, 78). But it was only beginning in the late eighteenth century that the residents of New Mexico came into contact—irregular and illegal—with French speakers, primarily and almost exclusively through interactions with the French fur trappers and traders who roamed western North America. Those interactions increased when Mexico gained independence in 1821 and eased restrictions on trade in the New Mexico territory. Weber (1971) documents the considerable extent of that contact, particularly in chapter 6 ("Enter the French, 1824–1825"), which among other things names seven Frenchmen who settled in Taos already in 1824 (97), and in chapter 11 ("New Citizens, 1829–1831"), in which the documentation of those who applied for Mexican citizenship included such French names as Antoine Robidoux, Jean Jeantet, Abraham Ledoux, Pedro Laliberté, Antoine Leroux, José Bissonette, Jean Baptiste Trudeau, Pierre Lesperance, François Turcotte, and Jean Vaillant (181, 185–88).

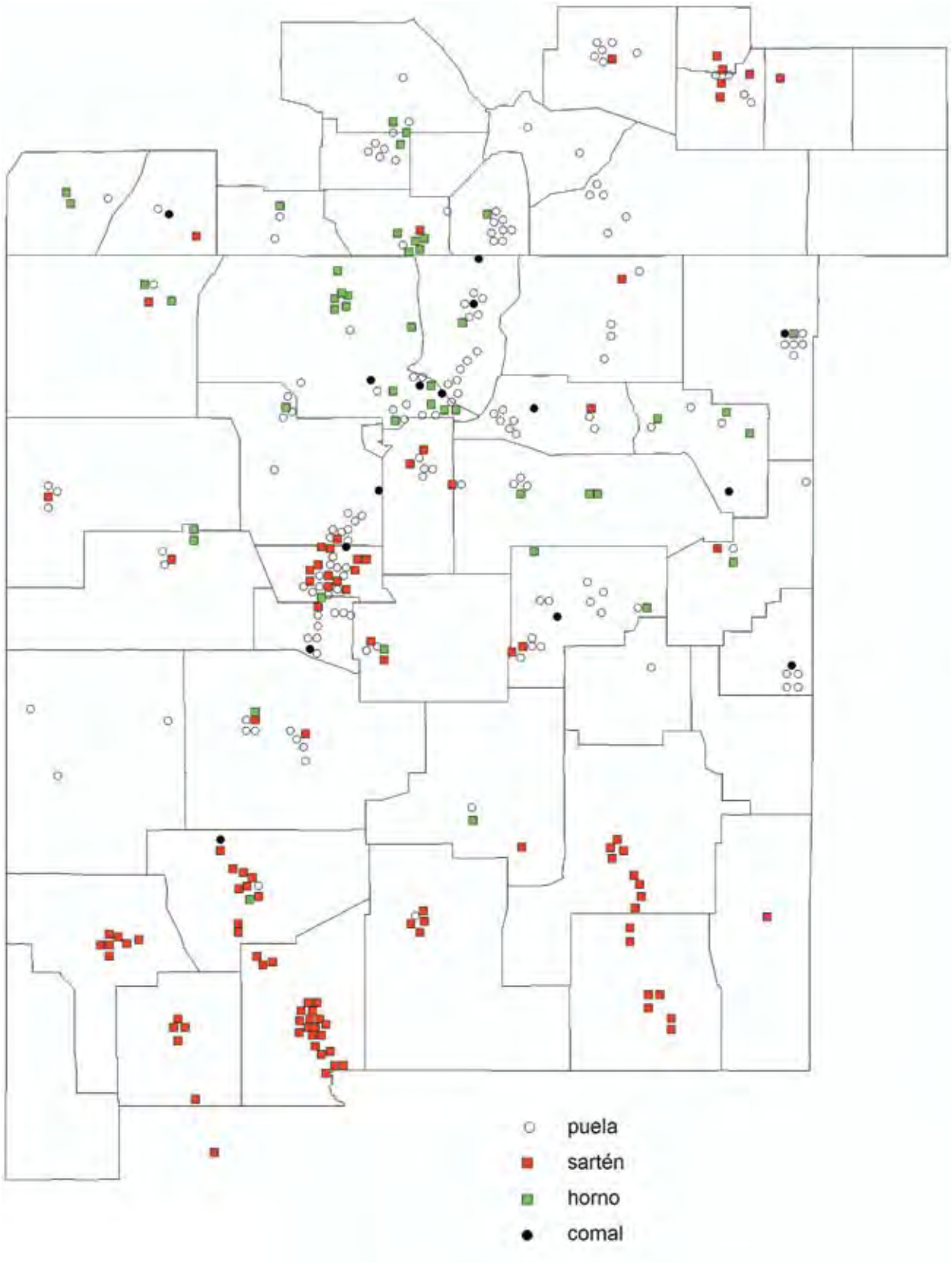
This contact produced little linguistic cross-fertilization. A few place names and family names (Ledoux, Tixier, Leger) that are strongly embedded in the Traditional Spanish cultural milieu are probably attributable to this French influence. Two very common surnames in the NMCOSS region today—Archibeque and Gurulé—derive from two survivors of an early (1684) French intrusion into Texas, Jean l'Archeveque and Jacques Grolé, who were captured, taken to Mexico City, and later allowed to immigrate to New Mexico.

The French intrusion introduced a number of family names ending in a stressed vowel, for example, Gurulé and Tixier (pronounced [tišé]). It is interesting to note that in New Mexican Spanish such words are apt to form their plurals with the nonstandard suffix *-ses* (versus standard *-s*), the general colloquial-speech rule for native words having final stressed vowels. Thus, just as the plural forms of *papá* ('Fathers') and *café* ('Coffees') are typically (or more accurately, stereotypically) *papases* and *cafeses*, so one would say [los tišeses] 'the Tixiers' to refer to several members of the Tixier family. In this fashion, a ninety-four-year-old woman from Bueyeros, New Mexico, made reference to *esos Guruleses que viven ahi en Peñoncito* 'those Gurulés who live over there in Peñoncito' (interview 274).

However, in the everyday vocabulary of modern New Mexican Spanish there appear to be very few "Gallicisms" (as borrowings from French are often called). One quite significant example is *puela* for 'Skillet,' 'frying pan,' which presumably derives from French *poêle*. We suspect that this form was introduced as some kind of cultural innovation by French fur traders carrying minimal cooking materials. This label is the dominant form for 'Skillet' in New Mexican Spanish, being the first choice of 159 of the 332 respondents (48%). Map 9-4 demonstrates that *puela* dominates across the Traditional Spanish region. The robustness with which this lexical item is entrenched in the dialect is indicated by the existence of derived forms such as *puelada*, a skillet-full of something, and *puelar*, an assortment of pots and pans, both listed in Cobos (2003).

To our knowledge, the word *puela* is found in only one other variety of Spanish. Significantly, that other dialect is the Brule Spanish of Louisiana, a variety of Isleño Spanish that is spoken in the heart of the Cajun French territory (see Holloway 1997, 94). The fact that neither Armistead (1992) nor Lipski (1990) nor MacCurdy (1975) report this form in the Isleño dialect outside the French area makes its status as a French loan convincing. Galván and Teschner (1975) include *puela* 'frying pan' in *El diccionario del español de Tejas*, but there is reason to doubt its currency in Texas. It is not reported in the Cerda, Cabaza, and Farias dictionary (1953), for example. We suspect that the Galván and Teschner entry was gleaned from a single one of their sources, Kercheville (1967), which consists largely of previously published vocabulary collected in New Mexico (Kercheville 1934).

The second most common term for 'Skillet' is the standard variant *sartén*, which gleaned 103 first choices, or 31%. Map 9-4 shows that this label is particularly characteristic of the Border Spanish regions. The remaining 2 forms displayed on map 9-4, *horno* and *comal*, occur exclusively in Traditional Spanish territory. Both terms were used specifically to refer to the heavy cast-iron type of skillet. As stated in chapter 7, *comal* is an early loanword from Nahuatl. It originally referred to an earthen griddle (which is still the meaning in Mexican Spanish). It is documented for New Mexico by L. Trujillo only



9-4. ‘Skillet’

with the meaning of 'a flat earthenware pan for cooking corn, etc.' (1983, 70) and by Cobos only with the meaning 'copper or iron griddle' (2003, 53). But the NMCOSS results establish that its meaning has been broadened to include 'Skillet' for some speakers of New Mexican Spanish. It is clearly a relic form, however. Only 15 of our consultants offered this form as their first choice. All were elderly (only 2 under seventy years of age) and most represented rural areas.

Horno, on the other hand, is the universal Spanish word for 'oven,' and Cobos (2003) includes it only with this meaning though with specific reference to the traditional outdoor domed oven so typical of the region. However, the earlier version of Cobos (1983) as well as L. Trujillo (1983) acknowledge that it also refers to a skillet made of iron. Perhaps this usage arises from the use of these large, heavy pans for slow cooking, corresponding to what is called in English a 'Dutch oven.' Although many more persons (46, 14% of the sample) offered this variant for 'Skillet,' they too tended to be older (18 were over seventy years of age). We will see in chapter 12 that the preference for *comal* and *horno* declines across the generations.

The 3 forms for 'Skillet' that are most typical of Traditional Spanish seem to occur in practically no other variety of Spanish. *Puela*, as previously noted, is found in Louisiana Spanish, but it is not included in the *DRAE* or the *CREA*, and the 1 early example of this form in the *CORDE* has nothing to do with this lexical item. It is not listed in Santamaría's *Diccionario de mejicanismos* (1959) either. *Comal* and *horno* do not appear with the meaning 'Skillet' in either the *DRAE* or Santamaría.

The stimulus that elicited the 'Skillet' responses was a picture of a cast-iron skillet. However, in 59 cases the interviewer specifically asked what term would be used for a thin, light-weight skillet. For this reference, 78% preferred *puela*. Though the number of respondents is much smaller, that's an increase of 30 percentage points over the response to the cast-iron skillet. This result may support the notion that *puela* was originally introduced as a smaller, lighter cooking utensil used by wandering French trappers. Conversational examples from 2 consultants makes explicit that size matters, agreeing that *puela* is the smaller utensil while using different labels for the larger:

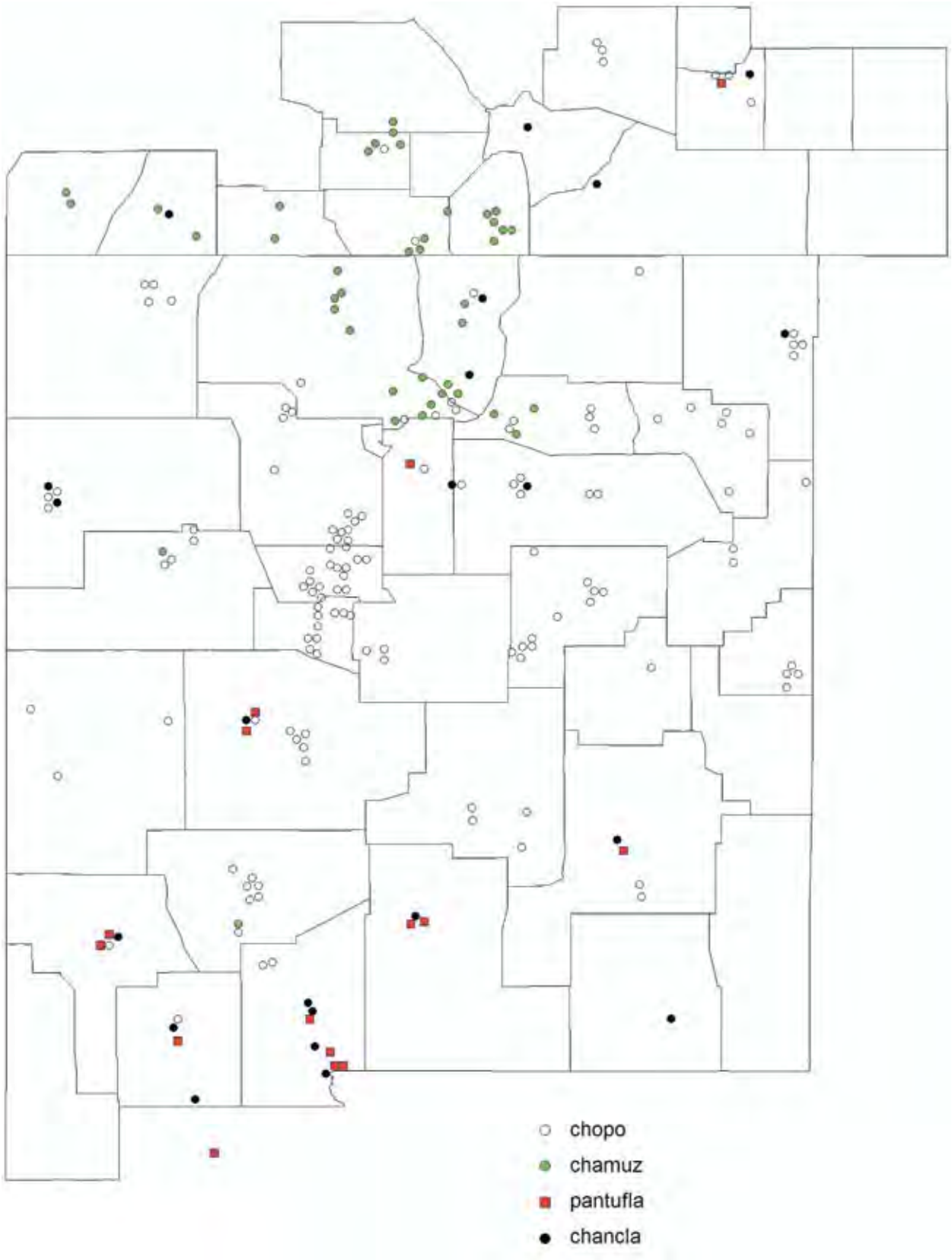
(9-2) *No, ese no es puela; ese es horno, porque es de fierro.* 'No, that one isn't a *puela*; it's an *horno*, because it's made of iron.' (interview 219)

(9-3) *Mi mama tenía . . . un sartén grande de hierro y los más chiquitos que están hechos de* ***stainless steel*** *y alumiño, esos eran las puelas.* 'My mother had a large cast-iron *sartén* and the smaller ones that are made of stainless steel and aluminum, those are *puelas*.' (interview 108)

Nevertheless, even for the thin skillet, 2 persons preferred *comal* and 1 preferred *hornito*. Regardless of historical origin, it is clear that today *puela* and *sartén*, for most of our consultants, refer to any kind of skillet, whether heavy cast-iron or the lighter and thinner versions of modern life.

Another French loanword in New Mexican Spanish is *chamuz* for 'Slipper' ('bedroom slipper,' 'house shoe'). Rubén Cobos states without any qualms that this term is a borrowing from French *chamois* and "was introduced to New Mexico at the end of the seventeenth century by French trappers in northern New Mexico" (2003, 68). *Chamuz* is but 1 of numerous terms we encountered for 'Slipper,' and its geographical distribution is revealing (see map 9-5). We received only 41 preferences for *chamuz*, but like the 2 cases reported by Pedrero (2002, 72), they cover a region of the northern mountains that fur trappers would have found most attractive. It is likely that the term originally applied to the warm, fur-lined footwear of the trappers, though the NMCOSS stimulus pictured a small, lightweight bedroom slipper. The assumption of the French source for *chamuz* is supported by the fact that in New Mexican Spanish *chamuza*, apparently another French fur trader loanword, is the word for the soft leather 'chamois' (also spelled 'shammy' in English). The standard Spanish word for 'chamois' is *gamuza*, which derives directly from the same Latin source that led to French *chamois*.

But the most common New Mexican Spanish word for 'Slipper' is *chopo*, as clearly confirmed in Pedrero's analysis. This was the first choice of 134 NMCOSS consultants (41%), and they too are strongly representative of the Traditional Spanish turf. The origin of this word is a mystery. *Chopo* in other varieties of Spanish refers variously to a kind of tree (typically a poplar), a mollusk, a gun, and a short person. Its use for 'Slipper' seems generally unknown to Mexicans we have questioned, and we have no other documentation of *chopo* referring to any kind of footwear. Curiously, it is listed with the 'Slipper' meaning in the 1983 edition of Cobos's dictionary but fails to occur in the 2003 edition. In 1983 he gave the 'poplar' form as the source for the New Mexican Spanish use, perhaps assuming a connection with *choclo* in the meaning of protective, elevated shoe bottoms made of wood. We did in fact receive 1 preference of *choclo* for 'Slipper' and Pedrero (2002) reports 2, only in the NMCOSS area. This leads her to suggest that *chopo*



9-5. 'Slipper'

might be derived from *choclo*—which she unwisely goes on to relate to Quechua *choclo* 'ear of corn'! Speculation based solely on similarity in form is not useful. Wherever *chopo* came from, there can be little doubt that this well-entrenched word is another little piece that makes Traditional Spanish so unique.

A third term shown on map 9-5 is yet another French loanword, *pantufla* (from French *pantoufle*). It does not seem to be attributable to the French fur traders, however. Only 15 persons preferred this label and the map demonstrates that they are associated with Border Spanish. Santamaría (1959) lists the term, and our inquiries indicate that this label is commonly used in Mexico. Moreover, the *VARILEX* atlas indicates that the form occurs all across Latin America and Spain. The *DRAE*, however, includes this word only as an alternative form of the masculine gender *pantuflo*.

The final label depicted on map 9-5, the preference of 22 persons (7%), is *chancla*, including 6 cases of the diminutive *chanclita*. The distribution of this form is somewhat incoherent, but there is some association with Border Spanish. Pedrero (2002) asserts that *chancla* is the term generally used for 'Slipper' in the other three Southwest states (though Alvar 2000, 209, lists *chancleta* for Louisiana). It is a widely used Spanish word for varied kinds of foot covering. In New Mexican Spanish, for example, some speakers use it for high-heeled shoes and others say it's used strictly for old shoes.

A final way of naming 'Slipper' occurs with some frequency but is not included on map 9-5 because its geographical distribution shows no patterning. This form consists of using the basic word for 'Shoe,' *zapato*, in a variety of ways (e.g., *zapato*, *zapatito*, *zapatillo*, *zapato de la mañana*, *zapato de casa*). A total of 39 persons (12%) responded with a *zapato* form. There were also 8 preferences for *chinela*, another general shoe term like *chancla*; 4 preferences for *guarache*, the Mexican leather sandal; 3 of *tegua* 'moccasin'; and 3 of *calcetín* 'sock.' These responses, together with the fact that 35 consultants resorted to English (e.g., ***slipper***, ***bootie***) and another 12 gave no response at all, indicate that a special foot covering for indoor use is not a generalized key component of culture in the NMCOSS region.

Finally, let us mention one other possibility of a French trapper loanword. Looking back to our lengthy discussion in chapter 7 of the 'Hut, shack' variable (map 7-4), we might wish to reconsider the origin of *chante*. There we drew the conclusion that this term was a borrowing not from Nahuatl, but from English *shanty*, and we offered evidence that it was an early borrowing. Now we wish to suggest that it might have been incorporated even earlier than the arrival of the English speakers. Perhaps New Mexican Spanish borrowed this form directly from the French spoken by the fur trappers and traders. After all, the English word *shanty* is said to derive not from continental French, but from Canadian French *chantier* 'hut.' Canadian French was the variety spoken by the fur traders. The 'Hut, shack' meaning would be perfectly appropriate to the kind of shelter the meandering trappers were accustomed to spending their nights in. A direct French origin of *chante*, therefore, seems like a very reasonable proposal, though we have no strong evidence to bolster this hypothesis over the English intermediary hypothesis.

The paucity of linguistic influence from French and local Native American languages reflects particular social situations where the other language was viewed as only marginally relevant to Hispanic life. The fact that the quite limited association with the fur traders had about as much linguistic influence as four hundred years of association with the Pueblos is revealing of how guarded the Hispanic-Indian interaction was. The situation was very different when speakers of English arrived on the scene.

CHAPTER 10

Anglicisms

The Domineering Force of the Yankee Tide

Ramón Gutiérrez observes (1991, 340) that "the arrival of the Anglos in New Mexico initiated an intense cycle of cultural conflict over the very same issues that had pitted the Spanish against the Pueblo Indians—religion, labor, land, and water." He might also have mentioned language.

The most significant political event in the Spanish linguistic history of the NMCOSS region occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. The westward expansion of the United States led to a war with Mexico that culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The terms of this accord transferred to the United States a great swath of northern Mexico, over half of Mexico's national territory in fact. As a consequence, the previous trickle of Anglo Americans into the region increased dramatically, and soon Anglos came to dominate numerically and economically over Hispanics and Native Americans across the Southwest. In New Mexico, however, the Anglo population did not come to constitute a numerical majority until the middle of the twentieth century, even though the Anglo minority and the English language had wielded tremendous clout there for a hundred years previously.

The 150 years or so of contact with the English language has produced the most substantial external impact of all on the Spanish of New Mexico and southern Colorado. The impact has occurred in two ways. On the one hand, the appearance of New Mexican Spanish has undergone conspicuous change, taking on a distinctly English complexion in vocabulary. Beyond superficial appearances, on the other hand, the very survival of the language in the United States has become threatened by English. Traditional Spanish is on the endangered list. Complex social changes have led much of the Hispanic population across the Southwest to relinquish use of Spanish in favor of English. The Hispanic-Anglo contact has not produced the kind of stable bilingual society that occurred with the Pueblo-Hispanic contact. Rather, a shift to English as the dominant or only language is characteristic of the overwhelming majority of native-born Hispanics in our survey area as well as in the U.S. Southwest more generally. We will deal with the shift toward English and the resultant loss of proficiency in Spanish in chapter 13. Here we consider only the superficial linguistic consequences of the contact on New Mexican Spanish.

Code-Switching

The influence of English takes many forms. A well-studied manifestation is what linguists call **code-switching**, a linguistic behavior that is common to bilingual situations around the world. This phenomenon involves seamlessly inserting stretches of one language into the stream of another language, as exemplified by the following excerpt from the interview with a sixty-two-year-old woman from Bernalillo, New Mexico (interview 117):

(10-1) *Hablaba muncho en mexicano aquí, ¿no? Yo y nosotros aquí* ***among us****. Hablaba muncho en mexicano y* ***even*** *cuando viene la* ***Joslyn****, mi nieta. . . . Y yo le hablo en mexicano. . . . Le vuelvo a repitir yo lo que yo le dije y luego se lo hago* ***translate*** *en inglés. Le digo, "Mi hijita," le digo, "****this is what I said to you****." Se lo hago* ***translate*** *en inglés. Le hablo en mexicano, le digo dos o tres veces. Y luego, luego, "****Listen to it****." Y me escucha. Y luego . . . le hago* ***translate*** *que le dije en mexicano. Le digo, "Aprende, mi hija." Le digo, "Aprende," le digo, "****maybe****—puede que algún día de esos necesiten en un trabajo alguien que sepa las dos idiomas, en inglés y mexicano.* ***They'll need somebody to translate what this—maybe there's a Spanish-speaking person there, and you know both, you can translate for these people****." . . . Y me dice, "****I know****," me dice, "****but it's so hard****." Le digo, "****It's not if you really want to learn it****. No está tan duro asina."* 'I used to speak Spanish a lot here, you know. Me and us here among us. I'd speak Spanish a lot and even when Joslyn, my granddaughter comes over. . . . And I talk to her in Spanish. . . . I repeat what I told her and have her translate it into English. I speak to her in Spanish, say it two or three times. And then, then, "Listen to it." And she listens to me. And then . . . I have her translate what I said in Spanish. I tell her, "Learn, my child." I tell her, "Learn," I say, "maybe—it might be that one of these days in some job they'll need someone who knows both languages, English and Spanish. They'll need somebody to translate what this—maybe there's a Spanish-speaking person there, and if you know both, you can translate for these people." . . . And she says to me, "I know," she says, "but it's so hard." I tell her, It's not if you really want to learn it. It's not so hard that way."'

Contrary to what some people believe, code-switching does not demonstrate a linguistic deficit. In fact, the opposite is true. Many careful studies of such speech in U.S. Spanish-speaking communities (e.g., Elías-Olivares 1982, Poplack 1982, Toribio and Rubin 1996, Zentella 1997, chapter 5 in particular) and around the world have shown that proficient code-switchers are in fact those persons who are quite proficient in both of the languages involved. The reader can ascertain from example 10-1 that this bilingual woman has a firm command of both English and Spanish. There is nothing lacking or un-Spanish in the Spanish segments and nothing lacking or un-English in the English segments.

But having bilingual competence is not itself sufficient for code-switching. A critical prerequisite for a bilingual to engage in code-switching is that the other person or persons involved in the interaction also be bilingual. Furthermore, natural code-switching usually requires that the other person be not just bilingual, but natively bilingual of the same background. Indeed, research has shown that bilinguals who learned one of the two languages as an adult are generally not competent code-switchers (see, e.g., Gingràs 1974).

All the persons interviewed in the NMCOSS were bilingual to some degree in English and Spanish. And all the NMCOSS interviewers were bilingual natives of the area with good proficiency in both languages. However, there were several factors that made the interactions less than ideal for code-switching. First, the interviewer and the consultant in most cases were previously unacquainted. Second, sitting down for an interview in front of a microphone necessarily adds a degree of formality to any conversation and formality is unfavorable for natural code-switching. Finally, the consultants knew in advance that the purpose of the interview was to gain information about their knowledge and use of the Spanish language, and an "Avoid English!" strategy was often as evident in their behavior as if it were written in flashing lights.

Nonetheless, the critical criterion of an interaction between native bilinguals was met, and consequently, code-switching turned out to be a fairly commonplace occurrence. As Ana Celia Zentella (1997, 113) says, "Code switching is, fundamentally, a conversational activity via which speakers negotiate meaning with each other, like *salsa* dancers responding smoothly to each other's intricate steps and turns." Some idea of the salsa (or *ranchera*) moves in code-switching across the NMCOSS sample can be appreciated in the following short examples:

(10-2) *Que busquen al Señor, porque* ***that's the only way*** *que van a entrar al Reino.* 'They should look to the Lord, because that's the only way they're going to enter the Kingdom.' (interview 198)

(10-3) *Pero yo creo que* ***she picked up enough information***. 'But I think she picked up enough information.' (interview 242)

(10-4) *¡Ponle la* ***TV*** *en el cuarto de* ***Grandma****!* 'Put the TV in Grandma's room for her!' (interview 248)

(10-5) ***The reason*** *que la gente mexicana es tan* ***short*** *es porque su—por su* ***diet*** *que está tan pobre.* 'The reason that Mexican people are so short is because their—because of their diet that is so poor.' (interview 306)

(10-6) *Se hacían* ***mix*** *no más con las* ***high society Indians***. 'They would mix only with the high society Indian women.' (interview 319)

(10-7) ***And I bet you*** *que en un diccionario* ***that there's not such a word***. 'And I bet you that in a dictionary that there's not such a word.' (interview 345)

(10-8) *Nos lo bebimos casi todo* ***and I ended up in the hospital*** *por una semana.* 'We drank almost all of it and I ended up in the hospital for a week.' (interview 15)

(10-9) *Tenía . . . un ratón y una ratona;* ***all of a sudden*** *salió panzona ella y tuvo* ***thirteen babies***. 'I had . . . a male mouse and a female mouse; all of a sudden she got pregnant and had thirteen babies.' (interview 44)

In brief, code-switching is simply a style of speaking among bilinguals that makes use of the two resources available: English and Spanish. But since our concern in this book is the Spanish language, we will give no more discussion to code-switching.

Lexical Enrichment

The specter of English that gambols about in the everyday conversations of Hispanics in our region grabs the attention of speakers of other Spanish dialects. The more thoughtful visitors may just consider this influence amusing. The really thoughtful find it interesting. But many, probably most, find it shocking, seeing it as an abhorrent mongrelization of some pristine ideal.

But what we have in New Mexican Spanish is precisely the same phenomenon that occurs in language contact situations throughout the world. A Spanish-speaking tourist with a prescriptivist bent listening to conversations on the street is sure to be equally shocked by the influence of Nahuatl in Mexican Spanish, of Quechua in Peruvian Spanish, of Italian in Argentine Spanish. Spanish speakers would do well to think about how much of the language today was borrowed from Arabic during the seven hundred years of Muslim dominance in the Iberian Peninsula. Our perspective is to appreciate the beauty in this diversity. We will see a lot of New Mexican Spanish beauty in this chapter.

The linguistic influence of English has been limited almost exclusively to the lexical inventory of New Mexican Spanish. Of course, those who have developed only a rudimentary command of the heritage language may manifest rampant interference from English whenever they attempt to speak Spanish. But those who have a decent command of Spanish, such as the Bernalillo woman quoted in example 10-1 or those cited more briefly in examples 10-2 to 10-9, show no significant influence of English in the fundamental structure of their Spanish—that is, in the phonology, morphology, or syntax.

Exactly parallel is the influence of Spanish on English in the Southwest. English has absorbed an enormous number of cultural loans from Spanish, such as *tortilla*, *lasso*, *rodeo*, *corral*, and *mesa*. Smead (2004) documents 763 Spanish terms and expressions used in the English of cowboys and ranchers of the western United States. Yet Spanish has left no mark whatsoever on the basic grammatical and phonological structure of our English. Those who believe otherwise about either English or Spanish in the Southwest, need only take documentation to a linguist to be proven wrong.

As in all language contact situations, it is in the dictionary that the most striking influence occurs. The **Anglicisms** used by speakers of New Mexican Spanish have been well documented since the first studies of the dialect a century ago by Elijah C. Hills (1906) and Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa (1909, 1911–13, 1914–15). As we see in chapter 4, for example, among the many words used for 'Turkey' in New Mexican Spanish, the 1 form that is most strongly gaining ground is the Anglicism *torque*. Like Medieval Spanish under the influence of Arabic or Middle English under the influence of French, the vocabulary of New Mexican Spanish has been enormously enriched with the borrowing of new words and the semantic extension of existing words. The extensiveness of English borrowings in New Mexican Spanish has played a huge role in creating a unique variety of Spanish.

But just how extensive are those borrowings? It's hard to tell. For one thing, it depends on who the data come from and what they're talking about. Espinosa's study of English elements in the New Mexican Spanish of the early twentieth century concludes with a vocabulary list of 375 Anglicisms (1914–15, 304–17). A quarter century later, Rael (1937, 1:24) reports finding only 41 Anglicisms in the folktales he collected from elderly residents of rural northern New Mexico and southern Colorado—a collection comprising six volumes of his dissertation, over two thousand pages (later published separately, with more folktales added, as Rael 1977, in which reference to the 41 English borrowings is found on page 7). In Espinosa's list, some 75 of the words are proper names. Should we count as Spanish borrowing in English the names of the states Colorado and Florida, or the names Juan and Rael? Then there is the very, very thorny issue of established versus spontaneous borrowings and of borrowing versus code-switching (see Torres Cacoullos and Vigil 2003 and the references cited there). We will not even attempt to characterize the number of Anglicisms in New Mexican Spanish. It is substantial. And by now it is certainly a more substantial number than a century ago—and increasing all the time.

Anglicisms are found for all parts of speech. For instance, we find verbs such as *puchar* or *puchear* 'Push' and *requear* 'Wreck.' There are adjectives such as *fone* 'funny' and *flate* 'flat.' Very commonly used in conversations are such phatic expressions as *yunó* 'you know' and *oquéi* 'OK' and the English hesitation form *uh* (the vowel [ə], or schwa) instead of the more typically Spanish *eh* or *este*. For many speakers the conjunction *so* has completely replaced conjunctive forms such as *así que* and to a lesser extent the discourse marker *entonces* (examined in detail in Aaron 2004). Notice the two sentences introduced by *so* in example 10-10 uttered by a fifty-six-year-old man from Pueblo, Colorado:

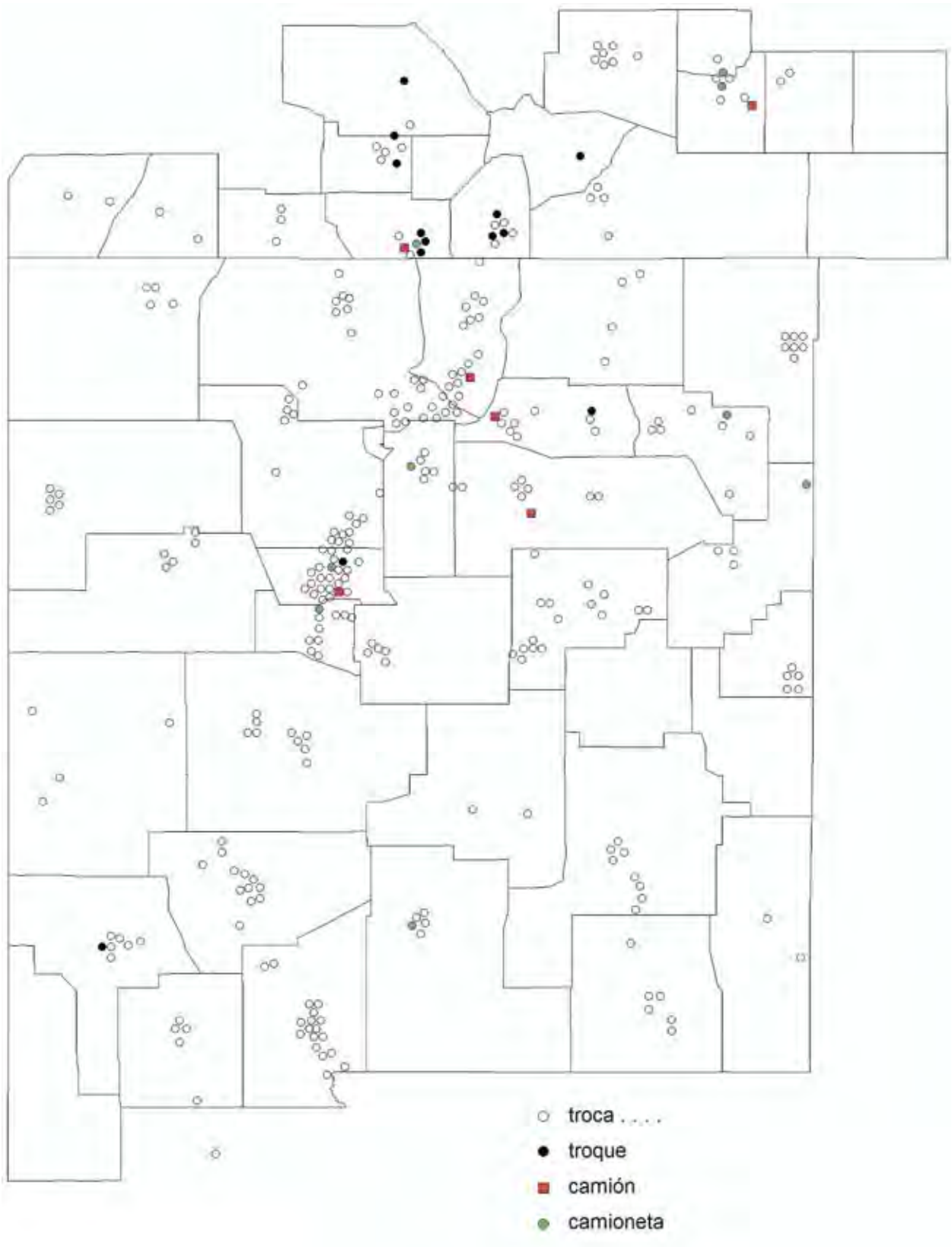
(10-10) *Hablando con la gente de México con la idomia mía, ellos no me entendían. Creían que estaba yo loco como les hablaba porque cuando decía, pus, "Ahi va una troca." Pus, "¿Qué quiere decir esa palabra troca," me decía. "Pus, este, una troca." Dice, "No, pus, es una camioneta." O un carro que le decían camión.* ***So*** *ya es la diferencia. Como en una vez también le dije a este señor, le dije, "¿Quiere una banana?" Pus, "¿Qué quiere decir banana?" "Pus, una banana. ¡Mire!" "No, eso no es banana," me dijo. "Eso es un plátano."* ***So*** *es mucha la diferencia en nuestra idomia.*
'When I would speak to someone from Mexico with my language, they wouldn't understand me. They thought I was crazy the way I talked to them because when I would say, well, "There goes a truck." Well, "What does that word *troca* mean?" they'd say to me. "Well, this, a truck." They say, "Well, no, it's a *camioneta*." Or a vehicle they call a *camión*. So right there's the difference. Like one time too I said to this guy, I said, "Do you want a *banana*?" Well, "What does *banana* mean?" "Well, a banana. Look!" "No, that's not a *banana*," he said to me. "That's a *plátano*." So there's a lot of difference in our language.' (interview 58)

Even though Anglicisms can be found in most syntactic categories, it is nouns that account for the vast majority of the loanwords from English (just as they do for the borrowings from Nahuatl, Taino, Arabic, French, and any other language). We limit our further discussion to some of these cases. These noun loans refer primarily to objects and customs introduced into the region through U.S. society and technology. They are cultural borrowings that, as Espinosa says, have "not been a case of fashion, luxury in speech, neglect of Spanish or mere desire of imitating the language of the invaders, but an actual convenience and necessity" (1914–15, 246).

Let us briefly consider a few examples of some of the most widely used Anglicisms. We focus in this section on those of such high frequency that they blanket the NMCOSS area to such an extent that maps contrasting the Anglicism and the native Spanish form are typically unrevealing. We therefore introduce only one map in this section of the chapter.

In the semantic field of modern transportation, English was the convenient and necessary source for new vocabulary. Of the 330 responses identifying a 'Pickup' (truck), for instance, 315 are Anglicisms. The overwhelmingly favorite label is the generic *troca* (from English *truck*), as seen in the previous example 10-10. All together, there were 272 first choices for *troca*, including 34 diminutive *troquita*. Map 10-1 illustrates how comprehensively this Anglicism has saturated every corner of New Mexican Spanish.

Although the masculine adaptation *troque* seems to be the norm in Louisiana's Isleño Spanish (Armistead 1992, 273), it is much less common than *troca* in the NMCOSS area, being the preference of only 13 people, mostly natives of the San Luis Valley of Colorado, as indicated on the map. Another 23 consultants (not included on the map) simply made use of the specific English word,



10-1. 'Pickup'

usually pronounced as in English, ***pickup***, but occasionally with some adaptation to Spanish (e.g., *pícap*, *picap*). Thus, fully 95% of the responses for 'Pickup' are loanwords from English. Finally, proffers of words that in the meantime became standard in Spanish are rare, just 9 responses of *camioneta* and 6 of *camión*. The distributions of these 2 terms on map 10-1 show no particular association with Border Spanish, reinforcing the point of the ubiquity of *troca* even adjacent to the Mexican border.

We also asked 329 NMCOSS consultants to identify a large 'Semitruck,' one of those huge eighteen-wheelers that ply—and often plow up—our highways. Again, the favored response is the basic *troca* (170 first choices), although another 74 persons offered *troca* along with some kind of descriptive modifier—usually simply *troca grande* but also such forms as *troca carguera*, *troca de cargas*, and *troca fletera*. (The reader making comparisons with the responses for 'Pickup' may want to know that 'Semitruck' was elicited first and 'Pickup' later with 4 intervening means of transportation (airplane, train, bus, and bicycle). There were also 12 augmentative forms of the word: 9 *trocón* and 3 *trocota*. There was even 1 *troquita*, but we need to point out that placing a diminutive suffix on an everyday word is a frequent occurrence in identifying objects in photographs at far less than life-size (and a reason for not reading too much into the larger number of *troquita* responses for 'Pickup'). Only 7 persons responded with *troque*, half as many as for 'Pickup.' Finally, many people (33 in all) used the English ***semai***, and 8 others employed adaptations of English *trailer*. Only 16 people offered the basic Spanish word *camión* and 1 person offered the inappropriate *camioneta*, the standard word for 'Pickup.' In sum, 94% of the terms given for 'Semitruck' are Anglicisms.

And what you might get if you drive your *troca* too fast is a *tíquete* 'Ticket,' though it's always possible to talk your way out of it:

(10-11) *Me dijo que me había pasado una luz y le dije que yo no la vide por el sol y ya no me dio tíquete.* 'He told me that I had run a red light and I told him that I didn't see it because of the sun and so he didn't give me a ticket.' (interview 354)

To identify the object that a traffic officer was writing out at the window of a stopped motorist, 290 of 319 consultants (91%) responded with an Anglicism based on the English *ticket*. And 272 of these responses were *tíquete*. Only 9 persons each offered the more standard terms *cita* and *multa*.

Household electricity is another phenomenon introduced in the U.S. era, so in this semantic field too, English was the vocabulary source of "actual convenience and necessity." Thus, to label the electrical 'Outlet' on a wall, 82% of the 324 respondents employed some kind of borrowing from English. And another 8% would provide no response at all, a transparent manifestation of the "Avoid English!" strategy. The principal Anglicisms were integrated borrowings of English *plug*—either *ploga* (125 responses) or *plogue* (46 responses). But there were also 66 instances of unadapted English words, mostly ***outlet*** and ***plug***. The variety of English-based responses amounted to 82% of the responses for 'Outlet.' By way of contrast, only 14 consultants offered the standard Spanish term *enchufe*. The situation is reversed among the more recently arrived Hispanic population of Los Angeles surveyed by Domínguez (1983). There, 64% of the responses were *enchufe* and varied Anglicisms accounted for only 21%.

In similar fashion, to identify the 'Plug' at the end of a lamp cord that plugs into the wall outlet, 35% responded with *ploga* or *plogue*, and a further 26% offered an unintegrated English word. Just as *plug* can be used in English for both kinds of connection and as a verb, so can its adaptation into Spanish:

(10-12) *Ese es una ploga tamién pa' ploguearla en la ploga.* 'That's a plug, too, for plugging it into the outlet.' (interview 291)

And to name the wall 'Switch' used to turn on the lights, fully 80% offered some form of English *switch*: *suiche* (191 responses), *suich* (39), and ***switch*** (35). It is of interest to note that two-thirds of the Los Angeles sample studied by Domínguez (1983) also offered the Anglicism for 'Switch' even though a third of those subjects were immigrants and another third children of immigrants.

In the realm of foods, features of U.S. culture were convenient if not of actual necessity. Our discussion regarding map 9-3 in the preceding chapter showed that 94% of our interviewees used some kind of Anglicism for the stereotypically American 'Pancakes,' usually *panqueques*. For several other edible goodies, similarly high proportions of Anglicisms occur: 87% for 'Cracker,' 86% for 'Cake,' and 68% for 'Cookie.' Also, 89% employed an English borrowing for 'Baking powder.' This item merits a little further commentary because the Anglicism is so well disguised. Although 10 people gave simply ***baking powder***, 223 persons reported the term *espauda* and another 34 offered variations of this form (*espaura*, *espaudra*, *espaure*, and such). *Espauda* is an adaptation

of *yeast powder*. Although that term has now pretty much disappeared from English and been replaced by *baking powder*, it lives on in New Mexican Spanish.

And speaking of convenient but not powerfully necessary borrowings, over two-thirds (69%) of the NMCOSS sample labeled the December Christian holiday with an Anglicism, mostly *Crismes*, previously seen in examples 6-7 and 8-7. Only 30% preferred the native Spanish *Navidad*. We treat the 'Christmas' variable in greater detail in chapter 14, but we may just note here that the Anglicism is even incorporated into a traditional children's activity on Christmas Day—going house to house to ask for *Mis Crismes*:

(10-13) *Nos juntábanos todos los chiquitos y gritábanos "Oremos, oremos, del cielo vinemos," y cantábanos* ***Christmas carols****, y pidíanos Mis Crismes y nos abrían la puerta y siempre tenían la gente . . . un cajete lleno de dulces y le daban a uno ahi con la cuchara*. 'All of us little kids would get together and yell out "Let's pray, let's pray, we've come from heaven," and we'd sing Christmas carols, and we'd ask for Christmas gift and they'd open the door and the people always had . . . a tub full of candy and they'd give you some there with a spoon.' (interview 291)

The *Mis Crismes* phrase may derive from the greeting *Merry Christmas*, but it is of interest to note that *Crismes* is treated as a plural with which the possessive *mi* shows agreement, so that the literal interpretation is 'my Christmases.'

Finally, it is not at all surprising to find that U.S. coins are referred to with borrowed forms. For example, Anglicisms accounted for 71% of the responses for 'Dime' (almost always *daime*), for 81% of the responses for 'Nickel' (almost always *nicle*), and for 84% of the responses for 'Penny' (almost always *pene* or *peni*, a topic to which we return later).

Spoken English Source

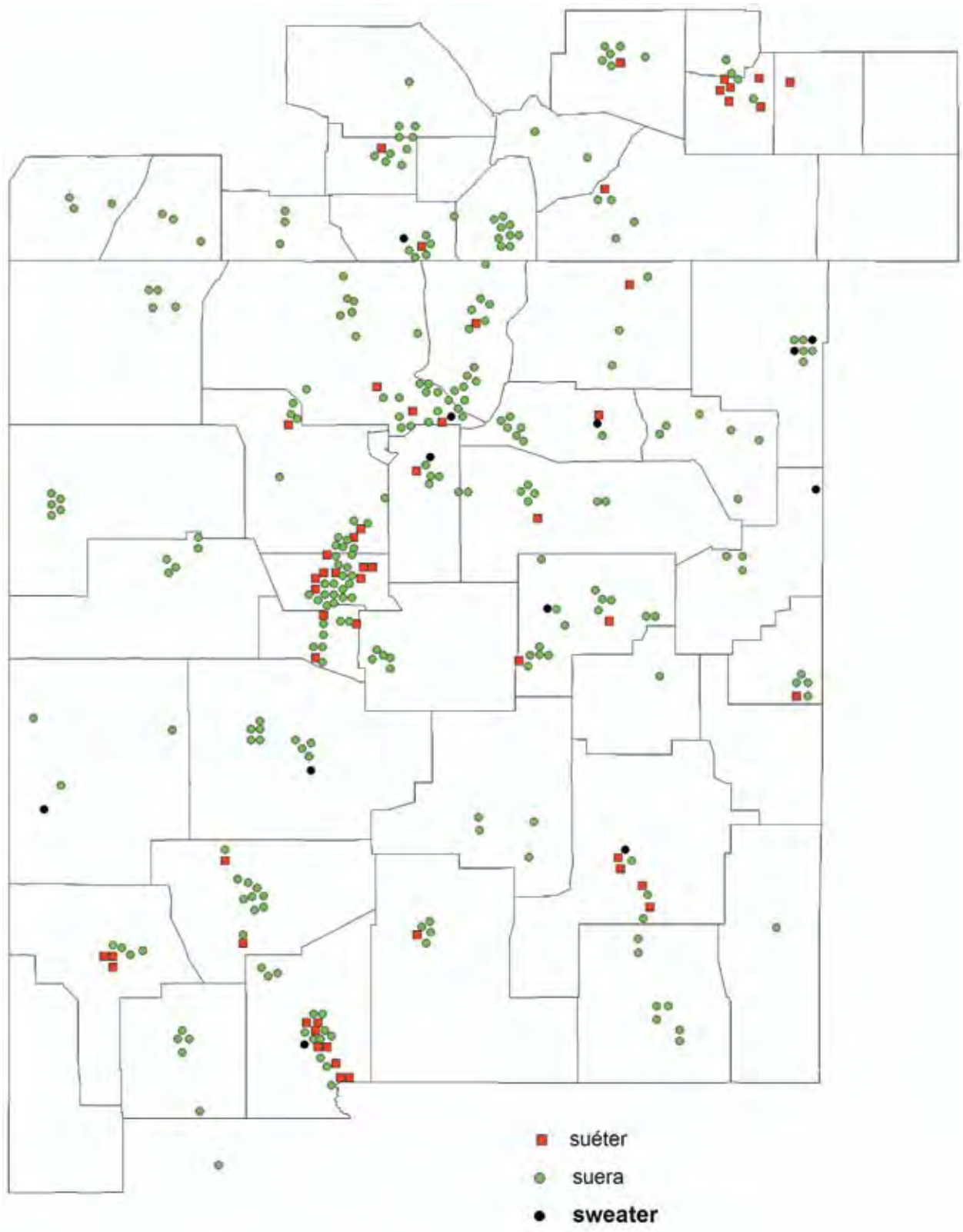
Elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, borrowings from English tend to come from the written language and are pronounced according to the conventions of Spanish orthography. Very different is the case of New Mexican Spanish, where Anglicisms have almost always entered via spoken English, not written English. A good example is 'Sweater.' This Anglicism appears internationally in Spanish. It has been adopted into the standard language and included in the *DRAE*, written as *suéter* and pronounced accordingly with a /t/, reflecting the spelling with *t* in English. In Colombian Spanish, for example, this form of the Anglicism is used throughout the country (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 46).

In New Mexican Spanish, however, this pronunciation is very much a minority variant. Only 54 persons (16%) responded with this pronunciation. A full 4 out of 5 of our consultants (79% of the 329 responses) reported the use of *suera*, a form that reflects the common U.S. pronunciation of intervocalic /t/ after a stressed vowel as a /d/-like sound equivalent to the tapped /r/ of Spanish. A small minority of 12 consultants simply used the English label ***sweater***, pronounced with that /d/-like tap.

The geographical distribution of the 3 variants of this variable (*suera*, *suéter*, and the unassimilated ***sweater***) yields no patterning of interest (see map 10-2) beyond demonstrating that *suera* is the term of preference everywhere. We have found that it is often the case, however, that when spatial distributions are unrevealing for an item having considerable variation, social correlations are likely to show up. In this case, for example, younger speakers use *suéter* much more than those over forty, and females show a slightly greater use of this standard form than males. But it is educational factors that most affect this variable. The more highly educated and those having more years of formal study of Spanish tend to show a higher preference for the form *suéter*, facts we'll consider in more detail in chapter 14.

Another Anglicism that displays contrasting variants based on spoken and written English is 'Mop,' the long-handled implement used to clean floors with a liquid. Fully 92% of the 326 NMCOSS responses were some form of the English word. There are 2 integrated Anglicism variants that reflect the spoken English pronunciation, phonetically [map]. These variants are *mape* (119 responses, 37%) and *mapa* (17 responses, 5%). Another 2 integrated variants are based on the English spelling of *mop* with the letter *o*. These variants are *mope* (108 responses, 33%) and *mopa* (just 5 cases). But unlike the 'Sweater' variable, none of these forms has been borrowed into standard Spanish. So what is the basis for the occurrence of distinct forms? Why isn't there just a spoken language variant like *mape*, since we might suppose that this Anglicism was introduced primarily via oral communication?

Let's look first at the implications from geography, which presents a bit of a surprise. Map 10-3 reveals that the written language variants *mope* and *mopa* are more prominent in Traditional Spanish, particularly in northern and eastern Traditional Spanish. And although there



10-2. ‘Sweater’

is considerable intermixture, the spoken language variants *mape* and *mapa* are more prominent in the south and west. How did this unexpected distribution come about? We have a speculative but plausible explanation for the situation. Perhaps the importation of this U.S. implement occurred quite early in the territorial period when the Hispanic population—then located largely in the Traditional Spanish area—was still mostly monolingual and literacy was primarily in Spanish. Spanish literacy then would be more attuned to the written form of *mop*. On the other hand, progressively later incorporation of this term—farther south and farther west—would have been based more on the spoken form.

Once again, however, another explanatory contribution seems to be made by education. For example, only 15% of those who never completed high school offered the writing-based variant *mope* but 43% of the high school graduates did so. Similarly, just 18% of those who never took a course in Spanish preferred *mope* but 43% of those who had taken at least one course did so.

But such findings only raise other questions. Why should higher levels of education have anything to do with a concept that typically is discussed only in the home and unlikely to come up in the Spanish language classroom? And why should education relate to the choice between two labels, neither of which is seen or heard in other Spanish-speaking countries? The answer, as we will point out on several occasions in this book, seems to be that increased education leads to greater influence of the written language in general and to an awareness of Spanish spelling in particular.

It is not possible to compare our findings with those of the Mexico atlas because of cultural differences. The similar item in the *ALM* (mapa 895) is a rag used for cleaning floors, since in Mexico the activity was typically carried out bent over or on hands and knees. The usual response for this implement in Mexico and elsewhere in the Americas is *trapeador* (derived from *trapo* 'rag'). In the NMCOSS, *trapeador* was the label of preference of just 17 consultants, and it is not surprising to find on map 10-3 that almost all were natives of the Border Spanish regions.

Not surprising also is the fact that neither *mape* nor *mope* shows up on the *ALM* map. But it is of considerable interest to find that 1 variant of the Anglicism does show up in Mexico: the spoken language *map-* plus the suffixation seen in *trapeador*. *Mapeador* was cited by 1 person in Juárez (across the river from El Paso, Texas) and by the majority of *ALM* consultants along Baja California from Tijuana to Cabo San Lucas. Furthermore, in the NMCOSS, there were 13 cases of *mapeador* and 7 of *mopeador*, and 17 of these 20 cases came from speakers in the southern third of New Mexico. The labels for 'Mop' in New Mexican Spanish expose a fascinating web of entanglements of linguistic, cultural, and historical issues.

Impact on Traditional Spanish

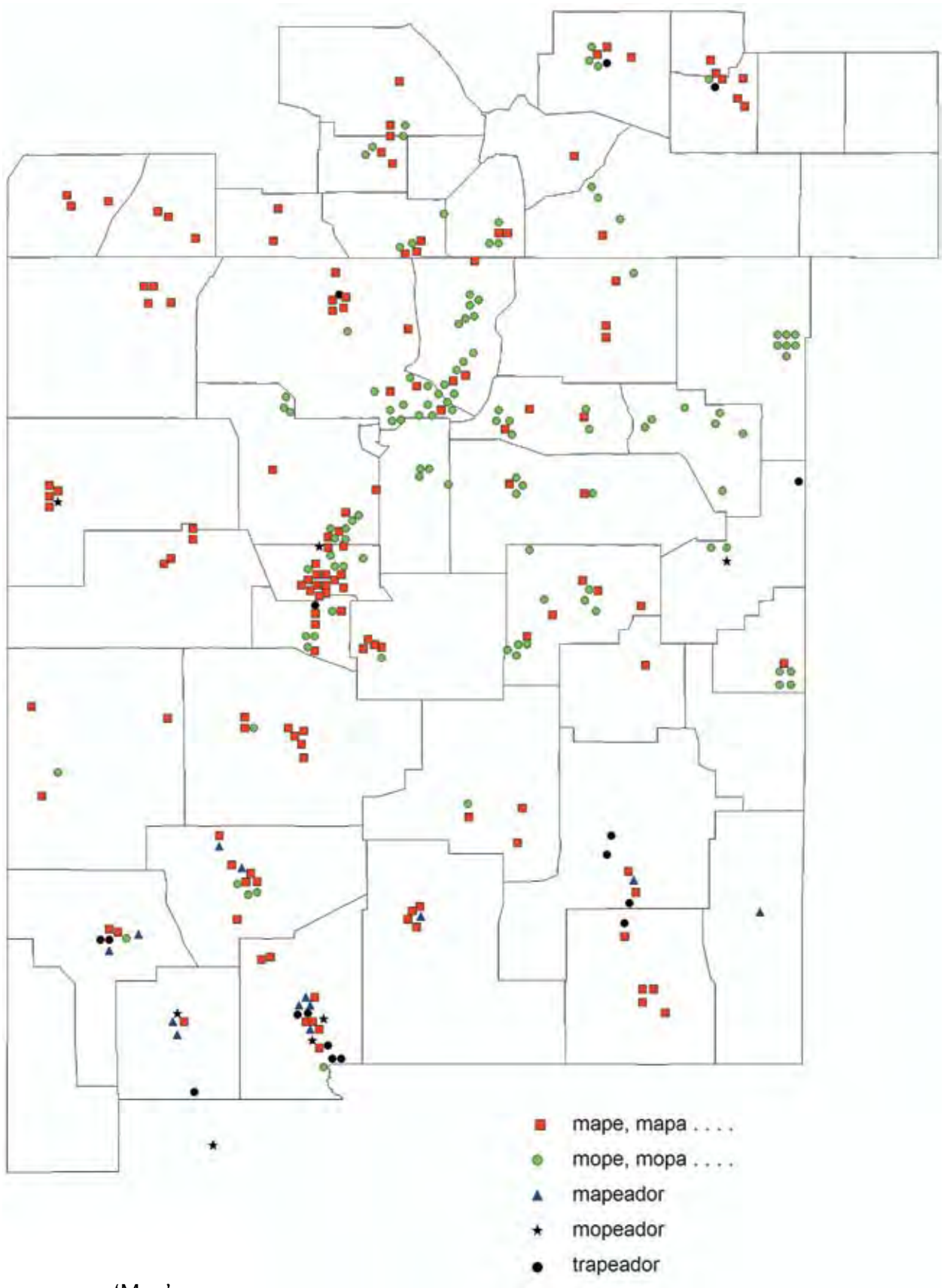
The influence of English vocabulary has been strongest in the Traditional Spanish region. There are, however, some intriguing exceptions to the "Anglicisms in the north" generalization. We noted with regard to 'Dipper' in chapter 7 (map 7-6) the curious case of a Nahuatlism (*jumate*) in Traditional Spanish versus an Anglicism (*dipa*) in Border Spanish.

The words for 'Match' (small wooden stick for lighting a fire) show a similar distribution, though in this instance we have 3 major alternatives: *fósforo*, *mecha*, and *cerillo* (see map 10-4). A total of 191 consultants (58%) offered a *fósforo*-like response (114 *fósforo*, 60 *fórforo*, 15 *fóforo*, plus 2 more divergent forms). The map makes clear that this is the term of preference in the Traditional Spanish area. *Fósforo* also happens to be the standard form of world Spanish.

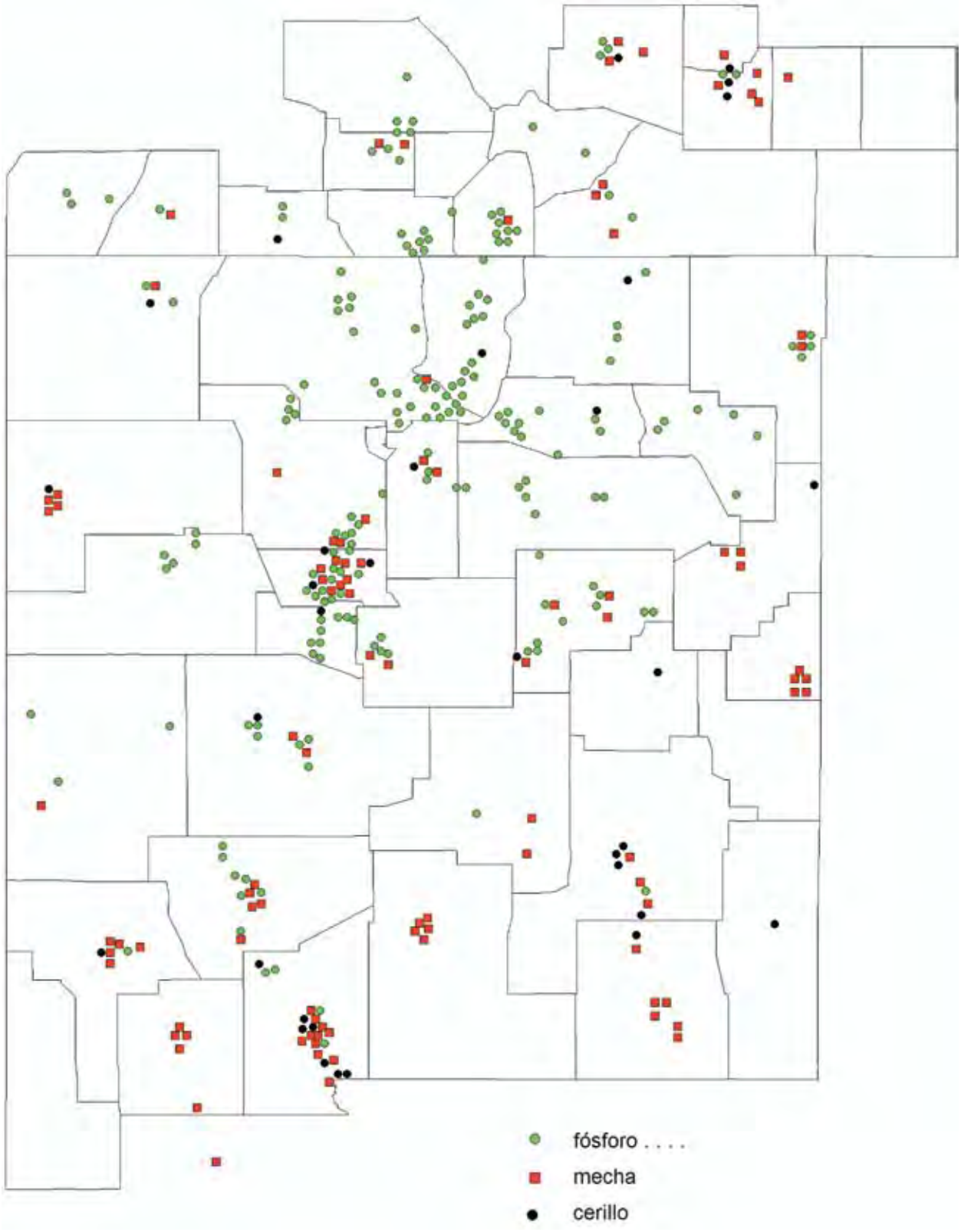
Another 99 persons (30% of the 327 responses) gave the Anglicism *mecha* as their term for 'Match.' *Mecha* is characteristic of Border Spanish but also occurs scattered throughout the area. Even more constrained to Border Spanish is the third variant, *cerillo*, but it was preferred much less often, by just 33 persons (10%). Alvar (2000, 217) reports *mecha* as the dominant term in Texas and found only 1 case in New Mexico, near Las Cruces in the far south, conforming to our findings.

Mecha is an Anglicism, but it is not a direct adaptation of English *match*. A direct adaptation would more likely be *mache*, and 2 persons did in fact offer this alternative (both were young, ages nineteen and thirty-four, and very much natives of the rural Traditional Spanish region). Instead of a direct borrowing, *mecha* for 'Match' involves the alteration of a native term. The standard Spanish term *mecha* means 'wick' (e.g., in a candle or lantern), another device that has a flame at its tip. The existing label seems to have been semantically altered under the influence of the phonologically similar *match* in English.

Data from the *Atlas lingüístico de México* (mapa 843) would appear to confirm that *mecha* is a result of English influence. There is only 1 occurrence of *mecha* in the *ALM*, on the South Texas border. The overwhelmingly preferred term throughout Mexico is *cerillo*, which accords well with



10-3. 'Mop'



10-4. 'Match'

the NMCOSS occurrence of *cerillo* in Border Spanish. It is possible that the match stimulus was different in the *ALM*; the typically Mexican waxy variety—'wax' is *cera* in Spanish—might well be a reason for the prominence of the *cerillo* term there. The more universal standard label is in fact *fósforo*. But *fósforo* is very much a minority preference in Mexico, appearing almost exclusively in the northwest and south, the areas traditionally most remote (like Nuevo México) from the cultural influence of Mexico City.

However, although Anglicisms like *dipa* and *mecha* occasionally distinguish Border Spanish, perusal of the geographical distribution of many Anglicisms shows that the more common pattern is to find the English borrowing deeply entrenched in the north and to find a native Spanish word to hold firm in the extreme south and in other areas of twentieth-century immigration from Mexico, such as major cities (especially Albuquerque) and eastern Colorado.

For example, map 10-5 charts the preferred words for the thick homemade blanket-like bed cover, 'Quilt,' historically made of fabric scraps. The Anglicism *cuilta* has a fairly well-delineated regional distribution. It appears to be characteristic of the Traditional Spanish of those long-established Hispanics of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado and absent from the Border Spanish of the later immigrants. The fact that this typically American artifact tends to be found where the winters are more severe may be pertinent, but it is also likely that its present distribution results from the fact that the earliest arriving Anglos became a significant presence only in the northern part of the region.

Cuilta, cited earlier in example 8-10, was the most common label for 'Quilt' among the NMCOSS consultants; 119 persons (36% of 328 respondents) preferred this term. In addition, 8 persons gave the English ***quilt***, and 29 others mentioned *cuilta* other than as first choice. The other 2 most frequent first choices were *cobija* with 78 preferences (24%) and *colcha* with 72 preferences (22%). *Cobija* is more typically used for 'Blanket' in New Mexican Spanish while *colcha* is more frequently used for 'Bedspread.' Neither displays any strong geographical patterning in map 10-5, though *colcha* shows up more prominently in the Border Spanish areas.

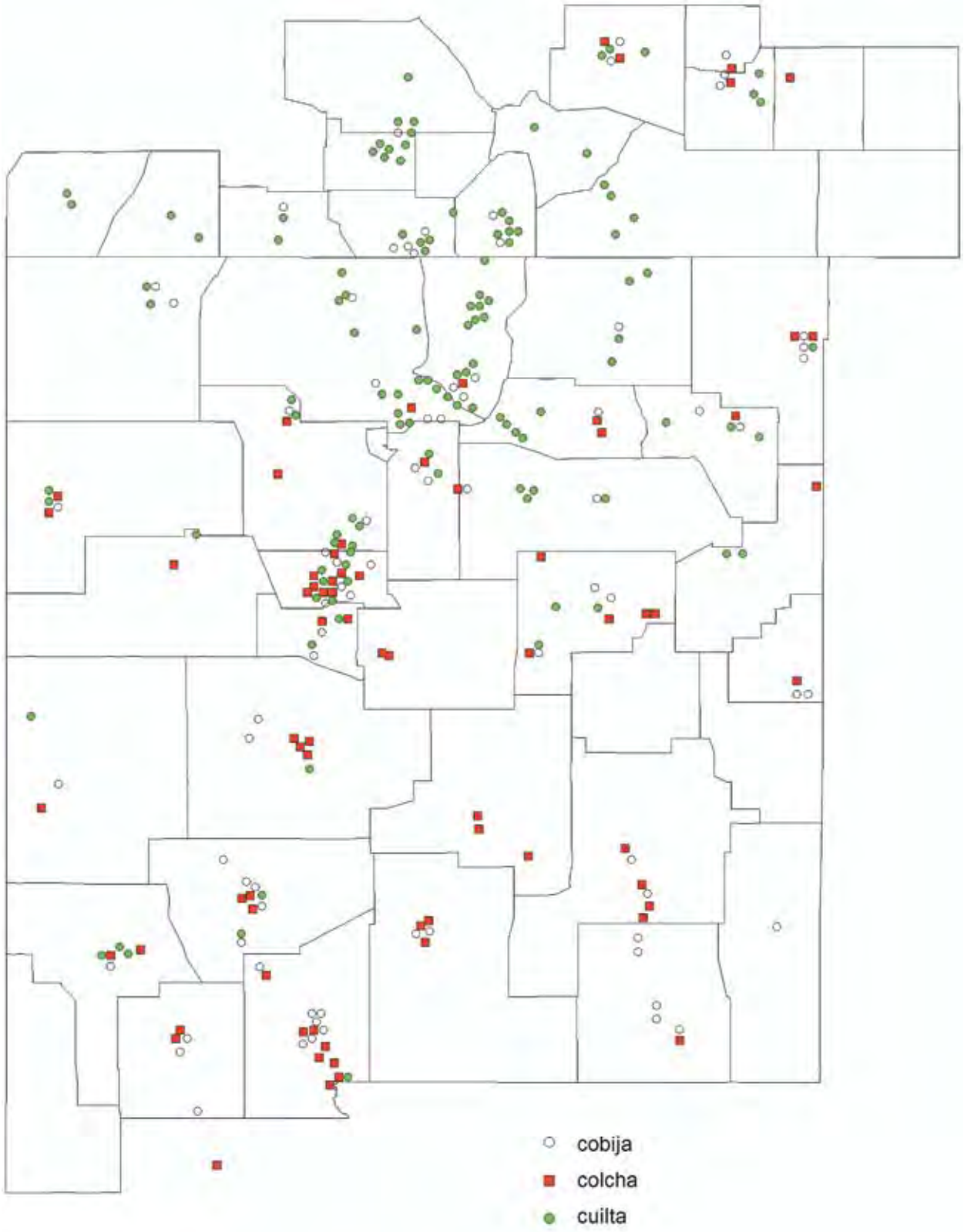
We pointed out earlier that 3 variables dealing with the technological development of electricity show wholesale adoption of English labels across the NMCOSS territory. However, 1 electricity-related variable does display strong geographical differentiation. Map 10-6 plots the locations of the 2 principal labels for 'Lightbulb.' The Border Spanish preference is the standard term *foco*. The rather large number of responses with this term (96, or 29%) correlates with the intrusion of the term into the Traditional Spanish area.

In contrast, the Traditional Spanish preference is *globo*, the choice of 200 persons (60%). *Globo* may be a borrowing of the English word *globe*. Although the English *globe* as well as the standard Spanish *globo* now refer to the model of the world or something having that shape, some speakers of English use *globe* for 'Lightbulb.' The English word *globe* and the Spanish word *globo* both also refer to the transparent globular covering placed over a bare lightbulb to soften its glare. And it also referred to the glass covering in an oil lamp. Thus, it is quite possible that the use of *globo* for 'Lightbulb' in Traditional Spanish is simply the extension of meaning of a preexisting word. Nevertheless, even if that were the process, it appears to be an extension that has not occurred in other Spanish-speaking countries. This independent development in New Mexican Spanish appears to be a result of contact with English.

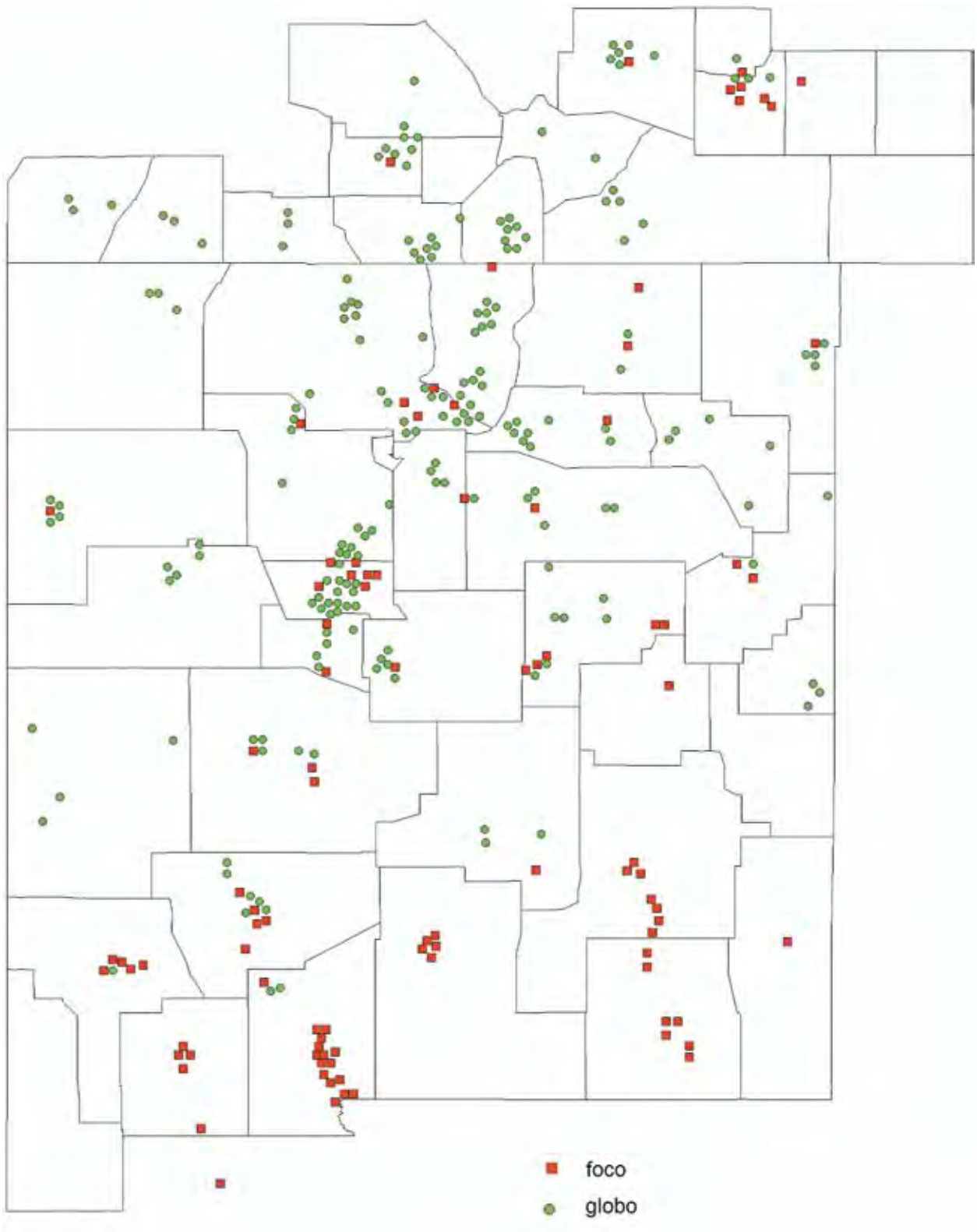
But here again we find a conflict between usages. The label *globo* is also the standard Spanish term for 'Balloon.' So for some speakers of New Mexican Spanish, *globo* means 'Lightbulb,' for others it means 'Balloon,' and still others use it for both meanings. We return to this issue when we deal with 'Balloon' in chapter 15 with regard to map 15-3.

We often find that an Anglicism is displacing a long-established Spanish word that is characteristic of Traditional Spanish. A good example is the label for the U.S. twenty-five-cent coin 'Quarter.' Of the 4 most frequently cited labels, 3 are displayed in map 10-7. The 1 with the highest preference rate is *dos reales*, offered by 122 consultants (37% of the 328 queried for this item). This label is a retention (archaism), a carryover from the fifteenth century and the Spanish exploitation of the fabulous Mexican silver mines that account for 60% of the world's silver today (Muñoz 1986). The coins produced from that silver became the standard monetary system around the globe, including being legal currency in the United States until 1857. The basic unit in that system was the abstract *peso*, the 'piece of eight' in the pirate's booty, which was divided into eight units called *reales*, the actual coins. So a *dos reales* coin was one-fourth of a *peso*. In the United States, those eighth pieces were called *bits*, whence the term *two bits* for the twenty-five-cent coin.

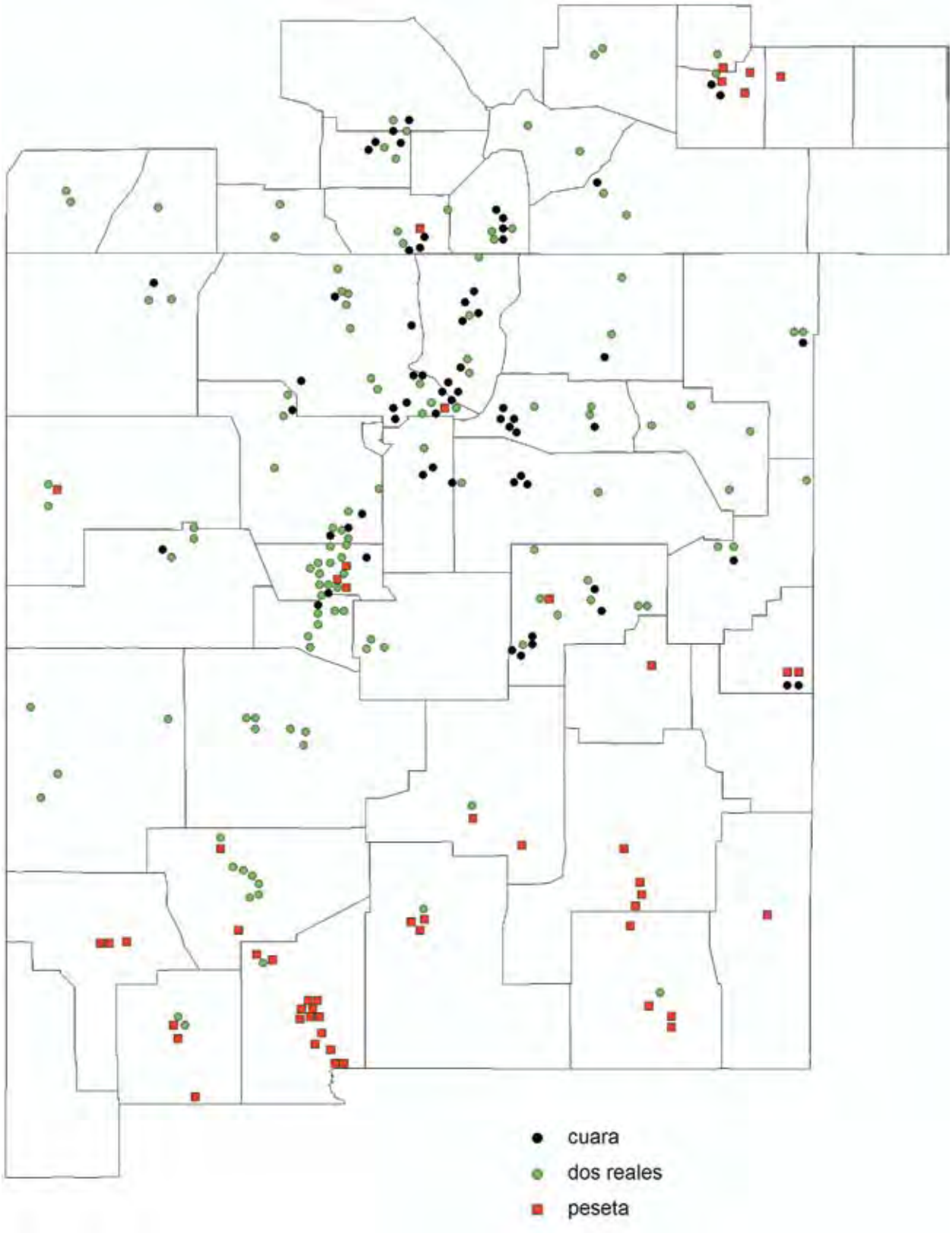
Map 10-7 shows that *dos reales* for 'Quarter' is particularly characteristic of Traditional Spanish. The breadth of its present distribution suggests that it must have previously been even more densely distributed across New Mexican Spanish. Interestingly enough, *dos reales* is also reported



10-5. ‘Quilt’



10-6. 'Lightbulb'



10-7. 'Quarter'

for the other long-isolated variety of Spanish in the United States, the Louisiana Isleño dialect (Armistead 1992, 271).

However, an integrated borrowing from English, *cuara*, is now common across the north and seems to be gaining strength with each generation (as we explore more fully in chapter 12). The first choice of a healthy 20% of our consultants (65 persons) was *cuara*, which shows the same adaptation as 'Sweater' for the /t/ and the rhotacized final vowel. Another 12 persons settled for the unassimilated ***quarter***. The fairly limited distribution of *cuara* seen in map 10-7 suggests that it is a rather recent borrowing. The gender assignment supports this assumption. Although words that end in the vowel *-a* are usually feminine, it is typically the case that words borrowed from another language are initially assigned masculine gender (except for reference to a sexually marked animate entity). And indeed, most speakers treat this word as masculine, that is, *el cuara*. We may assume, therefore, that the original masculine gender assignment has been maintained as the word became more integrated to Spanish phonology. The minority of speakers who treat it as feminine, that is, *la cuara*, seem to have taken a further step in the integration process. (For a comprehensive examination of gender assignment in Anglicisms based on data from the NMCOSS, see Clegg 2006.)

Map 10-7 reveals that the Anglicism is not reported at all in the southern third of New Mexico. Speakers of Border Spanish clearly prefer what is transparently an import from Mexico, the *peseta* label, the choice of 51 consultants (16%). The principal unit of money in Mexico remains the *peso*, and the diminutive term *peseta* meaning 'small peso' was long ago adopted unofficially there to refer to the *dos reales* coin. The *peseta* designation survived in Mexico while *dos reales* endured in Nuevo México. And in another of those wonderful quirks of linguistic history, the *peseta* label was adopted in 1868 as the monetary unit of Spain.

Finally, a number of other speakers, 62 in total, responded to the 'Quarter' stimulus with a numerical descriptive, *veinticinco centavos* 'twenty-five cents' or *un veinticinco* 'a twenty-five-cent piece.' The geographical distributions of these terms are quite random and therefore are omitted from map 10-7.

A similar but much simpler case of an Anglicism replacing a traditional term concerns the 'Peanut' variable. Around the Spanish-speaking world the 2 most widely used Spanish terms for this New World delight are borrowings from Native American languages, the Taino loanword *maní* and the Nahuatlism *cacahuate* (with a variant *cacahuete* preferred by the *DRAE*). *Cacahuate* is, of course, the usual label in Mexico. It is also the preferred label in our survey, accounting for 83% of our 335 responses (278 first choices). We received not 1 suggestion of the *maní* variant. But we did get 38 preferences (11%) for the English borrowing *pinate*. Consider the distribution of this Anglicism on map 10-8. It is reported exclusively in the rural northern outposts of New Mexican Spanish. Although the numbers are small, the Anglicism has penetrated the shell of this once strongly rooted Nahuatlism that links New Mexican Spanish so closely to Mexican Spanish.

Several other variables that provide good illustrations of this northern distribution of Anglicisms are discussed in other chapters. See, for example, the occurrences of *parte* for 'Part' (in hair, map 11-4), *templo* for 'Temple' (of head, map 11-12), ***popcorn*** for 'Popcorn' (map 12-6), *áiscrim* and similar variants for 'Ice cream' (map 12-7), and *balún* for 'Balloon' (map 15-3). Still other cases that we do not map, such as *reque* (versus *accidente* or *choque*) for 'Wreck, accident,' show the same pattern.

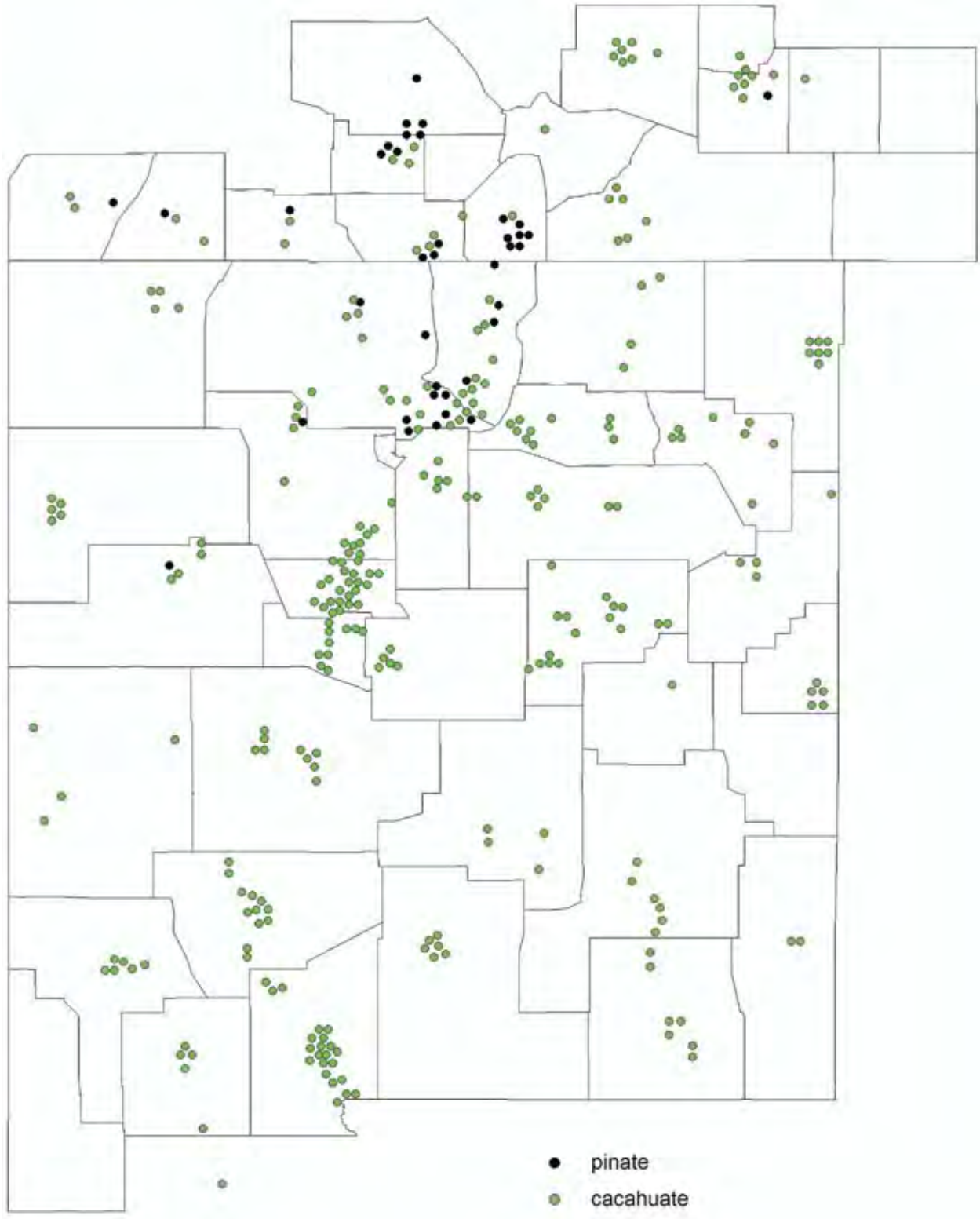
Linguistic Integration of Anglicisms

We have seen, then, that there are Anglicisms that cover the entire NMCOSS territory, those that epitomize Border Spanish, and those that epitomize Traditional Spanish. But also quite common is a fourth category: cases where the Anglicism occurs everywhere but with different variants in Traditional Spanish and Border Spanish.

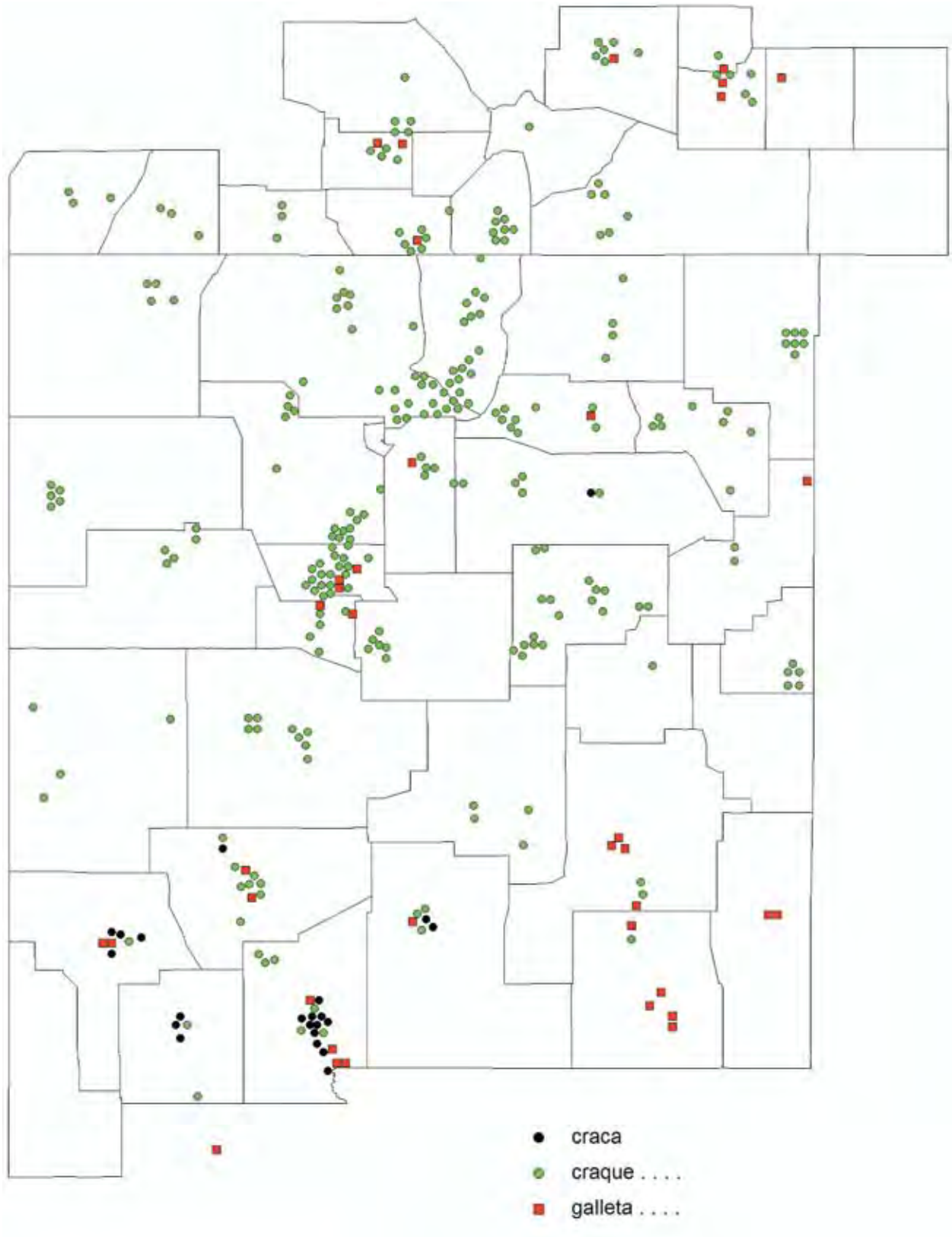
Map 10-9 for the variable 'Cracker' (the baked wafer) exemplifies this pattern of differentiating Anglicisms even though an important native Spanish variant complicates the picture. The fully integrated form *craque* dominates numerically in our survey. It is the preferred label for fully 77% of our respondents (258 persons). Almost 9 out of 10 of these responses are the bare form *craque*, though some people appended modifiers to yield *craque de soda* ('soda cracker,' 15 cases) and *craque salado* ('salted cracker,' 18 cases).

Map 10-9 makes clear that *craque* is the norm in Traditional Spanish. A slightly different but still fully integrated form of this Anglicism is the variant *craca*, which has a final /a/ instead of /e/ and feminine gender, that is, *la craca*, as opposed to masculine gender *el craque*. The numbers are much smaller for *craca*, the choice of just 22 persons (7% of the total responses). Regardless, *craca* turns out to be the most common label in one portion of Border Spanish, a stretch of southern New Mexico from Alamogordo west.

Map 10-9 shows that a third variant, the standard Spanish term *galleta* (a borrowing of French *galette*), is also a primarily Border Spanish phenomenon. It was the



10-8. ‘Peanut’



10-9. 'Cracker'

choice of 37 consultants, 11% of the sample. There were also 3 responses (not included on the map) of the diminutive *galletita* in the same region. Unlike *craque* and *craca* (which was never presented with a modifier), the majority of the *galleta* responses occurred with a "salt" modifier—*galleta de sal* (10 cases), *galleta salada* (10 cases), and *galleta de soda* (3 cases). This modification no doubt results from a recognition that *galleta* also means 'Cookie,' a variable to which we now turn.

Craque and *craca* seem to be equally integrated into the Spanish phonological and morphological systems. More typical when we find different forms of the Anglicism in the two areas is that the Traditional Spanish form is more fully integrated. 'Cookie' illustrates the degree-of-integration phenomenon, but once again the big picture is somewhat distorted by the fact that, in addition to the 2 major Anglicisms *cuque* and *cuqui*, we find an important standard Spanish term, *galleta*, and several other minor variants.

Let's begin the discussion with the more straightforward data, the Anglicisms. In map 10-10, we see that the variant for 'Cookie' most prevalent in the south is *cuqui*, the label preferred by 55 of the 339 respondents overall (16%). This realization is phonetically adapted to Spanish, but it retains from English the final phoneme /i/. Although Spanish has words with stressed final /i/ (e.g., *salí* 'I left,' *aquí* 'here,' *sí* 'yes'), an unstessed final /i/ as in *cuqui* is a very marked feature that occurs extremely rarely in the language. Of the 130 or so words of two or more syllables ending in unstressed *i* listed in Stahl and Scavnicky's *A reverse dictionary of the Spanish Language* (1973)—which includes all entries in the eighteenth edition of the *DRAE* (1956), almost every one is a cultivated borrowing from Latin or a loanword from some other language, of which the only ordinary examples are *taxi* and *yanqui*. The only common native Spanish case is the adverb *casi* 'almost'—and *casi* is the only 1 of these words that is included by Juilland and Chang-Rodríguez (1964) among the 5,024 most frequently occurring words in Spanish.

On the other hand, the common manifestation of the Anglicism in Traditional Spanish is a more phonologically integrated *cuque*, the choice of 151 persons (46%). This version has a final /e/ that occurs with high frequency in Spanish. The difference between the partially adapted *cuqui* and the fully assimilated *cuque* suggests a temporal difference in the borrowing process. That is, the Border variant may be a more recent addition to Spanish while the Traditional variant was adopted longer ago and has become more Spanish-like as it passed across more generations.

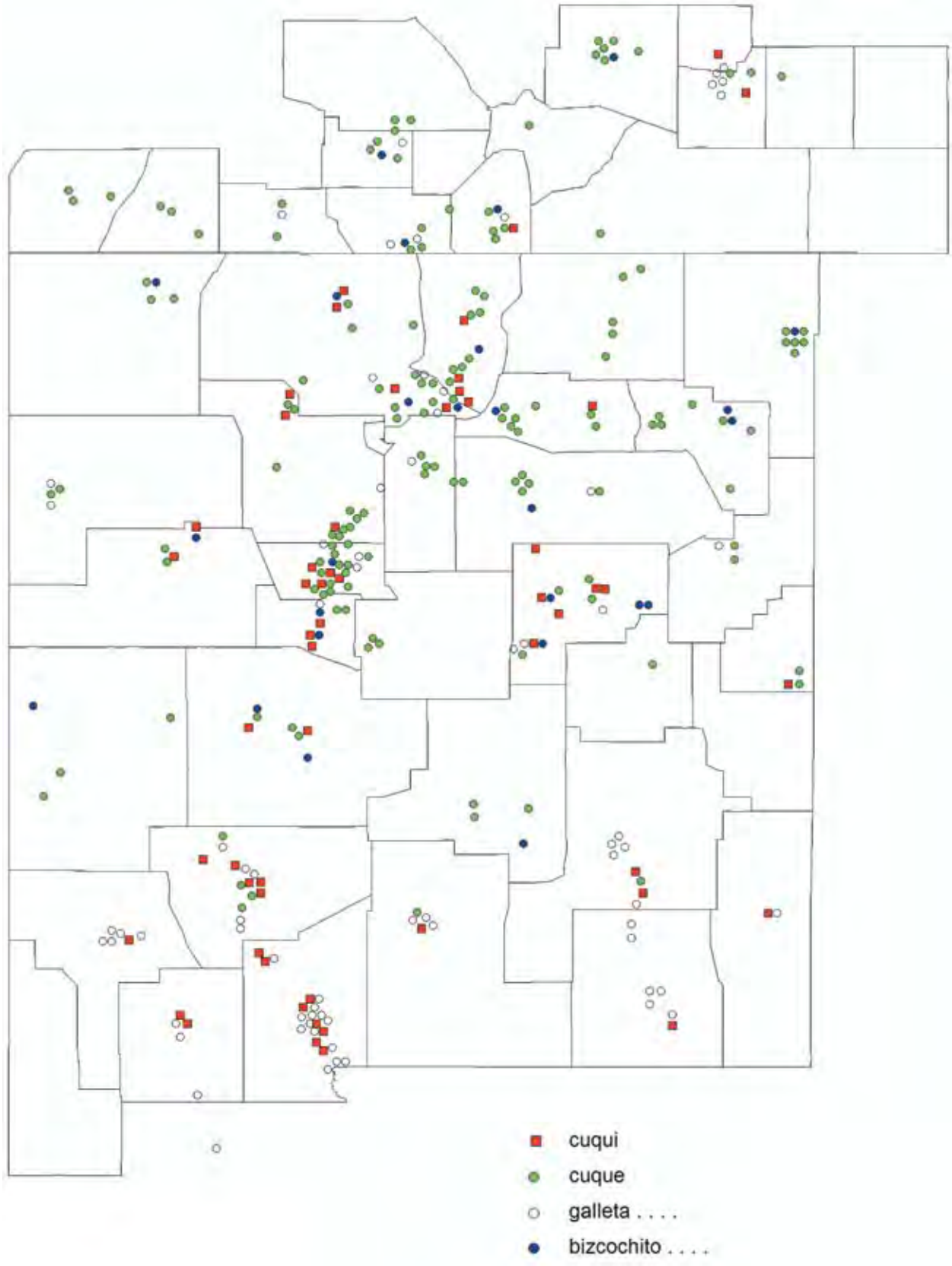
Turning now to the standard Spanish label *galleta*, we have several stories to tell. A total of 70 consultants (21%) prefer this term for 'Cookie.' As we see in map 10-10, *galleta* is typical of the Border Spanish areas, though it has also made modest inroads into Traditional Spanish territory. Recall that speakers of Border Spanish also often use *galleta* to label the preceding variable, 'Cracker' (map 10-9). *Galleta* is also used to label both these edibles in Mexico and elsewhere. An amusing consequence apparently associated with this semantic variability is that 6 consultants chose to call our 'Cookie' a *craque*—including in 1 case a 'sweet cracker,' *craque dulce*!

Notice also that far more consultants offered *galleta* for 'Cookie' than for 'Cracker' (70 responses to 40). And while 24 people added a modifier to *galleta* for 'Cracker,' only 2 added one for 'Cookie,' in both cases *galleta dulce*. Thus, the more basic or unmarked meaning for those who use *galleta* might appear to be 'Cookie.'

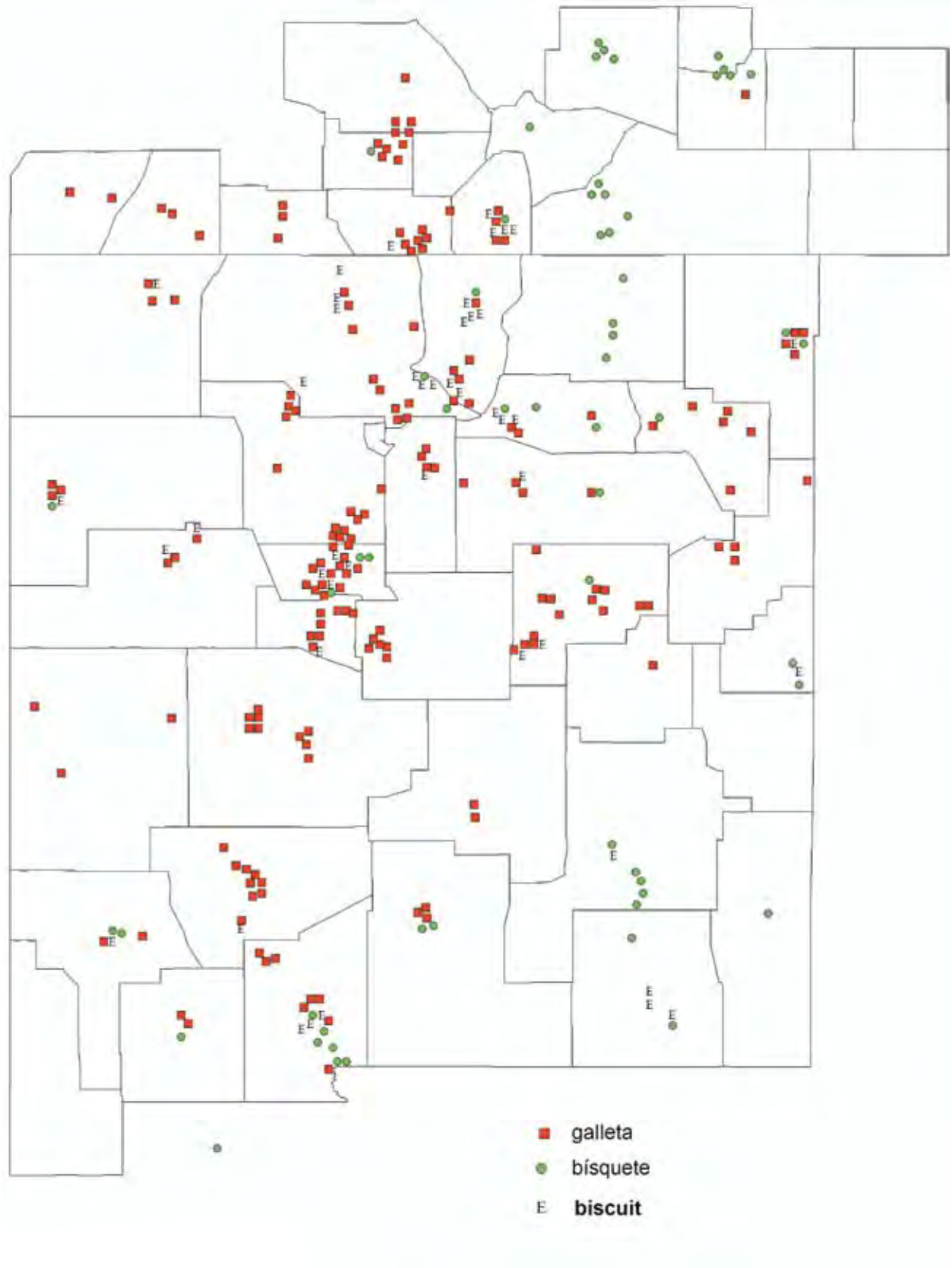
But the twists in this story are more convoluted. *Galleta* happens to be also the most popular term in New Mexican Spanish for what we in the United States call a 'Biscuit.' It was preferred by 176 of 332 consultants (53%), which includes 16 cases of the diminutive *galletita*. But, as we can see in map 10-11, *galleta* in this meaning happens to be associated primarily with Traditional Spanish, not Border Spanish. The tendency in Border Spanish areas is to use borrowings from English, mostly integrated *bísquete* (59 cases in all) and unintegrated ***biscuit*** (45 cases), though the majority of occurrences of these Anglicisms actually show up in the Traditional Spanish area.

A handful of our consultants offered *galleta* as the label for all 3 of these variables, 'Cracker,' 'Cookie,' and 'Biscuit.' And many more used the term for 2 of them. Of course, this variation will not surprise anyone familiar with variation in English. After all, in British English *biscuit* has a very different meaning. In fact, *biscuit* is used for both 'Cracker' and 'Cookie' in England. The unity in this variation in both English and Spanish is that all 3 variables are small baked items having less leavening than bread.

Now the plot thickens even more. In the NMCOSS area, *bizcochito* (usually spelled *biscochito* here) typically refers to a cinnamon- or anise-flavored cookie especially associated with Christmas. Now, the stimulus picture for 'Cookie' in our survey was quite different, quite obviously a chocolate chip cookie (or perhaps a raisin cookie for those whose eyesight was not keen). Nonetheless, 22 persons called it a *bizcochito* and 4 others



10-10. 'Cookie'



10-11. 'Biscuit'

a *bizcocho*. All of these responses, accounting for 8% of the 'Cookie' labels, came from speakers representing rural communities in the Traditional Spanish area.

Bizcocho is an old, old term in Spanish that was used, and is still used in some places, to refer to a baked item cooked a second time for preservation purposes, like the English *hardtack*. It derives from Latin *bi-* 'two' (as in *bicycle* and such) and *coctus* 'cooked' and therefore has the literal historical meaning 'twice cooked.' We see this same form also in the now popular Italian *biscotto*, which we may be more familiar with in the plural *biscotti*. This same Latin origin holds for English *biscuit*. It seems inevitable, then, that we'd encounter a few speakers who would use this old term also for our 'Biscuit' variable: 5 consultants called it a *bizcocho* and another 2 preferred *bizcochito*.

Well, after that extended excursion, let us return to the topic of this section—the linguistic integration of Anglicisms—while continuing the topic of good things to nibble on. The finding of a less integrated form in the southern part of the NMCOSS region shows up also with the 'Cake' variable. Map 10-12 displays the responses offered to identify the picture of an elegant wedding cake. The dominant form throughout the region with the exception of the extreme south is the fully integrated Anglicism *queque*, by itself accounting for nearly three-quarters (73%) of the responses (247 of 337). In the south, by contrast, there is a modestly distinct form of the Anglicism, *quequi*, again having a final /i/ instead of /e/. Since /i/ is a more marked vowel in word-final position, we may reasonably take the perspective that the Traditional variant with final /e/ is the more integrated form and the other variant the more recent borrowing.

But 2 forms, in fact, are characteristic of Border Spanish: the not-yet-fully-integrated *quequi* with 36 first choices (11%) and *pastel* with 47 responses (14%). *Pastel* is a common term for 'Cake' in many countries, including Mexico. The prominence of *pastel* in the south reinforces the idea that *quequi* is a more recent borrowing competing with the Mexican label of twentieth-century immigration.

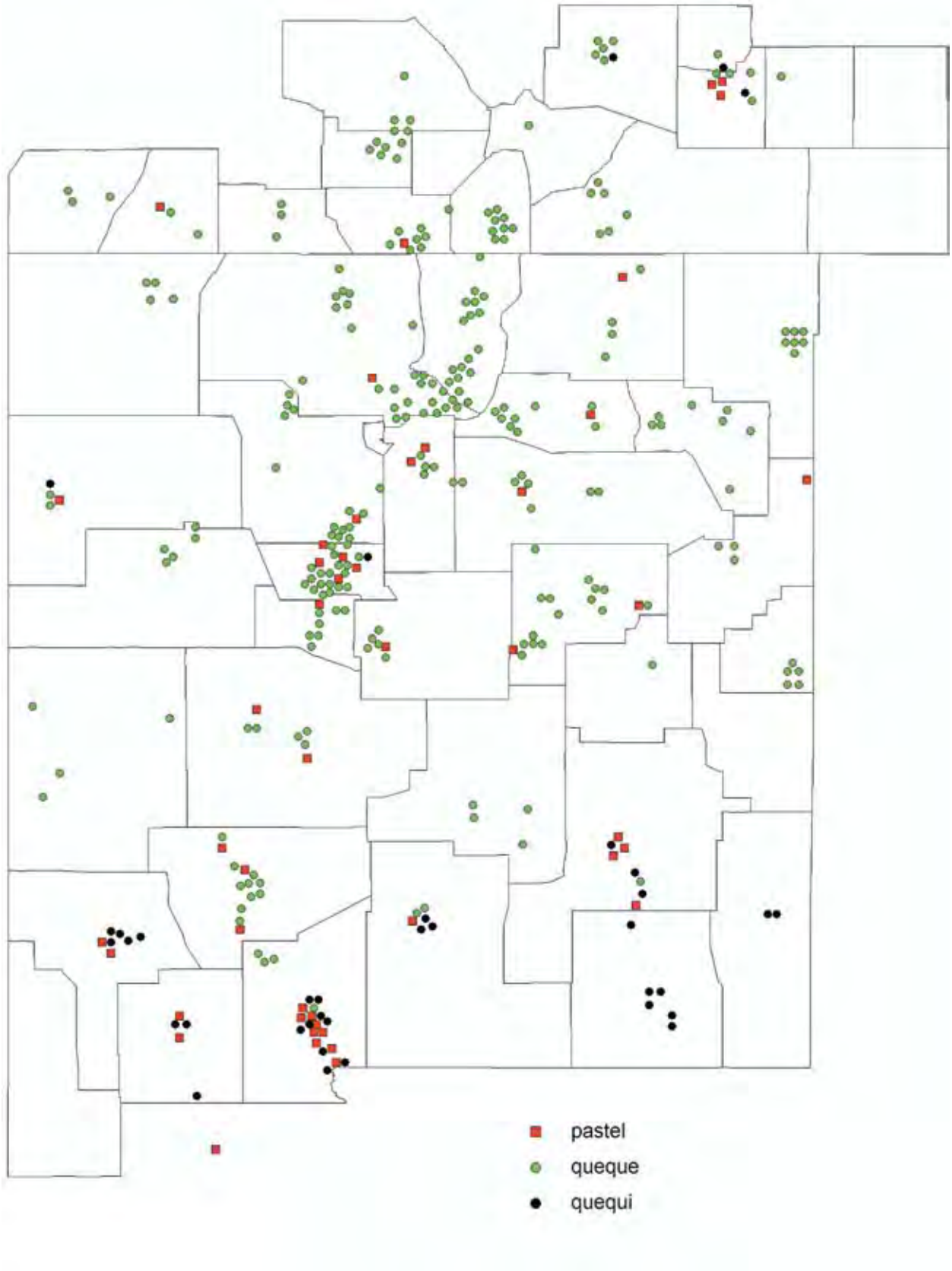
Having a distribution pattern very similar to that of *quequi* and *queque* are the 2 principal variants of the variable 'Penny,' another 2 Anglicisms with the same final vowel contrast. The /i/-final *peni* is characteristic of Border Spanish (see map 10-13) while the /e/-final *pene* is characteristic of Traditional Spanish. Of the 327 consultants asked to identify this coin, 200 responded with *pene* (61%) and 69 with *peni* (21%).The remaining responses were mostly *un centavo* 'one cent,' which are not included on the map since they are widely dispersed around the NMCOSS territory, though appearing with somewhat greater frequency in the Border Spanish areas.

Again, we may suppose that the /e/-final variant is more fully integrated and that the /i/-final variant is still in the process of integration. However, another possible influence on the form of the borrowing and the distribution of the variants is the existence of *pene* as the standard Spanish word for 'penis.' Speakers of Traditional Spanish do not generally know (or at least use) *pene* with this meaning, though they have of course the usual variety of euphemistic, onomatopoetic, and slang equivalents at their disposal (for example, in case you're curious, *la cosa* 'the thing,' *el güigüi* 'the wee-wee,' *el pájaro* 'the bird,' *la picha*, *la pinga*, *la verga*). But it may be that those Hispanics with closer ties to Mexico—that is, speakers of Border Spanish—have a higher awareness of this more taboo meaning and therefore resist integration of English *penny* to full homonymy.

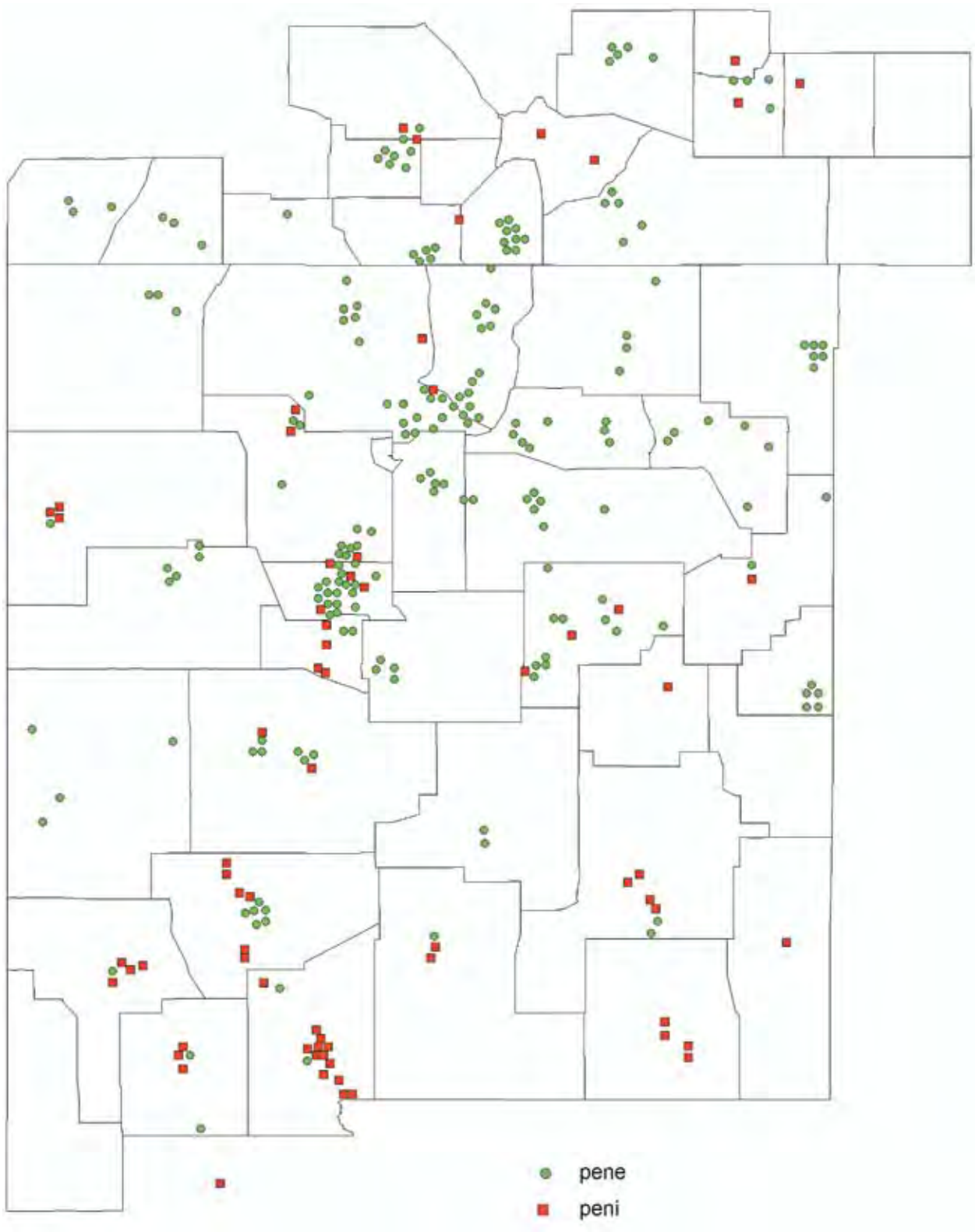
Yet another Anglicism participating in a similar change in progress is the variable 'Suit,' referring to a man's clothing ensemble. In this case, however, each of the Anglicisms is competing with a separate native Spanish word. As we noted earlier in chapter 5, the Traditional Spanish term for a man's suit is *vestido* or *vistido* (and we need to clarify again that while it is a woman's dress that is labeled *vestido* in standard Spanish, the term for this female clothing in Traditional Spanish is usually *túnico*).

The *vestido*/*vistido* label for 'Suit' is the one most widely reported in our survey, representing 129 of the 328 responses (39%). It is a prominent feature of Traditional Spanish (see map 10-14). But we see that this traditional term is receiving stiff competition in the Traditional Spanish region from the Anglicism *sute*, preferred by 104 consultants (32%). This variant *sute* fully conforms to the phonological structure of Spanish.

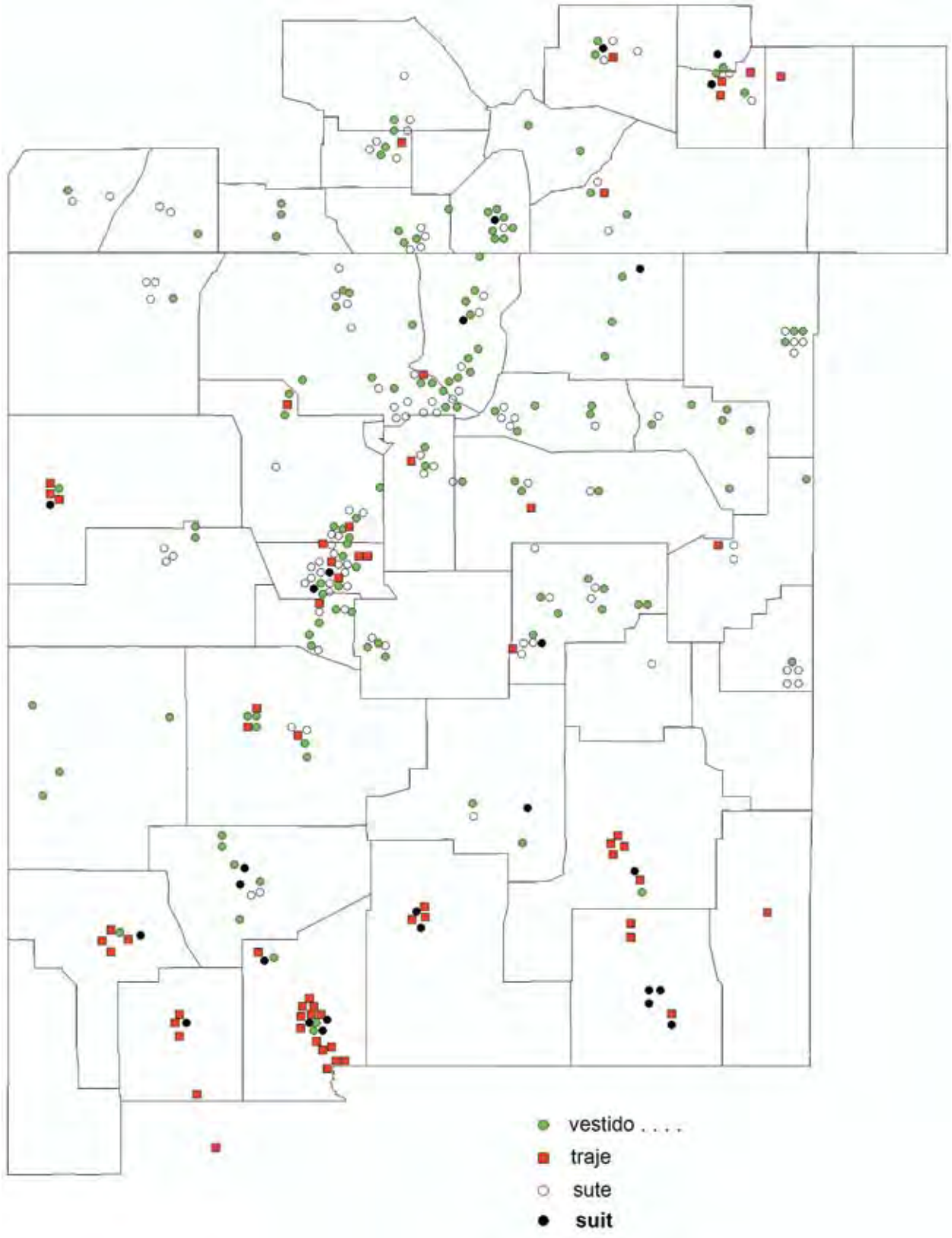
Meanwhile, the label of preference in Border Spanish is the standard *traje*, favored by 61 persons (19%). This variant is in turn being challenged by English ***suit***, which received only 26 first choices (just 8% of the total responses). Most speakers produced a tensed Spanish /u/ in this form that could equally well be represented as *sut*. But whether ***suit*** or *sut*, it represents a nonintegrated Anglicism because a word-final /t/ is alien to Spanish. So again we find the integrated version of the Anglicism (*sute*) in the north and the nonintegrated version (***suit*** or *sut*) in the south. The small number of the latter and its retention of its English trappings suggest again the recency of the introduction of the Anglicism in the south.



10-12. 'Cake'



10-13. ‘Penny’



10-14. 'Suit'

Conclusion

The examination of English influence reveals that there is considerable instability in New Mexican Spanish. After four hundred years of resilient survival, this Spanish across much of the territory of its heritage is at last not being transmitted to the younger generations. More and more Hispanics of New Mexico and southern Colorado are essentially monolingual in English. At the same time, for those who continue to speak Spanish, the incorporation of English vocabulary continues apace.

We have seen that the fate of an Anglicism in New Mexican Spanish is controlled by a number of factors, but the most important factor is time. After more than a century and a half of intense and intimidating contact with English, the speech of those speakers of New Mexican Spanish who have good proficiency in Spanish still doesn't seem to contain an excessive number of Anglicisms. An analysis by Clegg (2006, 44) finds that about 10% of New Mexican Spanish nouns are of English origin, but his analysis is based on a liberal interpretation of Anglicism that includes not just integrated borrowings such as *troca* for 'truck' but conversational occurrences of any lone English noun (such as ***hopscotch***) or compound (such as ***washing machine***) as well as arguable cases such as *botella* 'bottle,' *televisión* 'television,' and *tren* 'train.' But however Anglicisms are counted, as in other bilingual situations, the borrowings represent useful new terms introduced through the culture of the other language.

We also see that the incorporation of a loanword across a speech community is not instantaneous. As many of our examples show, the integration of borrowings may be a slow process that endures over several or even many generations. The process is ongoing in the NMCOSS region, and in many cases the phonological integration starts in the Traditional Spanish area. In this connection, it is relevant to note that all 6 of the fully integrated Anglicisms previously discussed (*bísquete*, *craque*, *cuque*, *pene*, *queque*, and *sute*) were already documented in Aurelio Espinosa's research on Traditional Spanish at the beginning of the twentieth century (data most easily accessed in Gross 1935, which is a compilation of words that Espinosa cites in various works).

Those examples indicate that the greater influence of English has been on the Traditional Spanish dialect. Yet other forces are impinging on that dialect. The Mexican Spanish brought by increasing numbers of immigrants and the standard Spanish typically promoted in the classroom are becoming more prominent and infiltrating the speech of speakers far removed from the Mexican border.

CHAPTER 11

Mexicanisms

The Erratic Influence of the Homeland

While New Mexican Spanish has enjoyed a long four-hundred-year history of independent evolution in the local setting, it has, nonetheless, maintained ties to the Spanish of Mexico, both in its origins and in continued contact right up to the present. For example, it was a native of Durango, Mexico, one Jesús María Baca, who introduced the first printing press to the region, publishing among many other things the first New Mexico magazine, *El Crepúsculo de la Libertad* ('The Dawn of Liberty'), in 1834. And Octaviano Larrazolo, who was elected governor of New Mexico in 1918 and later became the first Hispanic elected to the U.S. Senate, was born in Chihuahua in 1859 and came to the United States as a ten-year-old child. Illustrating the cultural exchange in the opposite direction, José Manuel Gallegos, an influential New Mexican politician who became the territory's first delegate to the U.S. Congress, was born in Abiquiú in 1815 but as a young man went to Durango, Mexico, where he studied theology and was ordained to the priesthood.

The political boundary between the United States and Mexico has made it convenient to pretend that the Spanish spoken on the two sides are very different. In fact, however, there has been very little comparative research carried out. Most studies of Spanish in the U.S. Southwest have been of very narrow scope, examining the speech of a single small community. Comparative comments relating this Spanish to the Spanish on the Mexican side of the border are rare; our earlier report (Vigil and Bills 2000b) is quite exceptional as an explicit exploration of the possibilities. But the ties that bind are transparently obvious and merit continued examination.

To explore the connections, the NMCOSS is very fortunate to now have the fruits of a parallel dialect geography investigation for the other side of the border, the comprehensive *Atlas lingüístico de México* (Lope Blanch et al. 1990–2000). Directed from the beginning by Juan M. Lope Blanch of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, data collection for the *ALM* was actually initiated in 1967, although the major part of the data collection was accomplished between 1970 and 1979 (Lope Blanch 1991, 157). The publication of the six hugely impressive (and impressively huge!) volumes of the atlas was finally completed in 2000, just before Lope Blanch's

death. The *ALM* maps that we cite here are based on the responses from 602 informants representing all areas of Mexico (Gardner 1985, 174).

The *ALM* and NMCOSS make it possible for the first time in the Americas to carry out a transnational analysis of Spanish dialect geography. The two projects share features in common that permit the comparison of a large number of items. In fact, the specific elicitation component of the NMCOSS project was modeled after the questionnaire utilized in the *ALM* and was elaborated to a great extent under Lope Blanch's guidance at a 1988 meeting in Mexico City. This meeting was intended to spur a larger Southwest project across five states (Lope Blanch 1990b describes the activity at that meeting), though plans for the other three border states have faltered. Lope Blanch was interested in expanding the scope of the *ALM* into the Southwest and had already done a pilot survey in the mid-1980s at the same time that we independently began to plan the NMCOSS project. He interviewed 19 persons in four Southwest communities: San José, California; Tucson, Arizona; Mora, New Mexico; and San Marcos, Texas. From this survey he produced four studies, all of which are reprinted in his *El español hablado en el suroeste de los Estados Unidos: Materiales para su estudio* (1990a), a remarkable documentation of the Spanish of those four communities. This book contains a summary of all responses to the grammatical and lexical items of the *ALM* questionnaire used (59–98), and two-thirds of the volume (99–331) is devoted to the full transcription of thirty minutes of "spontaneous conversation" for each of the 19 interviews.

This chapter focuses on the geographical distributions of selected items that are included in both the *ALM* and the NMCOSS. These items illustrate four categories of variation in New Mexican Spanish vis-à-vis Mexican Spanish: (1) items that are widely used in both Mexico and the NMCOSS region, revealing again the essential "Mexicanness" of New Mexican Spanish; (2) items that are documented almost exclusively in New Mexican Spanish, reflecting both independent developments and retention of lexical items that were used in earlier periods; (3) items that have restricted distribution in Mexico and whose occurrence in New Mexican Spanish appears to reveal historical patterns of migration or influence; and (4) items that are prominently employed in Mexico but that have only recently made an entrance into New Mexico and southern Colorado, representing contributions of recent Mexican immigration or exposure to standard Spanish. This last category will be dealt with in chapters 14 and 15. The other three will be considered separately in the following sections.

Mexican and New Mexican

Speakers of different dialects who come into contact do not usually fix on the similarities in their speech. It is the differences that are noticed. This is certainly the case when speakers of Mexican Spanish and New Mexican Spanish come into contact, as is apparent from the words of a seventy-two-year-old woman from Cortez, Colorado:

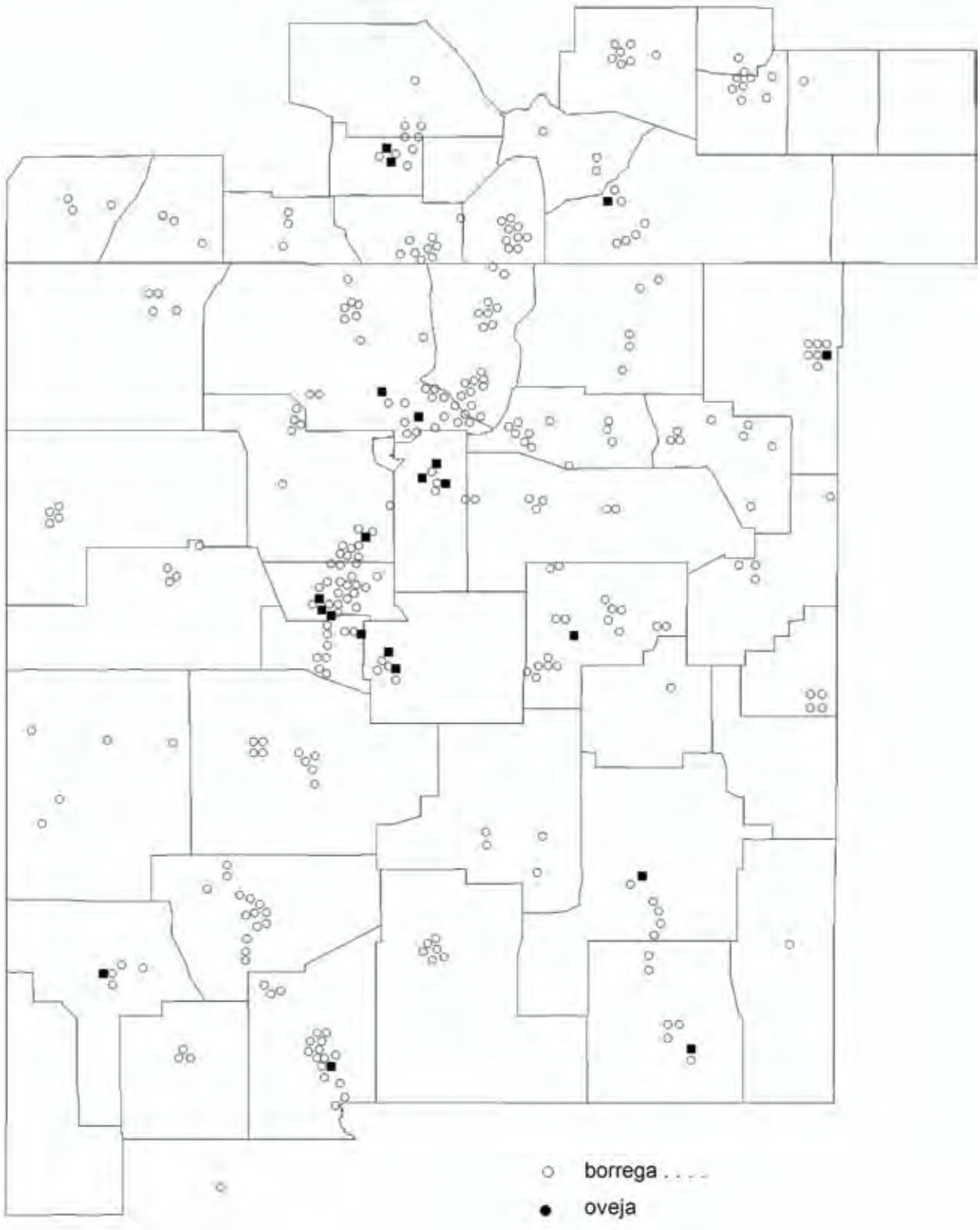
(11-1) *La gente de México habla mucho diferente de nojotroj.* 'People from Mexico speak a lot different than us.' (interview 318)

So it is important to emphasize at the outset that New Mexican Spanish *really is* Mexican Spanish, that is, it forms part of the Mexican Spanish "macro-dialect" (Lozano 1977) or "super-dialect" (Cárdenas 1975). Thus, the grammatical structures and pronunciation features of the Spanish of the two regions are identical except for a few independent developments such as those noted previously. For example, characteristic of both Mexican and New Mexican Spanish is the extreme weakening of the /y/ sound between two vowels and even total elimination of the /y/ where the preceding vowel is /i/ or /e/:

(11-2) *E'a se 'amaba Julianita. = Ella se llamaba Julianita.* 'Her name was Julianita.' (interview 306)

It is extremely common for the same linguistic detail to be widespread in both Mexico and the NMCOSS region. And these commonalities show up even in the data of linguistic atlases, which are designed to focus on forms that show variation, that show differences. For example, we note in chapter 7 with regard to map 7-2 that the Nahuatlism *cuates* for 'Twins' saturates the NMCOSS territory, reported by 87% of our consultants. *Cuates* is also the dominant term in Mexico. Mapa 946 of the *ALM* indicates that about two-thirds of the subjects in that survey report the Nahuatlism. This preference occurs in spite of the much greater exposure in Mexico to standard Spanish *gemelos* through schooling and the media.

The label for 'Ewe' (the adult female sheep) presents a similar concurrence on the two sides of the border. For the *DRAE*, the accepted term for the adult is *oveja* and the nonadult of one to two years is *borrega*. Map 11-1, however, demonstrates that in New Mexican Spanish there is a



11-1. ‘Ewe’

high degree of consensus that the term for the adult is *borrega*, preferred by 89% of the consultants (303 of 341). In contrast, only 21 persons (6%) provided the standard term *oveja*. Almost as many (20 persons) gave an erroneous word (e.g., *cabra* and *chiva* 'goat,' *yegua* 'mare') or could offer no Spanish word at all.

The *ALM* finds a strong showing for *borrega* in Mexico as well (mapa 662). Of the 193 communities surveyed, *borrega* was the more often cited term in 170 (88%). *Oveja* was cited more often in only 14 communities (7%). Nevertheless, the *DRAE* fails to acknowledge this obviously important dialect variant.

The 'Hummingbird' is a New World bird. The 2 labels for this bird that are perhaps most widely used in the Spanish-speaking world are *colibrí*, a borrowing from a Caribbean Native American language, and *picaflor*, a word created by compounding (literally 'flower-pecker'). But neither of these words is used with any frequency in Mexican or New Mexican Spanish. The compound *chuparrosa* (literally 'rose-sucker') is *the* term in the NMCOSS (see map 11-2). A total of 216 of the 339 respondents (64%) gave this term. But another 45 persons claimed to use only the English label ***hummingbird*** and 49 others could give no response at all. That is, *chuparrosa* accounts for fully 89% of the 245 responses that employed a Spanish word. It also accounts for 90% of the responses in the five-state Southwest study of Pedrero (2002, 313). In the NMCOSS survey, the second most frequent Spanish word offered (with just 9 first choices) was *mariposa*, the general Spanish word for 'Butterfly.' Only 4 persons chose *colibrí* and another 4 *picaflor*.

Chuparrosa is also the label of preference in Mexico (*ALM* mapa 614), and was reported by all 60 of Mendoza Guerrero's informants in the state of Sinaloa (2002, 63). *Picaflor* was mentioned by only 1 person in the *ALM* survey; *colibrí* was a bit more common but was usually cited as an alternative form. *Chuparrosa* dominates everywhere except in southeast Mexico, where it is displaced by 2 similar compounds, *chupamirto* ('myrtle-sucker') and *chupaflor* ('flower-sucker'). None of our NMCOSS consultants offered either of these forms.

There are many other words that prove to be overwhelmingly dominant in the NMCOSS as well as in the *ALM*. It is not easy to calculate precise percentages from the *ALM* maps, but the selected cases presented in examples 11-3 and 11-4 appear to represent at least two-thirds of the Mexican responses. The NMCOSS percentage cited in each case represents the proportion of *Spanish* responses only, excluding from the calculation all English responses and when no responses were offered.

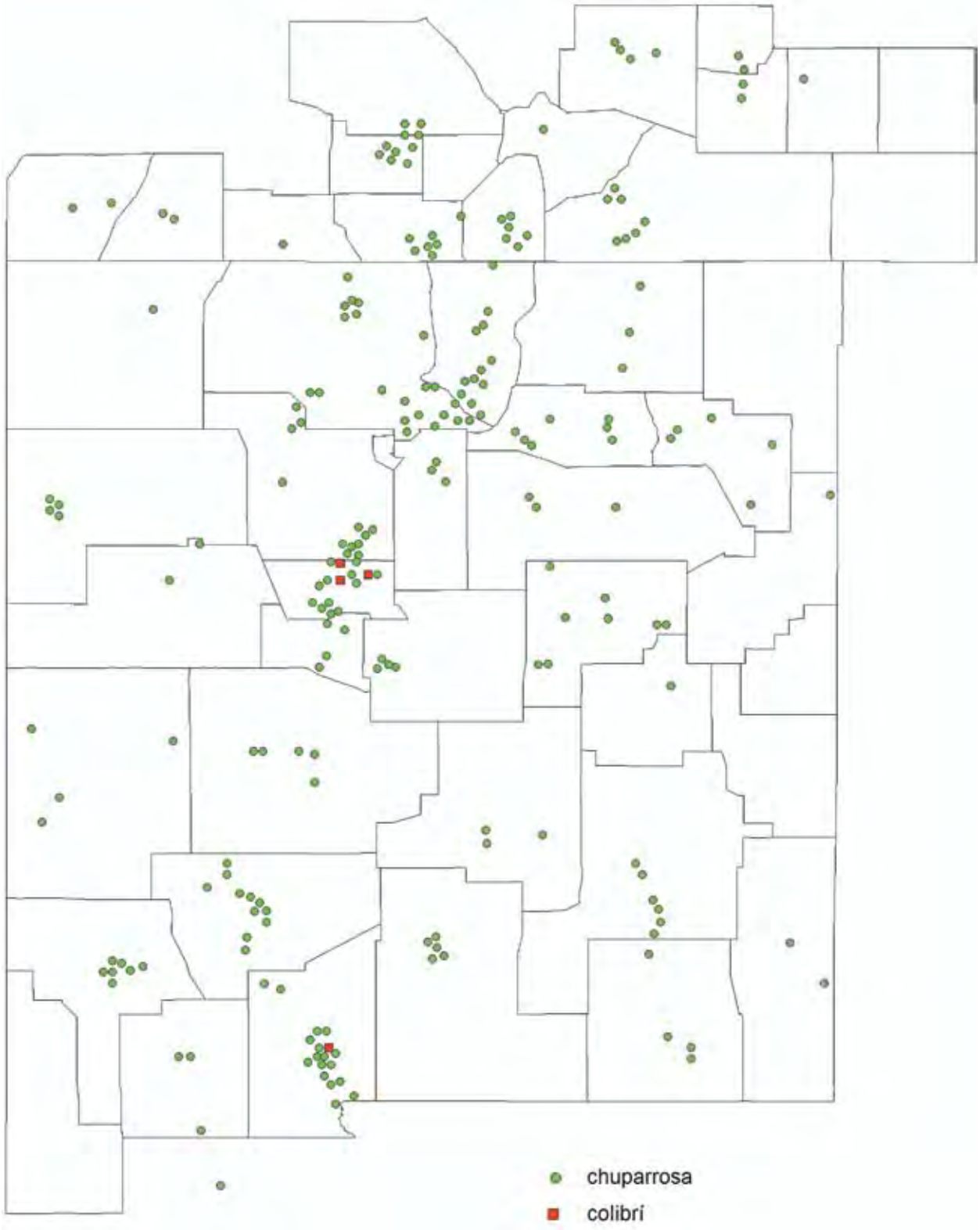
Some of these shared lexical items are nothing more than the Spanish variant that is practically universal. For instance:

(11-3) *bragueta* 'Fly' (of pants), 91% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 914)
chato 'Pug-nosed,' 89% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 760)
colgar 'Hang' (a mirror on wall), 98% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 934)
corva 'Back of knee,' 77% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 753)
coser 'Sew,' 98% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 902)
garrapata 'Tick' (the insect), 80% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 624)
hilo 'Thread,' 96% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 903)
relámpago 'Lightning,' 77% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 696)
tenedor 'Fork,' 97% of NMCOSS responses (*ALM* mapa 885)

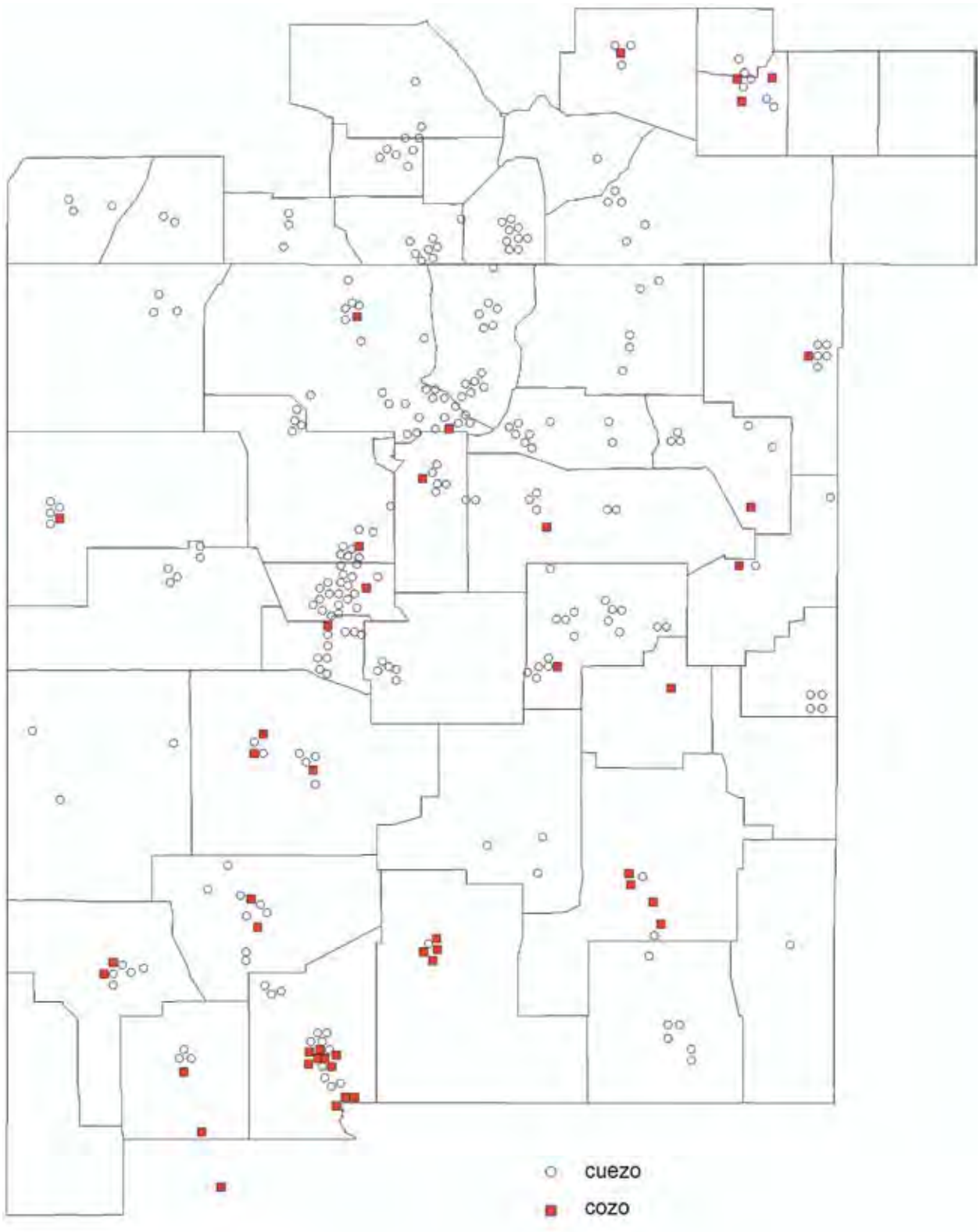
Other examples are more characteristic of this particular region of the Spanish-speaking world and distinct from the labels the *DRAE* considers standard:

(11-4) *abrochar(se)* 'Button up,' 83% of NMCOSS responses (ALM mapa 933) versus *abotonarse*
elote 'Ear of corn,' 63% of NMCOSS responses (ALM mapa 828) versus *maíz en la mazorca*
ensartar 'Thread a needle,' 88% of NMCOSS responses (ALM mapa 904) versus *enhebrar*
lagañas 'Sleep' (matter in the eye), 96% of NMCOSS responses (ALM mapa 718) versus *legaña*
lonche 'Lunch' (taken to work or school), 95% of NMCOSS responses (ALM mapa 823) versus *almuerzo*, *merienda*, or *fiambre*

Sometimes, both regions display the widespread use of 2 variants but without significant geographical associations. This is the case for the stem vowel of the verb *cocer* 'cook,' which is variably diphthongized under stress. The NMCOSS results for 'I cook' (map 11-3) show that both *cozo* and *cuezo* occur throughout the area, though *cozo* seems to be a bit more associated with Border Spanish. *Cuezo*, however, accounts for 81% of all responses (252 cases) and *cozo* only 15% (45 cases). The *ALM* map (mapa 573) displays a much higher use of *cozo* and a more balanced, and apparently random, distribution of the 2 forms.



11-2. 'Hummingbird'



11-3. 'I cook'

Creatively New Mexican

The three previous chapters of part 3 have provided numerous examples of vocabulary that is pretty much unique to New Mexican Spanish, Traditional Spanish in particular. Some of these non-Mexican words arose through independent development. For example, *trucha* for 'Fish' (see map 8-6), *arrear* for 'Drive' (an automobile) (see map 8-9), and *ratón volador* for 'Bat' (see map 8-11). Others came about through exposure to other languages in the local setting, for example, *cunques* for 'Crumbs' (see map 9-2), *puela* for 'Skillet' (see map 9-4), and *troca* for 'Pickup' (see map 10-1). Here we'll give only a few additional examples of such non-Mexican characteristics.

An instance of independent development that appears to reflect English influence of a less direct nature than outright borrowing is the use of *parte* for the 'Part' in a person's hair. Although surely influenced by English, this form also would appear to be an adaptation from the related native Spanish forms *partida*, *partido*, and *partidura*. All 4 of these forms surfaced in our survey. It is curious that none of the 4 is listed in either edition of Cobos (1983, 2003), and only *parte* is listed by L. Trujillo (1983).

Map 11-4 shows that *parte* is far and away the preferred term for 'Part' in the NMCOSS results, accounting for fully 71% of all responses (222 of 311). It is overwhelmingly dominant in the Traditional Spanish area. And it is apparently unique to New Mexican Spanish. It is not attested at all in the *ALM* (mapa 733). However, Lope Blanch (1990a, 83) reports it mentioned by 2 subjects in San José, California, in addition to all 4 of his New Mexican subjects.

Instead, *partido* is the most prominent among several important Mexican variants. Only 10 NMCOSS consultants offered this form. The second most common of the *part-* forms in Mexico is *partidura*, which is prominent in north-central and western Mexico and is particularly dominant in the state of Chihuahua, our immediate neighbor. In the NMCOSS, *partidura* came in second to *parte* but was offered as a first response by only 33 individuals (11%). As map 11-4 shows, its distribution is limited to the southernmost part of New Mexico, plus a few cases in Albuquerque, areas where the influence of Chihuahua would be most expected. The other *part-* form, the feminine gender *partida*, is a minor player in Mexico, represented mostly in the northwest. It also plays a minor role in New Mexican Spanish, offered by just 11 NMCOSS consultants. *Partido* and *partida* are combined for display on map 11-4. They too are found mostly in areas of twentieth-century Mexican influence.

Other important Mexican labels hardly occur in the NMCOSS. The second most popular term after *partido* in the *ALM* is *raya*. We received only 2 preferences for *raya* in the NMCOSS. And we received not a single token of 4 other terms that are dialectally significant in Mexico: *apartado* in the northeast of Mexico, *carrera* in the northwest, and *camino* and *vereda* in southern Mexico and the Yucatán Peninsula.

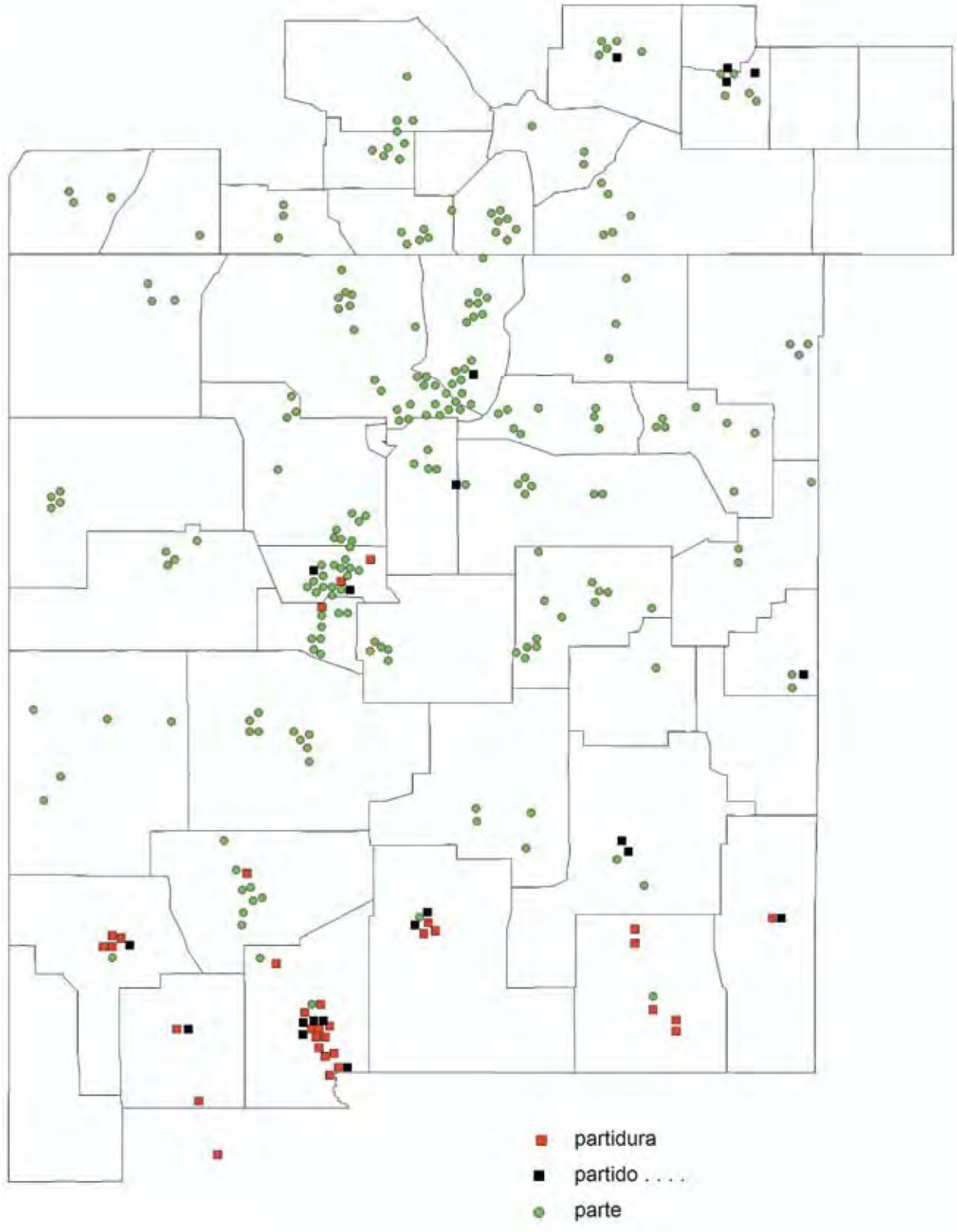
A comparable case of likely English influence on an existing form is the word for 'Cup,' pictured as a traditional teacup set in a saucer and holding steaming coffee. As anyone familiar with Spanish might expect, the label in Mexico is *taza* (see mapa 886 of the *ALM*); there are only occasional occurrences in Mexico of a few alternative forms such as *pocillo*, the usual term in Colombia (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 134).

But New Mexican Spanish is a bit different. Here we have an even split between 2 forms: 160 preferences for *taza* (49%) and 168 preferences for *copa* (51%). Map 11-5 indicates that both labels are spread around fairly evenly but with *taza* being somewhat favored in the Border Spanish areas. There were also 2 responses of *cope* from 2 young men (ages nineteen and twenty-seven) with poor skills in Spanish, but no *pocillo* or any other variant.

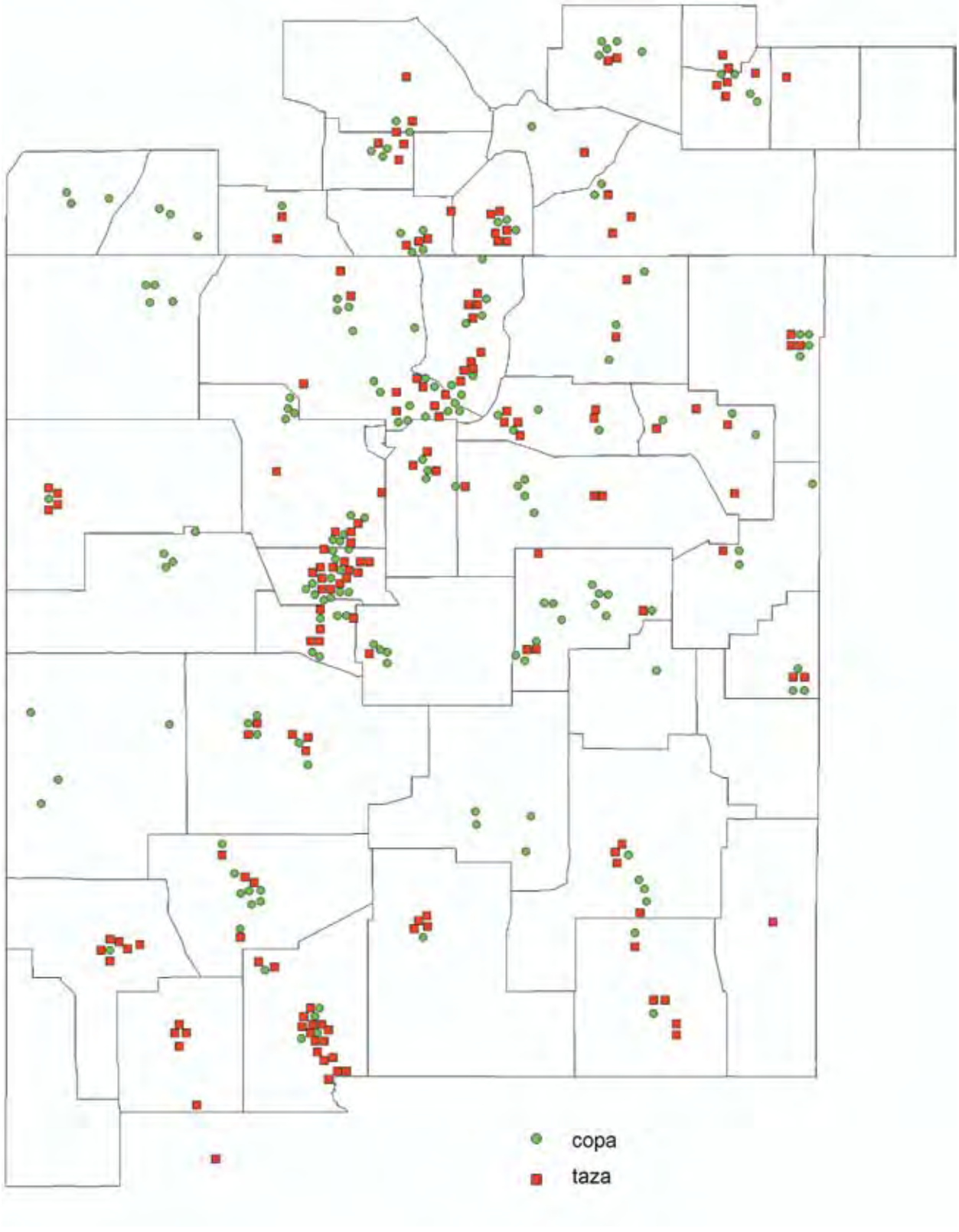
Where does that *copa* come from? "Well, English, of course," might be assumed. Not so fast! *Copa* is a perfectly fine Spanish word with a long pedigree back to Latin *cuppa*, which is also the source of English *cup*. *Taza*, on the other hand, is a loanword from Arabic. Furthermore, *copa*, like *taza*, refers to a small vessel from which to drink liquids. Elsewhere in Spanish, though, it is a more glass-like container (a goblet or wineglass) and is not what would typically hold coffee. So it is very likely that the presence of English has beguiled speakers of New Mexican Spanish into using *copa* for a coffee cup. And the result is a singular feature of New Mexican Spanish. Not a single occurrence of *copa* for 'Cup' appears in *ALM* mapa 886.

Sometimes the NMCOSS-*ALM* comparison can leave us puzzled. Map 11-6 gives the NMCOSS distributions for variants of the verb 'Shear' (to cut the wool from sheep). We find 2 principal variants, *trasquilar* and *tresquilar*. We exclude from this map all other responses—English responses, no responses, and nonspecific descriptive terms such as *cortar la lana* 'cut off the wool' and *quitar la lana* 'take off the wool'—which altogether total 27%, a reasonable proportion of vocabulary loss concerning a very traditional agrarian activity.

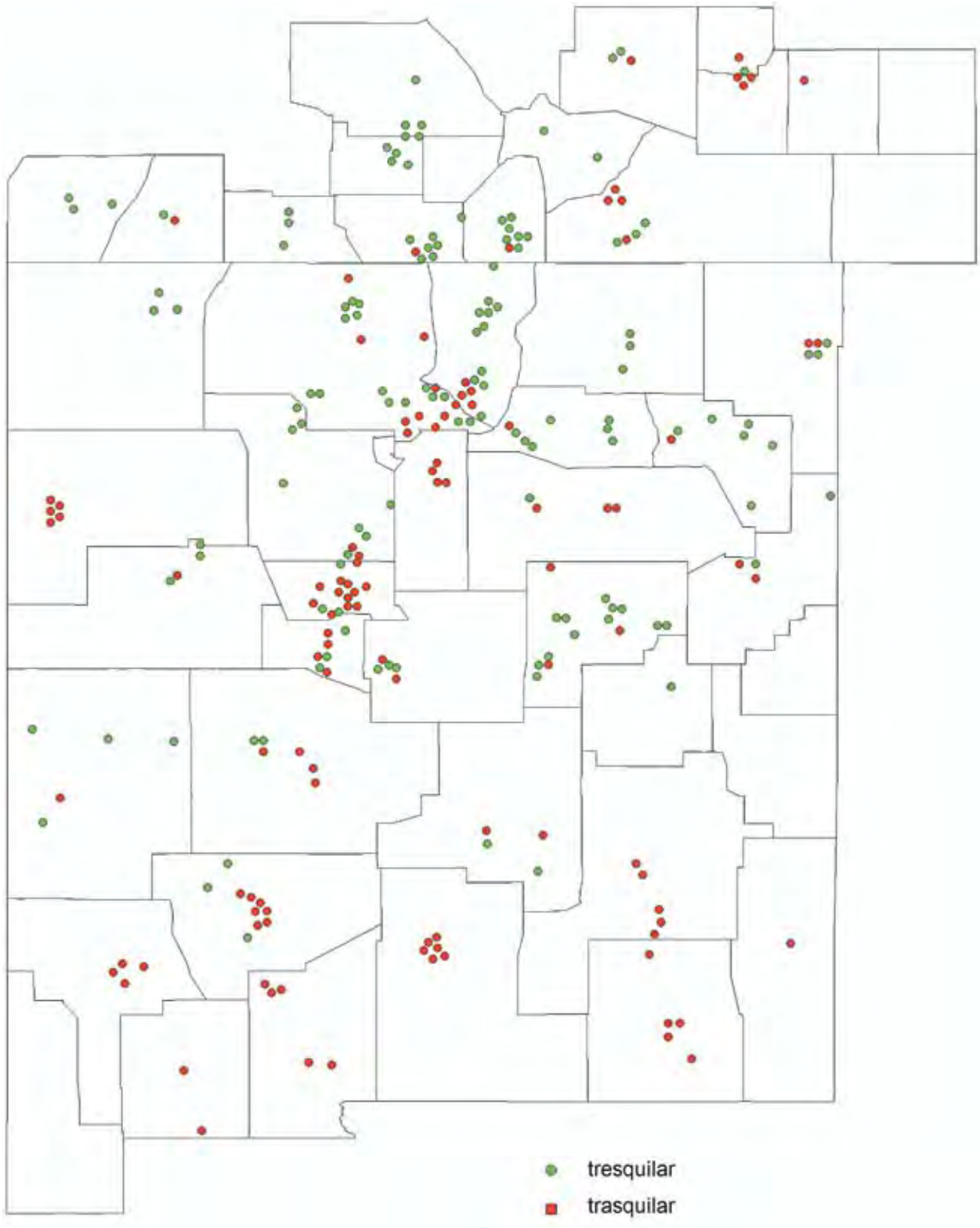
The standard *trasquilar* variant is strongly represented in the region, preferred by just about one-third of the consultants (111 of 336). But the more widely used form in the NMCOSS is *tresquilar*, the choice of 40% of



11-4. ‘Part’



11-5. ‘Cup’



11-6. ‘Shear’

our consultants (133 persons). Cobos (2003) cites both variants, but L. Trujillo (1983) includes neither. The map reveals the second variant to be particularly characteristic of the Traditional Spanish area.

Trasquilar is the majority form in Mexico (mapa 666). The *tresquilar* alternative occurs only twice in the *ALM*, both in the city of Santa Teresa in the northeastern state of Tamaulipas on the Gulf of Mexico coast. There would seem to be little historical connection here. So we might happily assume that *tresquilar* is another creation of Traditional Spanish. However, Santamaría (1959) includes this variant with /e/ in the first syllable in his *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, calling it a "*vulgarismo común por trasquilar*" ('popular term commonly used in place of *trasquilar*'). Perhaps that vulgar *tresquilar* was once more widely used in Mexico and has now given way to the standard label? If so, this Traditional Spanish term becomes not an innovation but simply another of the many retentions of popular Mexican Spanish.

We conclude this discussion of departures from the Mexican connection with a fascinatingly complex case of variation, the development of a merger for reference to bees and wasps, 2 flying insects that sting. Let's first look at map 11-7 for 'Honeybee.' In contrast to the clear dominance of *abeja* in Mexico (*ALM* mapa 627), this standard label was offered as a first response by only 75 (22%) of the 339 NMCOSS consultants who were asked to identify a picture of this insect. We see on the map that *abeja* is scattered around the region but clusters a bit more densely in the Border Spanish areas. Another 19 NMCOSS consultants (6%), randomly dispersed and therefore not presented on the map, responded with *obeja*, as did about 10 of the *ALM* interviewees (though spelled *oveja* in that project). This distortion of *abeja* may be related to the fact that the homophonous *oveja* for 'Ewe' occurs rarely and only as a learned word, as previously pointed out regarding map 11-1. In New Mexican Spanish, however, the distortion may also reflect a blending with the most widely used label, *ovispa*.

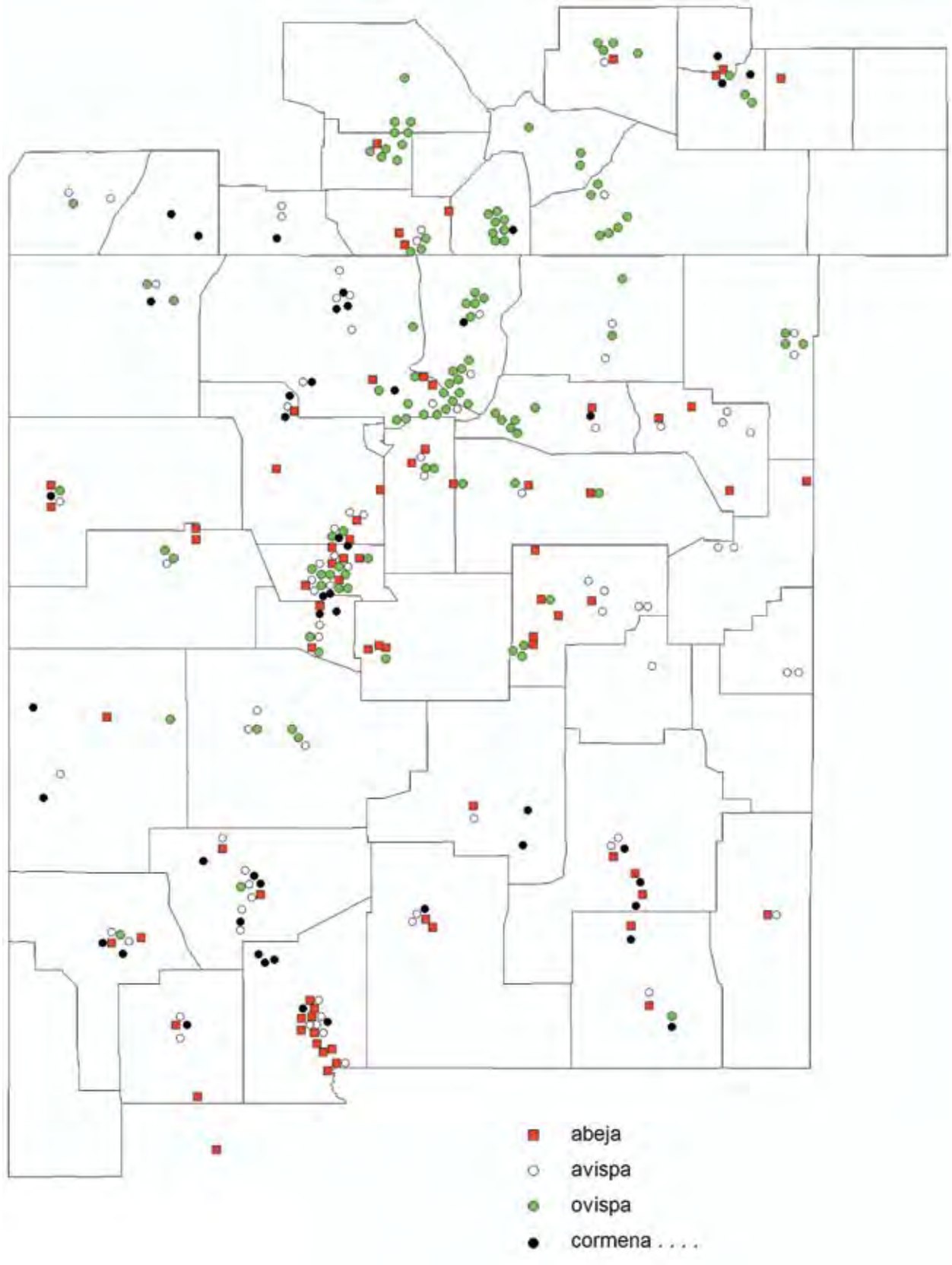
A bare majority of our NMCOSS respondents offered either *ovispa* (107 cases, 32%) or *avispa* (68 cases, 20%) for 'Honeybee.' The latter is the standard term for the other stinging insect, 'Wasp.' In addition, there are 13 cases of *vispa*. This last variant no doubt represents a reduction of *avispa* attributable to utterances where the initial /a/ is not perceptible when accompanied by a singular feminine article. That is, employing hyphens to represent syllable division, *una avispa* 'a wasp' is phonetically [u-na-ßis-pa] and *la avispa* 'the wasp' is phonetically [la-ßis-pa]. This kind of reanalysis in language acquisition by children is a common phenomenon in language change; for example, that's how *a napron* became *an apron* in English. Relatedly, a sixty-four-year-old consultant from Rinconada, New Mexico (interview 198), thought the standard word for 'Mud' was *odo*, no doubt because of the merger of the two *l*'s in *el lodo*, phonetically [elódo] 'the mud.' Map 11-7 shows that the 81 cases of *avispa* and *vispa* combined are distributed loosely without any identifiable regional patterning. The other form—*ovispa*, however, displays definite regional patterning. Map 11-7 indicates that it is typical of the Traditional Spanish area. This label seems obviously to be derived from the *avispa* form, but we are unwilling to even speculate on the motivation for the change of /a/ to /o/.

In the Mexico atlas, *avispa* for 'Honeybee' was mentioned only 2 times, and *ovispa* (spelled *obispa*) and *vispa* (spelled *bispa*) had only 1 mention each, none of these occurring in northern Mexico. The prominence in New Mexican Spanish of the wasp-like labels (*avispa*, *ovispa*, and *vispa*), then, seems to be something special to this dialect.

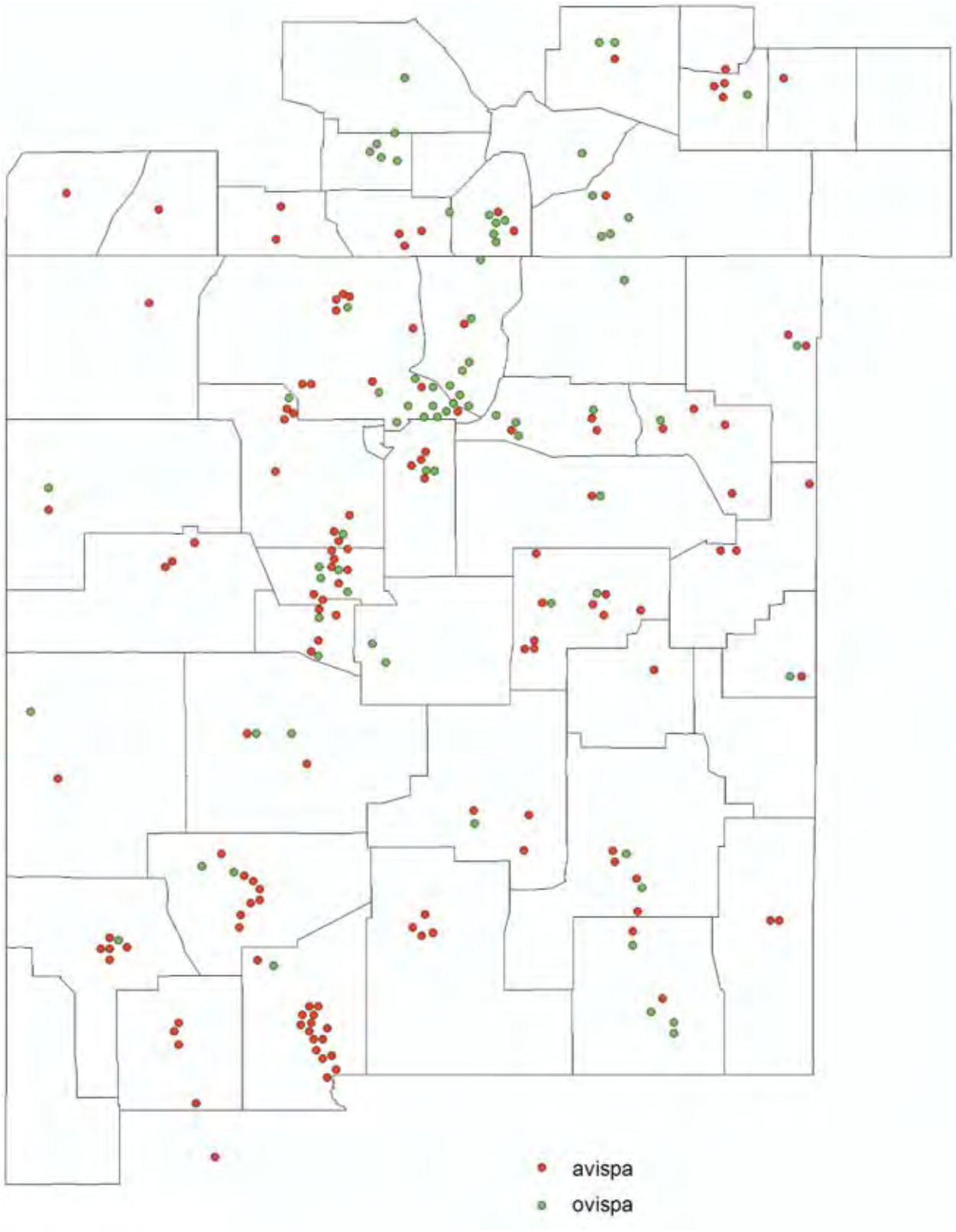
A final complication to the 'Honeybee' picture: in the *ALM* the strongest minority form after *abeja* is *colmena*, which surfaced mostly in central Mexico. This word, which is more commonly (two-thirds of the time) realized as *cormena* in the NMCOSS, was preferred by just 46 (14%) of our consultants. Map 11-7 shows that these persons are scattered here and there across the region but, like those who preferred *abeja*, they appear disproportionately in the Border Spanish areas.

It is of interest to note the nonstandard words cited for 'bee' or 'honeybee' in regional dictionaries for the Southwest. For example, Galván and Teschner (1975, 1977), Cobos (1983, 2003) and L. Trujillo (1983) all include *avispa* with this meaning. Only the three New Mexican Spanish dictionaries, however, mention the *ovispa* variant (spelled *obispa* in L. Trujillo and entered under both spellings in Cobos). On the other hand, only the Galván and Teschner dictionaries include *colmena*, and none of the four lists *cormena*. That is, of the 3 major nonstandard variants for 'Honeybee,' *avispa* is the most general while *ovispa* characterizes Traditional Spanish and *colmena*/*cormena* Border Spanish.

Now let's take a look at map 11-8 and the words for 'Wasp' in the NMCOSS area. In this case, the standard *avispa* is the strongest response. Nonetheless, it was offered by fewer than half of the 330 respondents (135 persons, 41%), while in Mexico it is the overwhelmingly preferred form (mapa 636). However, 22% of the consultants we queried were unable to provide a label (56 cases) or could give only an English word (17 cases), so in fact a majority (53%) of those who offered some Spanish word reported the standard *avispa*.



11-7. 'Honeybee'



11-8. 'Wasp'

Another 78 NMCOSS consultants (24%) gave the related 'Wasp' variant *ovispa*, which is also listed with this meaning under the spelling *obispa* in Cobos's dictionary (2003) but it does not appear in L. Trujillo's dictionary. The only other NMCOSS responses that might merit mention here are 10 cases of *abeja*, 10 of *cormena*, 4 of *vispa*, and 3 of *obeja*, which only further demonstrate the lexical havoc in New Mexican Spanish regarding these 2 stinging insects that fly. The *ALM* reports some very minor variation, but hardly havoc, in this respect: 5 *abeja*, 3 *obispa*, and 2 *colmena*.

A striking development, then, is the prominence of the innovative form *ovispa* in the NMCOSS results—31% of 'Honeybee' responses and 24% of 'Wasp' responses. Equally striking is that the 2 related forms *avispa* and *ovispa* combine to form the majority response for 'Honeybee' (51%) as well as for 'Wasp' (65%). We must point out, however, that the data collected by Alvar (2000, 277–78) and analyzed by Pedrero (2002, 316–17) show a very different situation. First, they report not a single instance of *ovispa* (though oddly enough, Alvar cites *ovispa* for 'Wasp' in his index of words). Second, the crossovers they find do seem limited to informants in the NMCOSS region, but they document just 3 cases of *avispa* for 'Honeybee' (only 11%) and a whopping 4 of *abeja* for 'Wasp' (15%). Our own results are so robust that we must assume the discrepancy results from their small sample size.

The NMCOSS findings indicate that some speakers of New Mexican Spanish fail to make a clear distinction between the 2 things we label in English as *wasp* and *bee*. As a matter of fact, nearly a third (31%) of the NMCOSS respondents manifested lexical merger. Fifty-two consultants labeled both insects with *ovispa*, 40 with *avispa*, 3 with *abeja*, 3 with *cormena*, 2 with *vispa*, 1 with *huispa*, and 1 with *obeja*. In contrast, only 49 persons opted for the standard solution, to differentiate the 2 insects with *abeja* for 'Honeybee' and *avispa* for 'Wasp.'

Map 11-9 illustrates the three highlights for the 'Honeybee'/'Wasp' merger versus standard differentiation. The merger employing *ovispa* is typical of the heartland of Traditional Spanish. The merger employing *avispa* is more closely associated with Border Spanish. The prescriptive differentiation using *abeja* for 'Honeybee' and *avispa* for 'Wasp' is still more strongly represented in the Border Spanish areas but also occurs scattered around the Traditional Spanish area. We were surprised to find that the standard differentiation responses display only modest associations with such social variables as age, formal study of Spanish, and education in general.

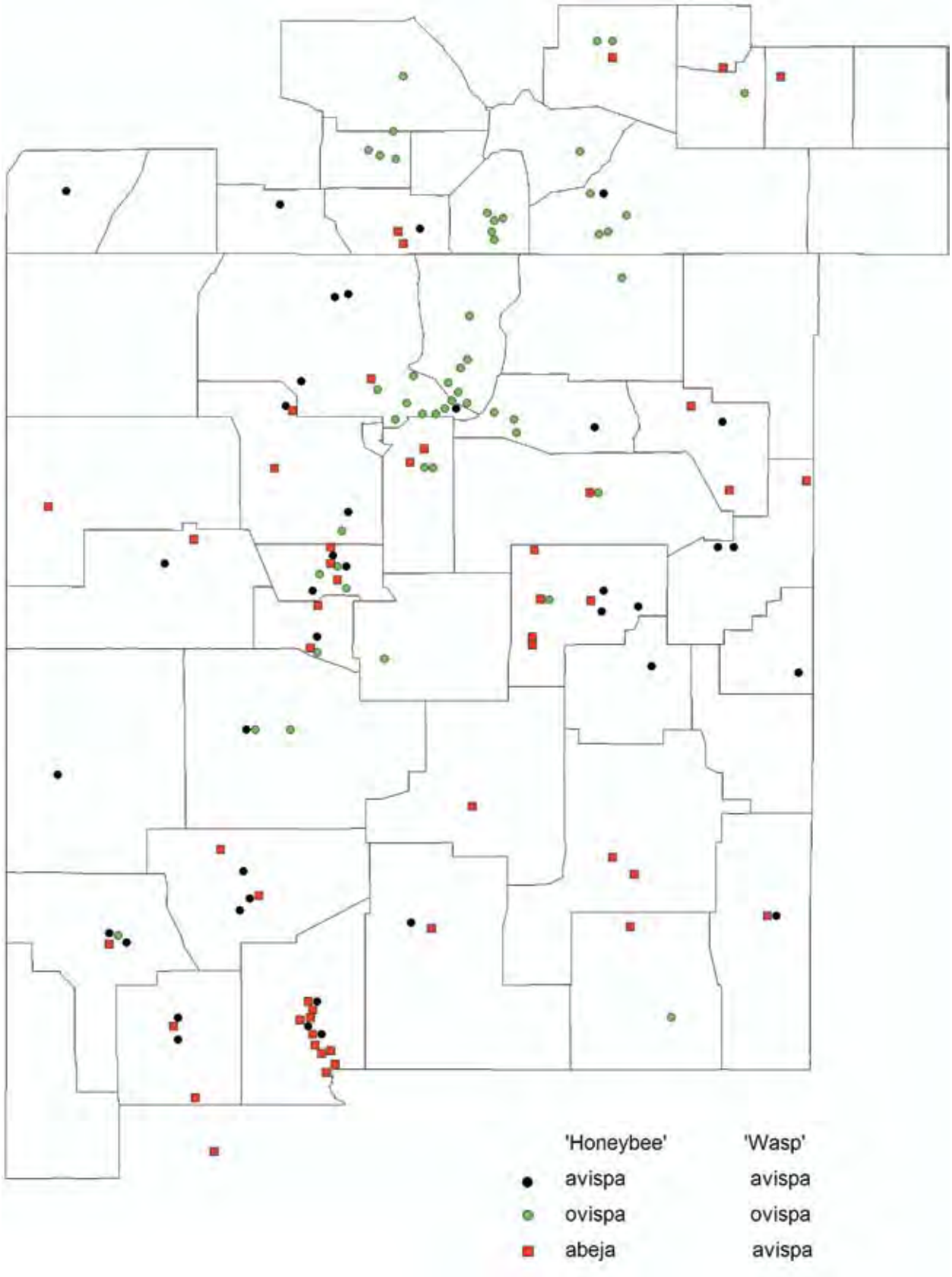
We see, then, that New Mexican Spanish differs sharply from modern Mexican Spanish in words for the 2 stinging insects. While most speakers of Mexican Spanish use the standard labels to distinguish 'Honeybee' and 'Wasp,' few speakers of New Mexican Spanish do so. The development of *ovispa* from *avispa* may have developed in Mexican Spanish (and beyond: Moreno de Alba 1992a, 188, reports this use in the Canary Islands), but it has flourished in New Mexican Spanish. The use of the 'Wasp' forms *avispa* and *ovispa* for 'Honeybee' also shows up slightly in Mexico but has mushroomed to majority status in the NMCOSS region. Finally, the use of the same term for both insects, the lexical merger, appears to be a unique development of New Mexican Spanish.

Patterns of Migration

Perhaps the most intriguing Mexican–New Mexican comparison cases are those where a variant displays restricted geographical distribution in both Mexico and the NMCOSS area. We note in chapter 4 (in connection with maps 4-5, 4-6, and 4-7) that the NMCOSS occurrences of *cócono* and *güíjalo* are associated with the distributions of those forms in north-central and western Mexico, respectively. It is possible that a specific distribution in our region is a consequence of immigration from the part of Mexico that currently displays the same linguistic behavior or perhaps previously manifested the phenomenon. It is also possible that the NMCOSS distribution is due simply to the closeness of contact with that part of Mexico.

Another variant that shows *ALM* and NMCOSS distributions similar to those of *cócono* is one of the labels for 'Mosquito.' As we report in chapter 6, the form *moyote* occurs almost exclusively in the states of Chihuahua and Durango, according to the *ALM*. In the NMCOSS, we find the occurrences of *moyote* clustered in the most southern reaches of New Mexico adjacent to Chihuahua (see maps 6-6 and 6-7). This result no doubt reflects both the immigration pattern and continuing close contact. But *moyote* remains very much a minority form both north and south of the border, representing only about 18% of the responses in the NMCOSS and a paltry 4% in the *ALM*.

We mentioned a more complex set of New Mexican–Mexican relationships in chapter 7 regarding the variable 'Shoelace.' *Cinta* is the dominant form across northern Mexico and, like *cócono* and *moyote*, that label characterizes Border Spanish (see map 7-13). In contrast, the term preferred in Traditional Spanish is the Nahuatlism



11-9. 'Honeybee,' 'Wasp'

11-10. 'Ankle' in Mexico

mecate, which occurs in Mexico in only a handful of cases in the state of Sonora. But more common in Sonora and the northwest generally is the term *cordón*, which shows up in central New Mexico with a western slant reminiscent of the *güíjalo* connection with Sonora. However, in comparison to *mecate*, the numbers for *cordón* are much larger in both speech areas and therefore make a stronger case for the relationship between western New Mexican Spanish and northwestern Mexico.

Making the 'Shoelace' case more interesting still, the heavily favored Mexican term *agujeta* appears to have spread as a prestigious variant from central Mexico where it is overpoweringly dominant, relegating all 3 of the previously mentioned forms to peripheral areas: *cinta* principally in the north, *cordón* in the northwest and southeast, and *mecate* barely alive in Sonora—and all 3 in the even more peripheral New Mexican Spanish region. Only 1 of the NMCOSS consultants offered the *agujeta* form, but we can be confident that New Mexican Spanish will soon feel the impact of this import from *Chilangolandia* (*chilango* is a popular nickname of unknown origin for a person from Mexico City).

The variable 'Ankle' displays yet another transborder pattern. Map 11-10 shows the general distribution of two forms for 'Ankle' in Mexico; this is a synthesized version of the very detailed mapa 755 in the *ALM*. Although a large number of variants show up across the Mexican landscape, the standard term *tobillo* is heavily dominant everywhere. Among the colloquial expressions, *hueso sabroso* 'tasty bone' and *huesito sabroso* 'tasty little bone' are especially captivating and particularly relevant for our comparisons. As you can see on the map, those *sabroso* terms (like the *moyote* label for 'Mosquito') occur exclusively in the central north of Mexico (states of Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León), which perhaps accounts for the fact that neither term is mentioned by Santamaría (1959). And too, they are not very common. We count just 39 mentions, representing only perhaps 6% of the *ALM* informants.

But in the NMCOSS, 61 persons preferred *huesito sabroso* and 21 preferred *hueso sabroso*. Cobos (2003) lists only the former and L. Trujillo (1983) only the latter, but Alvar (2000, 196) reports both and shows them to be the dominant term across our region. These 2 variants

together represent 26% of the 318 NMCOSS responses for this item, an especially significant proportion considering that nearly a third (32%) offered only the English label or no response at all. The 2 variants have nondistinct geographical distributions so we have combined them for display on map 11-11. Their distribution differs greatly from the distribution of *moyote* shown on map 6-6. The *hues(it)o sabroso* designation is not just typical in the south but rather is widespread across New Mexico and southern Colorado.

The present distribution in New Mexican Spanish cannot be the result of either recent immigration or close communicative contact with Mexico. Rather, the breadth and prominence of its occurrence suggests that it has been around a long time. We surmise that this colloquial label must have once been more widespread in Mexico and that the pressure of the standard *tobillo* has eroded its position there. Note that the standard variant *tobillo* is also scattered across the NMCOSS region. However, it accounts for just 16% of the responses and is largely limited to the areas characterized by twentieth-century immigration from Mexico. As we will see later in chapter 14, it is also clearly associated with education and formal study of Spanish.

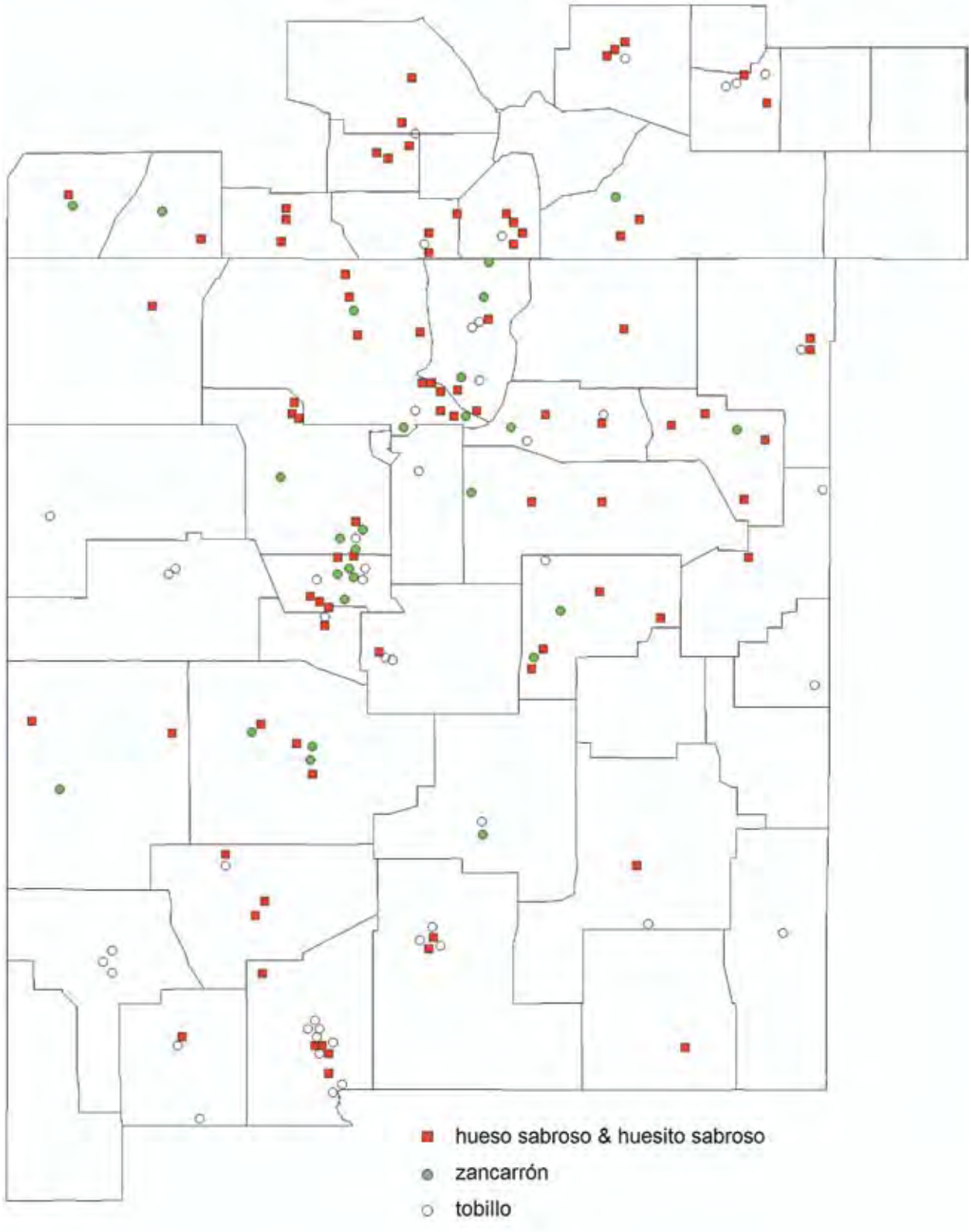
Note also that a significant minority of NMCOSS consultants (27 persons or 8%) distributed across the rural north opted for the term *zancarrón* for 'Ankle.' The number of responses and their restricted distribution suggest that this label may represent another independent development, with *zancarrón* apparently undergoing a shift in meaning from 'leg bone' to 'Ankle.' *Zancarrón* is not, however, documented in the *ALM* for 'Ankle.' Therefore, its occurrence in our survey may be the result of confusion in body-part terms. After all, 17 consultants chose the term *canilla*, the New Mexican Spanish word for 'shin' (Cobos 2003), and another 11 chose *talón*, the label for 'Heel' preferred by 85% of our consultants. Moreover, 83 of our consultants offered no word for 'Ankle' and another 19 responded with the English ***ankle***, revealing a major lexical gap for speakers of New Mexican Spanish.

Yet another transborder comparison pattern is seen in the variable 'Temple' (of the head). Map 11-12 displays the 3 major variants for this variable: *sien* (125 responses, 38%), *sentido* (63 responses, 21%, pronounced *sintido* in 7 of these responses), and *templo* (49 responses, 15%). The most interesting variant for our comparative purpose is *sentido*, which has a restricted distribution in the NMCOSS results. It occurs primarily in rural communities of the northernmost Traditional Spanish territory. Surprisingly, it is not listed in the dictionary of L. Trujillo (1983), and this meaning of *sentido* was absent in Cobos 1983 but was added in the 2003 version. According to Pedrero (2002, 14), of the 12 cases of *sentido* encountered in the Alvar sample of five southwestern states, 10 are in the NMCOSS region, with 1 case each in Arizona and Texas; and confirming our findings, Alvar (2000, 186) shows those NMCOSS cases occurring only in the rural north. Similarly, 3 of the 4 persons Lope Blanch interviewed in the rural northern town of Mora identified 'Temple' as *sentido* (1990a, 82).

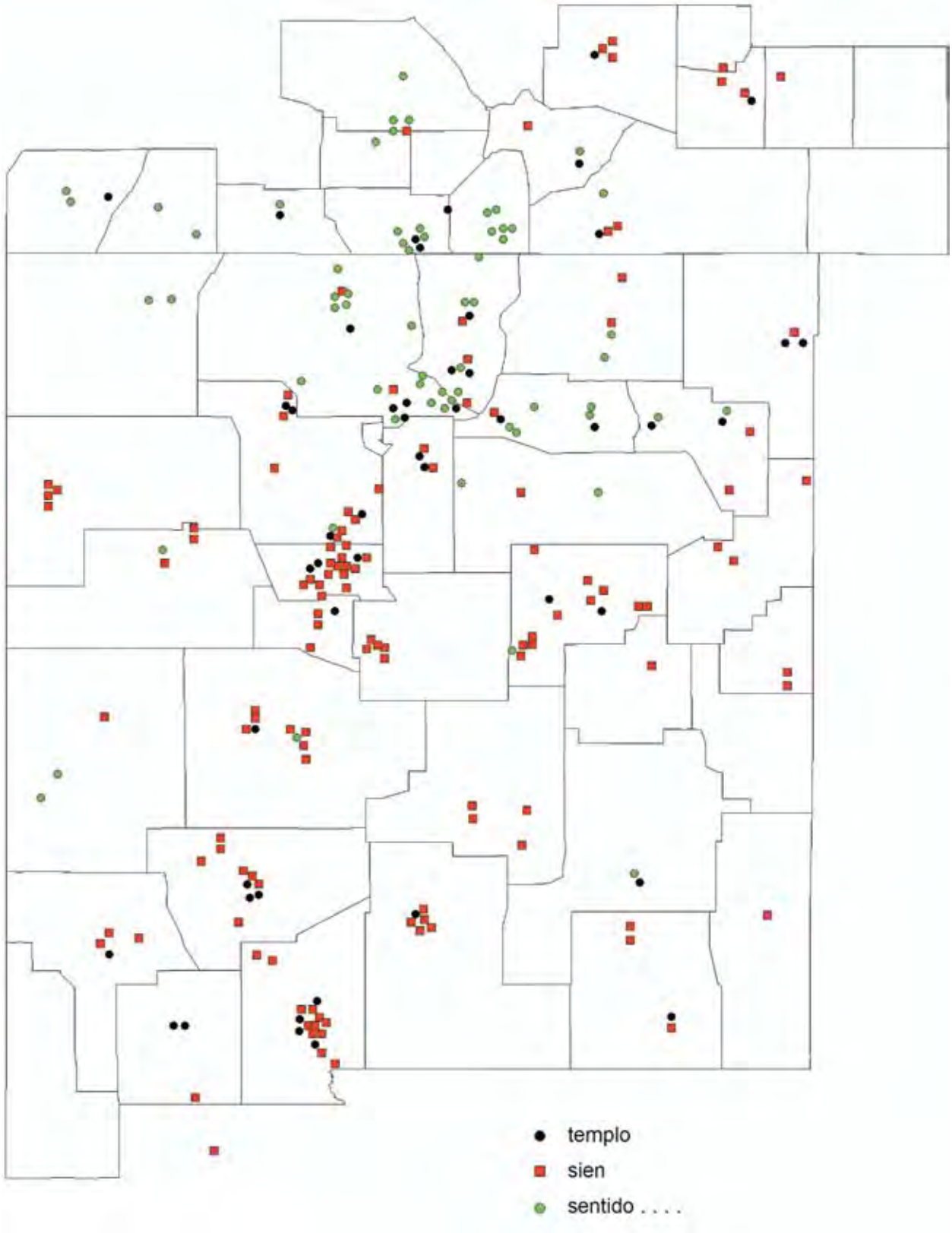
Map 11-13, which is our adaptation of the *ALM* mapa 711, reveals that this same form *sentido* has a distribution in Mexico very different from that of *hues(it)o sabroso* and *moyote*. It occurs not in the central north, but in the south (states of Guerrero, Morelos, Puebla, Veracruz, Oaxaca, and Chiapas) and along the west coast (states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Baja California, and Baja California Sur). That is, it occurs only in outlying areas far removed from the long-standing centers of Mexican power and communication. Far removed just as New Mexico has been. In Colombia, too, *sentido* appears strongly, but on the peripheries, in the north and in the far south (*ALEC* vol. 5, mapa 7). These distributions suggest that in both Mexico and the NMCOSS area, as well as in Colombia, the standard form *sien* has been gradually replacing the formerly much more widespread *sentido*, relegating it to peripheral areas. That is, *sentido* may be another case of retention, an archaism.

Returning to map 11-12 for New Mexican Spanish, note the distribution of the standard term *sien* (which is also not listed in either Cobos or L. Trujillo (1983), again, presumably because it is considered standard). It is particularly characteristic of the Border Spanish areas but has penetrated deeply into the Traditional Spanish region. We may assume that *sentido* was at one time more widely used but as in Mexico, it seems to now be losing sway to the encroachment of the standard (but see the further discussion in the next chapter concerning table 12-7).

Incidentally, a fifty-five-year-old female from San Mateo, New Mexico (interview 143), found her preference *sien* to be quite funny, apparently associating it with the homophonous word *cien* 'hundred.' Why should we call this part of the head 'hundred'? In one of the earliest dialect geography studies anywhere, Gilliéron found that by regular phonological change *gat* in southwest France came to be the word for both 'cat' and 'rooster' and that this homonymic clash resulted in the development of a new word for rooster (Gilliéron and Roques 1912). The clash in using the same word for 'Temple' and 'hundred' may occasionally produce a chuckle but in no way is it retarding the spread of *sien*.



11-11. 'Ankle'



11-12. 'Temple'

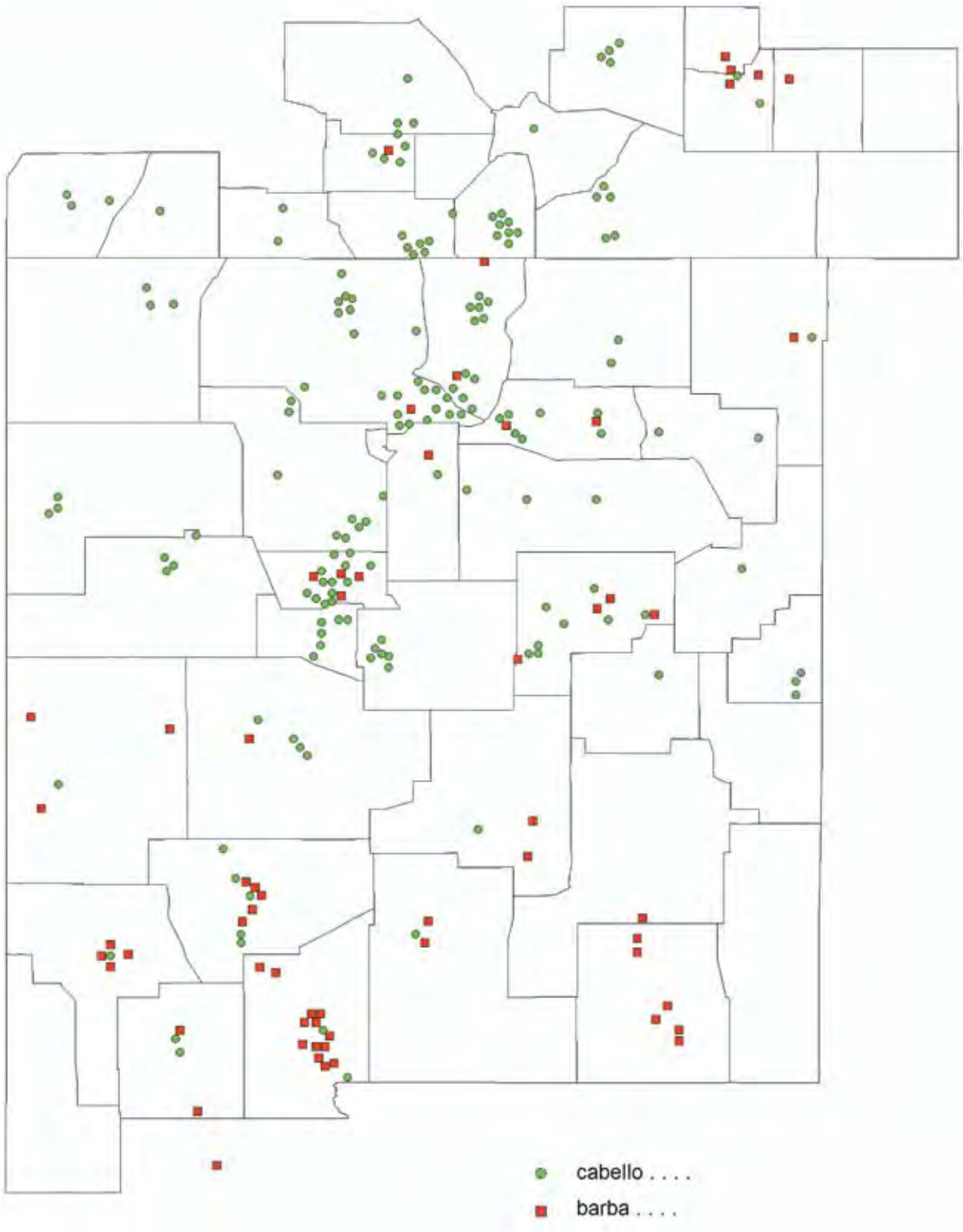
11-13. 'Temple' in Mexico

Sentido is also threatened by the appearance of the English loanword *templo* (once more listed in neither Cobos nor L. Trujillo), which occurs patchily around our survey area. Not included on map 11-12 are 4 instances of the differently integrated *temple* and 18 cases of nonintegrated ***temple***. If those numbers are added to the 49 cases of *templo*, the proportion rises to 22%. Interestingly enough, *templo* accounts for 20% of the appropriate responses for 'Temple' in Domínguez's study (1983) of Los Angeles, occurring primarily in the third generation and absent in the immigrant generation (and *sentido* did not occur at all in that study).

In sum, then, in Mexico the *sentido* label faces only 1 powerful opponent: the standard *sien*. In New Mexico and southern Colorado, it faces 2 powerful opponents. The twin forces of Anglicism and standard Spanish are rapidly undermining the vitality of *sentido*. How long can this special feature of Traditional Spanish hang on? We should also note here, without going into detail, that yet another 'Mosquito' variant, *mosco*, has NMCOSS and *ALM* distributions quite similar to *sentido* (see again maps 6-6 and 6-7).

Sometimes the NMCOSS-*ALM* comparison reveals two connective strands independent of the influence of standard Spanish. The words for 'Cornsilk,' the hair-like strands on a fresh ear of corn, provide a good example. The 3 principal variants we encountered for New Mexican Spanish are *cabello* (including *cabellito*, 164 preferences, 52%), *barba* (including *barbas*, 61 preferences, 19%), and *pelo* (including *pelito* and *pelitos*, 31 preferences, 10%). Since the *pelo* responses are randomly scattered across the region, they are not included in map 11-14. This map, like so many others we've seen, shows clearly that the *barba* forms characterize Border Spanish while the *cabello* forms characterize Traditional Spanish. (The 'Cornsilk' meaning derives from the more basic meanings of these words. *Cabello* and *pelo* are equivalent terms in New Mexican Spanish for 'Hair' of a human. The basic meaning of *barba* is 'beard.')

The same 3 forms also represent the major players in Mexico, according to the *ALM* mapa 832. Each form has a coherent geographical distribution there. Our synthesis map 11-15 represents a simplification of the Mexican facts. In reality, there is considerable overlap of variants across the



11-14. ‘Cornsilk’

11-15. 'Cornsilk' in Mexico

isoglosses (boundary lines) that we have drawn, but the variant specified for each area is the majority form within that area. The use of *pelo* for 'Cornsilk,' for example, is particularly prominent in northeastern Mexico as well as in southern Mexico. Since this term corresponds to no patterning in the NMCOSS region, we discuss it no further.

The *barba* forms, however, are dominant in the northwest of Mexico—in the state of Chihuahua and south along the western coast through the state of Sinaloa. This distribution ties in keenly with the NMCOSS association of *barba* with Border Spanish. The presence of this label in New Mexican Spanish today is almost certainly attributable to immigration from northern Mexico in the twentieth century.

The *cabello* forms, on the other hand, represent the dominant variant throughout central and southern Mexico except for the most southern state of Chiapas and most of Oaxaca. Its distributions in Mexican and New Mexican Spanish indicate that it is a long-standing retention. *Cabello* for 'Cornsilk' happens to be the widely used standard term, but it is unlikely that the distribution of the label for this homespun reference has come about in the top-down dissemination by which standard language words are usually spread, that is, via education and the media.

By way of conclusion, we may note three findings in this exploration of transborder dialect geography. First, New Mexican Spanish is demonstrably an extension of Mexican Spanish. Second, the many divergences between Mexican and New Mexican Spanish reflect a long history of less than quick-and-easy communicative interaction. And third, both New Mexico and Mexico are regions of dynamic language change. As we've demonstrated in previous reports, education (Bills and Vigil 1999b), immigration (Bills and Vigil 1999c, Vigil and Bills 2000a, 2000b), and the English language (Bills and Vigil 1999a, Vigil and Bills 1999) are the major contributors to the vibrant linguistic situation involving the Spanish language in New Mexico and southern Colorado. Part 4 explores the implications of those vibrations for the future.

PART IV

The Present and Future of New Mexican Spanish

CHAPTER 12

The Permanent Certainty

Intergenerational Change

It is often observed, but much less often attributed to Heracleitus, that the only thing that is permanent is change. Every characteristic of human culture and society changes over time, and that is particularly true for that peculiarly human characteristic, language. All languages and all varieties of a language change over time. This observation holds for living languages, of course. Latin may remain pretty much as it was 2,000 years ago, but it is a lifeless relic like the Roman Coliseum or the Appian Way.

Language change may be slow, but it is inexorable. Any English speaker who tries to read Shakespeare (not to mention Chaucer) knows that English has changed greatly over 500 years (or 1,000 years, or especially the 1,500 years since the Germanic invaders of the British Isles gave birth to English). The same is true for the Spanish speaker who tries to read the twelfth-century *Cantar de mio Cid* in our earliest copy from the fourteenth century (Marcos Marín 1997). And those are examples of the written language, which in many respects may lag centuries behind changes in the spoken language. Speakers of both languages would have much greater difficulty understanding the spoken language of those earlier eras.

Substantial changes occur in every aspect of the structure of a language over a few centuries. But change in the words we prefer can occur even more quickly, from one generation to the next. Such change in progress can be perceived in the behavior of a large group of people representing several generations, such as the NMCOSS consultants. Differences between older persons and younger persons in their lexical choices may reveal the direction of linguistic change. The NMCOSS consultants range in age from fifteen to ninety-six, representing a time span of eight decades, which can easily be construed to represent three generations. If we divide the consultants into three age groups, we can consider those groups to represent three generations. Any consistent trends across these generations, then, may be considered probable directions of language change over time, with the younger speakers representing the direction of change in the future.

To illustrate the procedure let us return to the words for 'Turkey' dealt with in chapter 4. In this case, however, the data collected by Lawrence Kiddle (1951–52) allow us to posit a fourth generation, a great-grandparent generation. The oldest NMCOSS age group—those age sixty-five

TABLE 12-1. Responses for 'Turkey' by four Generations (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96	PREDECESSORS (KIDDLE)
gallina de la tierra/sierra	0.0	0.7	5.6	27.4
ganso	25.6	19.3	30.6	17.1
guajolote	9.8	10.4	10.5	4.3
guajalote	6.1	2.2	1.6	0.0
cócono	15.9	13.3	15.3	9.1
cócano	3.7	14.8	11.3	18.3
güíjalo	0.0	0.7	4.0	4.3
*torque/terque/**turkey***	25.6	30.4	15.3	11.6
pavo/pavón	11.0	7.4	5.6	7.9
N	82	135	124	164

or more in the 1990s—would have been teenagers or young adults at the time of Kiddle's survey in the 1930s. Although Kiddle provides no specific information on the age of his consultants, we may assume that they averaged forty or fifty years of age, thus representing one generation older than our oldest group of subjects. We have divided our consultants into generational groups as follows: those age forty or younger, which we will call the Younger generation, those of ages forty-one to sixty-four, which we'll call the Middle generation, and those sixty-five years old or older, which we'll call the Older generation. Kiddle's group we'll call the Predecessors. The four generations are given across the top of table 12-1.

What has taken place over the century or so represented by these four generations? Note first the remarkable abandonment of the *gallina* forms, from a 27% approval in the Predecessors generation, to 6% in the Older generation, to only one case in the Middle generation, and finally to none at all in the Younger generation. A distinguishing characteristic of Traditional New Mexican Spanish, *gallina de la tierra*, appears to be lost. Kiddle's *gallina de la sierra* is long gone, completely rejected by the three NMCOSS generations.

Another uniquely New Mexican form, however, is holding its own quite well. Our youngest generation displays a slightly higher percentage of use of *ganso* than those in Kiddle's survey. This form was once used across our landscape but has now retreated to the northeast quadrant of the state, as was shown in map 4-2. What might the future hold for the fate of *ganso*? It's hard to predict. On one hand, those who favor it have formed a more dense community, but on the other hand, its range of users has diminished greatly. In addition, it is in competition with the standard meaning of the same form throughout New Mexico. The forces of change seem aligned against this Traditional Spanish form, too.

The two variants, *guajolote* and *guajalote*, of the first Nahuatl loanword given in table 12-1, are maintaining good support. Each is used more commonly in the Younger generation than in Kiddle's time. However, the two seem to be moving in opposite directions. Whither? While the use of *guajolote* is stable, the use of *guajalote* is increasing. Nevertheless, *guajolote*'s influence has spread beyond the south since Kiddle's time and we can expect further expansion as Mexican immigration increases.

The *cócono/cócano* pair also show opposing trends, but in this case it is the /o/ form that shows a steady strength across the generations, culminating in a substantial 16% among the youngest speakers. On the other hand, the use of *cócano*, although previously strong across three generations, collapses in the Younger generation to just 4%. Though *cócono* and *cócano* were and still are employed across the state, they rarely occur east of the Río Grande in the northern part of the state, that is, in *ganso* territory. But like *guajolote*, *cócono* is nurtured by immigration from Mexico, particularly from the state of Chihuahua, and we expect it will be maintained and likely strengthened for years to come.

The final Nahuatl borrowing, *güíjolo*/*güíjalo* appears to have been brought into New Mexico by immigrants from the west coast of Mexico. That current, however, seems never to have been very strong, and the foothold of this form in the state has been too weak to be sustained. The generational trajectory is consistently downward, starting from only 4.3% and falling to zero. It is no longer an indicator of the Border Spanish dialect and, like *gallina de la tierra*, is definitely in the throes of agony.

We come now to the "800-pound gorilla" in the turkey wars, the Anglicism. While *torque* (together with the rare *terque* and ***turkey***) was already well established as a minority variant in the 1930s, it almost tripled in use over the next two generations. In the youngest two generations, only *ganso* and *cócono*/*cocano* are competitive in the numbers game. Especially remarkable is the fact that *torque* has become dominant largely in the Traditional Spanish area, hardly penetrating the strongholds of Mexican immigration in the south (see map 4-3). We can expect the Anglicism and the two strongest Nahuatlisms to continue to gain ground and be the major competitors in the future. It will be interesting to see how this exercise in linguistic democracy plays out.

Yet we must be aware that another dark-horse competitor exists, the standard form *pavo*. *Pavo* actually made a pretty decent showing in Kiddle's survey (8%), presumably attributable in part to that generation's having been raised in pre-statehood New Mexico with a predominantly Spanish system of schooling and exposure to the written language. Nevertheless, across the three generations of the NMCOSS consultants, there is a consistent increase in *pavo* use, reaching 11% among the Younger age group. We can fully expect that trend to continue with an increase in the number of Hispanics receiving higher levels of education and formally studying Spanish.

Nevertheless, standardization is not the most potent force in language change. There are many nonstandard forms that—like *cócono*, *ganso*, and *torque*—seem to be expanding significantly. For example, only 12% of the Older generation offered the slang term *chota* as their first choice to label a 'Policeman,' but 35% of the youngest age group did so. We must keep in mind, however, that differences across generations do not always indicate actual language change in progress. This finding for use of *chota*, for instance, may very well indicate that individuals change their language behavior over time. That is, these Younger persons may simply be more prone to use slang now but may show a preference for the less slangy *polecía* or *policía* as they get older, at least in a more formal task such as identifying pictures in a tape-recorded interview. In fact, Older speakers seemed equally likely to use the slang term in conversational speech, as illustrated in the following comments by two quite mature women, ages eighty-five and ninety-six, respectively:

(12-1) *Vinieron los chotas y sale su mujer de él y les dijo que no lo aventó.* 'The cops came and his wife came out and told them that she had not run him off.' (interview 313)

(12-2) *Ya se pierden los hombres y no los jallan ni vivos ni muertos porque los chotas no hacen nada.* 'Men get lost and you don't find them either dead or alive because the cops don't do anything.' (interview 219)

Thus, it is not always certain that cross-generation differences reflect language change in progress.

Clear indications of change toward nonstandard features are apparent in grammatical forms of the verb *haber* 'have.' The use of the first person plural present tense *hamos* instead of standard *hemos*—in *no lo hamos visto* 'we haven't seen him'—is preferred by only a quarter (25%) of the Older group but 40% of the Younger group. And the first person singular form *ha* (versus standard *he*) that is identical to the third person singular form—*no lo ha visto* 'I haven't seen him' or 'she hasn't seen him'—rises from just 32% of the oldest generation to 63% of the youngest generation. It is likely that "regularization" or "simplification" plays a role in the development of these nonstandard forms since the other present tense forms all have the vowel *a*: *has* 'you have,' *ha* 'she has,' and *han* 'they have.' In the case of *ha* for 'I have,' however, the change may also reflect the strong universal tendency toward expansion of third person forms found in research on grammaticalization theory (e.g., Bybee and Brewer 1980).

As another example of the expansion of nonstandard forms, the noun *clima* 'Weather' is often regularized to feminine gender (e.g. *la clima* versus standard *el clima*) to accord with the fact that the vast majority of Spanish nouns that end in *a* are feminine. Across the generations, the nonstandard variant increases from 45% of the Older age group to 65% of Younger age group.

Decline of Traditional Spanish

The preceding generational analysis of the words for 'Turkey' currently in use in New Mexican Spanish suggests a central trend in the ongoing changes: the features in decline across the generations are frequently those that

TABLE 12-2. Decline of Traditional Spanish forms across Generations (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
comal 'Skillet'	0.0	1.5	11.0
ánsara 'Goose'	2.4	9.6	22.6
pariagüe, *paragüe* 'Umbrella'	6.3	50.0	57.4
camalta 'Bed'	6.5	10.1	20.4
horno 'Skillet'	7.6	15.6	16.1
cuerpo 'Blouse'	15.4	23.1	34.5
chupilote 'Buzzard'	15.9	21.6	36.6
mora 'Strawberry'	16.0	32.8	33.6
almendras 'Nuts' (in general)	16.0	31.9	38.5
ratón volador 'Bat'	18.1	51.9	68.5
tresquilar 'Shear'	19.0	37.3	55.3
paisano 'Roadrunner'	19.3	45.5	58.9
chile/chilito de perro 'Sty'	26.3	50.4	59.8
bolita 'Marble'	41.3	65.9	63.0
cuerpoespín/corpoespín 'Porcupine'	27.8	53.7	63.6
metate 'Grinding stone'	43.2	53.5	77.2
petaquilla 'Trunk'	45.0	82.1	79.5
tútano 'Marrow'	45.2	81.1	83.4
pescuezo 'Neck'	46.8	59.4	67.8
chuparrosa 'Hummingbird'	47.6	66.7	72.8

are particularly characteristic of Traditional Spanish as indicated by their distributions on maps. That is, there is a tendency to lose those features of the Traditional Spanish dialect that embody its uniqueness.

Ganso for 'Turkey,' of course, is an exception to the trend. And there are other exceptions. Thus, while the preferred term for a woman's 'Dress' (map 5-3) is the distinctive *túnico* for half (50%) of the Older generation, it remains preferred by almost half (46%) of the Younger generation. The use of *arrear* for 'Drive (an automobile)' (map 8-9) actually shows an increase, from a third (33%) of the Older group to nearly half (44%) of the Younger group. The preference for the French loanword *puela* to label a 'Skillet' (map 9-4) increases from 40% among the oldest group to 51% among the youngest group. The use of *maleta* for 'Purse,' in the face of its standard meaning 'Suitcase,' increases from 24% of the Older generation to 30% of the Younger generation (see map 16-15). Regarding the term for 'Smoke' (map 5-11), the archaic pronunciation of the *h* in *humo* as [xúmo]—which we represent in dialect orthography as *jumo*—shows an increase from 23% of the Older age group to 38% of the Younger age group.

Nevertheless, in most cases, it is the typically Traditional Spanish form that is found to be in decline. Table 12-2 provides a sampling of other variables that illustrate the pervasiveness of the intergenerational loss of forms unique to or characteristic of Traditional New Mexican Spanish. We see, for example, that *comal* for 'Skillet,' which was only a minority variant at 11% in the Older generation, disappears entirely by the third generation. At the opposite extreme, *tútano* for 'Marrow' was favored by 83% of the oldest group but falls to just a 45% preference in the youngest group.

These distinctive features are being replaced under the pressure of two forces: English on one side, and Mexican Spanish and Standard Spanish on the other. In the following sections we provide more detailed exemplification of these influences on generational change in the maintenance of New Mexican Spanish and of the Traditional Spanish dialect in particular.

TABLE 12-3. Responses for 'Dime' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
diez centavos, un diez	7.7	18.0	55.7
daime	84.6	81.2	42.6
Other response	7.7	0.8	1.7
N	78	133	115

TABLE 12-4. Responses for 'Bat' by Generation (percentages)

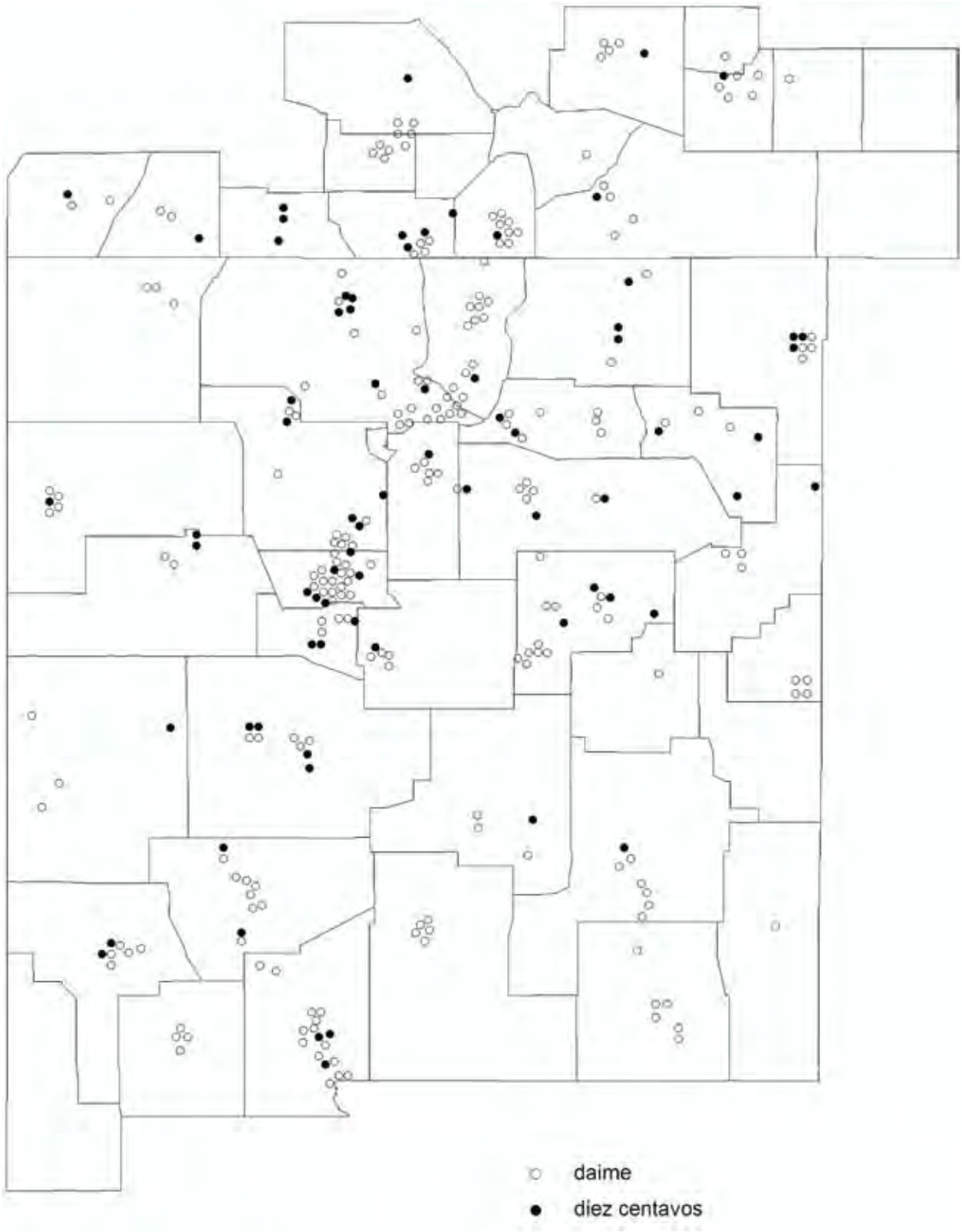
	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
ratón volador	18.1	51.9	68.8
murciélago, murciégalo, and variants	27.7	17.0	22.4
bat	21.7	17.8	0.8
bate	7.2	2.2	0.8
Other response	3.6	3.0	1.6
No response	21.7	8.1	5.6
N	83	135	125

English Influence

Map 12-1 shows the geographical distribution of one of the more region-wide borrowings from English, the use of *daime* for the ten-cent U.S. coin 'Dime.' A full 68% of the 326 respondents (223 persons) made this Anglicism their first choice, and it predominates in every corner of the NMCOSS territory. Armistead (1992, 265) also reports the use of this form in the Isleño Spanish of Louisiana, and it is prominent in other varieties of U.S. Spanish. Another 9 responses based on English (***dime***, *dima*, *dime*) are not displayed on the map. A significant minority of speakers offered a response that included the Spanish word for 'ten.' This was usually *diez centavos* (73 preferences, 22%), which is also represented on map 12-1, but there were also a couple of minor variants such as *un diez*. As you can appreciate from the map, neither *daime* nor *diez centavos* displays any regional patterning.

An analysis of the occurrence of this form by generation illustrates how rapidly and thoroughly such an Anglicism can replace a native designation. Table 12-3 shows the first responses in labeling this coin provided by the survey consultants. While the majority of the oldest generation responded with a fully acceptable Spanish form using *diez*, an overwhelming 85% of the Younger generation offered the form *daime* (and 6 of the 7 other responses by this young group were some variant of the English word).

Daime is replacing expressions that are of general currency in Spanish, acceptable anywhere. The data for the variable 'Bat' presented in table 12-4, however, tell a different story. In this case, the Anglicism realized as unassimilated ***bat*** and integrated *bate* is replacing not a general Spanish form, but a highly marked Traditional Spanish form, *ratón volador*. As we noted in chapter 8 in connection with map 8-11, *ratón volador* is a compound lexical item having the literal meaning 'flying mouse.' The equivalent descriptive phrase is also the word for 'bat' in German (*die Fledermaus*, like the opera by Johann Strauss) and other languages. Moreover, the standard Spanish *murciélago* itself derives from the compound, descriptive phrase meaning 'blind mouse.' Nevertheless, no amount of this kind of justification is going to make the 'flying mouse' term of Traditional Spanish be considered anything other than foolishly quaint if not corrupt to speakers of Spanish from other countries. Table 12-4 demonstrates that *ratón volador* is rapidly being lost across time—in part as a consequence of the external disdain. Its status falls from nearly 70% preference in the Older generation to less than 20% in the Younger generation.



12-1. ‘Dime’

Although the Mexican (and standard) Spanish lexical item *murciélago* contributes to some of this displacement, it is the influence of English that most accounts for the loss of the Traditional Spanish word. Only 2 persons in the Older generation offered an Anglicism, but the *bate* or ***bat*** forms were favored by 20% of the Middle generation and by 29% of the Younger. It is also significant for the pattern of loss that nearly a fourth (22%) of the youngest group was unable or unwilling to provide any label whatsoever for this common animal; the picture was, of course, readily recognized by all consultants and we can feel certain that at least 9 out of 10 (or more likely, 99 out of 100) would have identified the creature in an interview focused on English vocabulary.

More intricate and interesting is the spatial and generational distribution of the distinct forms of the variable 'Shorts' (depicted in the stimulus picture specifically as the boxer type of men's underwear) The principal variants were 2 Spanish terms—*calzoncillos* (45 responses, 14%) and *calzones* (31 responses, 9%)—and some form of the English label, which we discuss later. Two-thirds of the NMCOSS respondents (219 of 327) used an Anglicism.

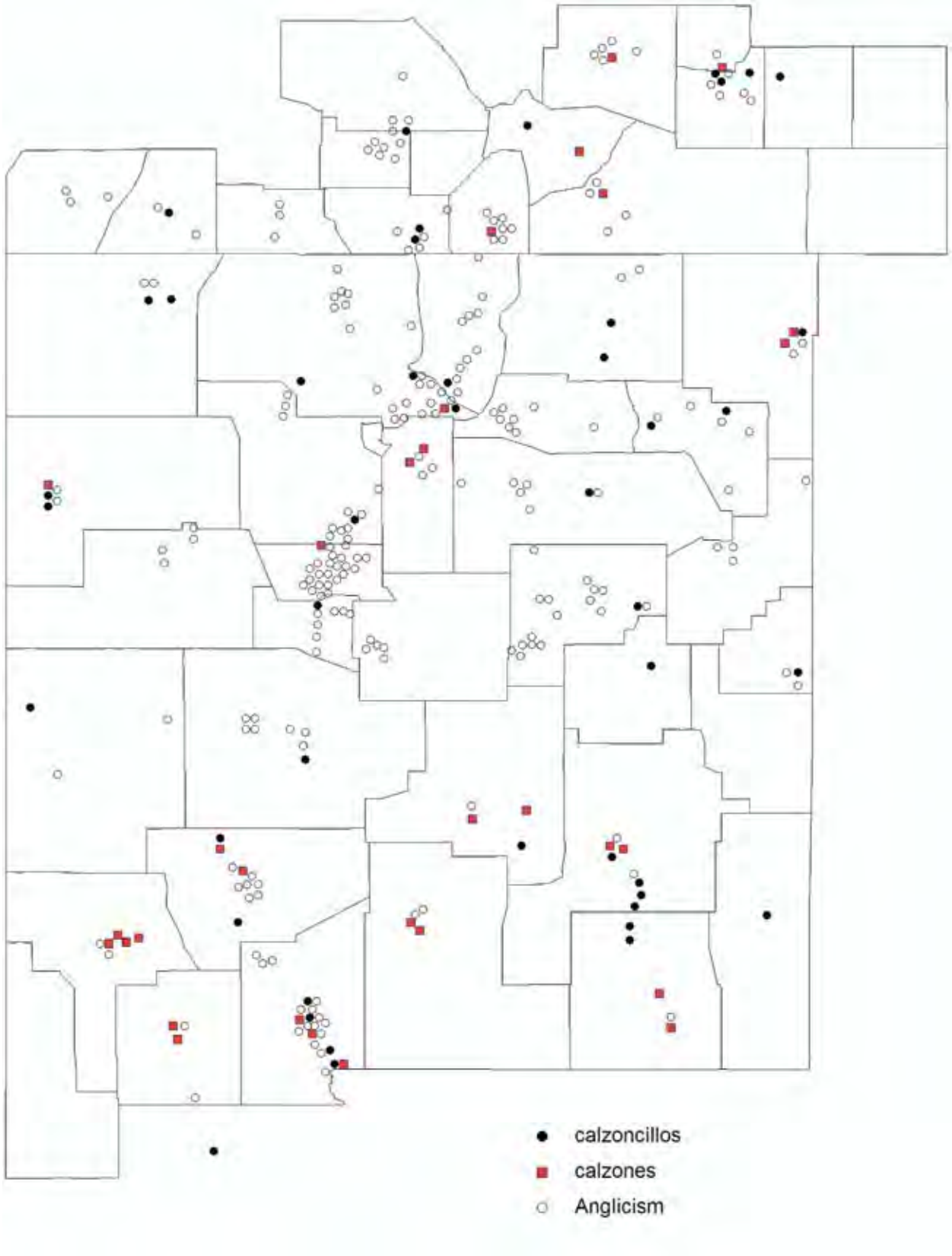
These 3 major variants for 'Shorts' are plotted on map 12-2. Can we perceive any geographical pattern here? Not much. The Anglicism blankets the region and dominates in almost every community. The standard Spanish form *calzoncillos*, which overwhelmingly dominates in Mexico according to *ALM* mapa 918, occurs here and there without any particular geographical concentration. Only the more "Mexican" variant *calzones*, which is typical of central Mexico and extends well up into the state of Chihuahua, displays geographical patterning. In the NMCOSS, it shows up almost exclusively in the Border Spanish areas. However, Alvar (2000, 201) shows that the cases of *calzones* he found in New Mexico—2 cases according to Pedrero's analysis (2002, 52–53)—occur in the northern part of the state, and Lope Blanch (1990a, 96) reports 1 case for Mora.

In the discussion of 'Socks' in chapter 5 (map 5-5), we noted that the term *calzones* arose as the upper half of a man's tights and over time came to refer sometimes to the interior garment and sometimes to the exterior garment. While *calzones* may often carry the underwear meaning 'Shorts' in Border Spanish, in Traditional Spanish it usually refers to the outer clothing 'Pants' ('trousers' perhaps to some). It is possible that this ambiguity resulting from dialect contact has favored adoption of a neutral form, the Anglicism.

The Anglicism was in fact realized in 3 different ways representing 3 degrees of phonological integration: ***shorts*** (79 responses, 24% of the total), *shortes* (108 responses, 33%), and *chortes* (32 responses, 10%). The use of ***shorts*** amounts to a spontaneous borrowing of the English word without any integration into Spanish. The partially integrated *shortes* avoids the un-Spanish final consonant cluster, but retains the palatal fricative *sh* of English. And *chortes* represents full integration of the Anglicism into Spanish.

Now, a kink in this integration analysis is the variable pronunciation of *ch* in New Mexican Spanish. Teasing out the relative degree of integration of *shortes* versus *chortes* is not a simple task. *Chortes* would clearly be the most integrated form in those Spanish dialects where *ch* is never realized phonetically as the fricative [š]. But in New Mexican Spanish, as in many other varieties of Spanish in Spain and in the Americas, it is common to hear the *ch* pronounced sometimes as affricate [č] and sometimes as fricative [š] in native words such as *chica* and *muchacho*. It may well be that some NMCOSS speakers who uttered *shortes* actually had fully integrated *chortes* as the representation in their minds. The goal of linguistics is to understand not just people's linguistic behavior but also their linguistic knowledge—not just what they do but also what they know. The limitation here, and indeed throughout this book, is that our raw data lie solely on the behavioral side. We have to accept *shortes* as the middle stage of integration but recognize that some undeterminable cases must represent the third stage.

A generational analysis gives us sharper insight into the process of the phonological adaptation of this Anglicism, the process of making an English word into a "real" Spanish word. Table 12-5 shows the responses by the three generational groups for 'Shorts.' The 3 Anglicism variants together represent the preferred label across the board, from 56% in the oldest generation to 73% and 72% in the two younger generations. (Each generation also offered 2 or 3 other English responses, e.g., ***boxers***, ***boxer shorts***, ***BVDs***; these are included under Other response in table 12-5.) However, the English word ***shorts***, without any integration whatsoever to the sound system of Spanish, declines as the preferred variant from 1 out of 3 in the Older group to just 1 out of 4 in the Middle group and to fewer than 1 out of 10 in the Younger group. On the other hand, the preference for the more phonologically Spanish *shortes* and *chortes* rises from less than a quarter (23%) of the Older generation to nearly two-thirds (63%) of the youngest age group. The partially assimilated *shortes* has become well entrenched while the fully integrated *chortes* has only begun to play a significant role. It is nonetheless clear, however, that the Anglicism is an addition to the New Mexican Spanish



12-2. 'Shorts'

TABLE 12-5. Responses for 'Shorts' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
calzón, calzones	10.1	13.4	16.7
calzoncillos	10.1	5.2	14.9
shorts	8.9	25.4	33.3
shortes	49.4	39.6	14.0
chortes	13.9	8.2	8.8
Other response	7.6	8.2	10.5
No response	0.0	0.0	1.8
N	79	134	114

TABLE 12-6. Responses for 'Panties' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
calzones, calzón, calzoncitos, calzonillos	19.2	23.9	21.6
pantaletas	5.1	4.5	15.3
calzoncillos	2.6	3.0	4.5
panties	17.9	23.9	25.2
pantes, pantis, pentis, pentes	41.0	23.1	18.0
***bloomers**, blumes, blumas*	1.3	10.4	4.5
Other response	9.0	11.2	7.2
No response	3.8	0.0	3.6
N	78	134	111

lexicon that is becoming more and more integrated with each generation.

The female version of the "unmentionables" in clothing yields similar findings though in a still murkier set of data. Both 'Shorts' and 'Panties' resulted in almost 30 different variants each. But while for 'Shorts' there are only 7 variants offered by 5 or more respondents, there are 12 such common variants for 'Panties.'

Here again, English influence dominates among those options. Of the 323 responses for 'Panties,' nearly half (158 preferences, 49%) are some form of the English word *panties*, and another 6% (20 preferences) are variants of *bloomers*. Of the preferences for a native Spanish word, the 3 most common responses are *calzones* in several forms (70 responses, 22%), *pantaletas* (27 responses, 8%), and *calzoncillos* (11 responses, 3%). Several other native Spanish forms were offered, totaling 27 cases, but the majority of these are general terms such as *ropa de abajo* 'underwear' and *pantalones* 'pants' (and are included under Other response in table 12-6).

The generational analysis presented in table 12-6 shows that the 3 native Spanish responses, first three rows of the table, fail to achieve majority status in any age group even when combined. Their proportion of the responses barely rises above 40% among the Older group and declines across the succeeding generations to just 27%. Only the *calzones* forms (and 58 of the 70 cases are indeed the simple plural *calzones*) manage to maintain a significant hold across the three generations.

With regard to the Anglicisms, the single most common variant, with 74 preferences (23% of the responses), is the unassimilated ***panties***, pronounced with the English vowel /æ/ in the first syllable. Another 4 variants of the Anglicism, in order of frequency, are *pantes* (58 cases), *pantis* (15), *pentis* (8), and *pentes* (2). Notice in table 12-6 that there is a modest decline in the frequency

of the unadapted ***panties*** across the generations, coinciding with a substantial increase in the integrated variants.

And once again, we may identify stages in the integration process by which the foreign word becomes a "normal" Spanish word with no alien traces. The first step is to replace the English /æ/ vowel in the first syllable with a Spanish vowel, either /a/ or /e/, with /a/ being by far the most common resolution, perhaps because of semantic associations with native Spanish words such as *pantalones* and *pantaletas*. This stage retains the alien /i/ in the unstressed final syllable, which is a possible but nonetheless rare occurrence in Spanish, manifest in only a handful of words such as *casi*. In this partially assimilated form there is a very slight intergenerational decrease in frequency of occurrence. The final step is to change that second syllable vowel to a more normal Spanish /e/, yielding *pantes* (or rarely, *pentes*). To add a detail not made explicit in table 12-6, the now fully Spanish *pantes* was offered by only 9% of the Older generation, but 16% of the Middle generation, and becomes, at 35%, the clearly preferred form among the Younger generation.

The same intergenerational integration is revealed in yet another English borrowing for 'Panties.' The now archaic English form ***bloomers*** was presumably borrowed by a still earlier generation and has become little favored even by our oldest group. Nevertheless, we witness the intriguing remnants of the assimilated *blumes* (*blumas* in 1 instance) in the second and third generations even as it disappears. Some readers may be surprised to learn that the *Atlas lingüístico de México* documents some 20 cases of *bloomers*, adapted in several different ways, sprinkled across the northern half of Mexico.

We see in map 12-3 that the *calzones* forms for 'Panties' are not just characteristic but dominant in the Border Spanish areas—and in this case Alvar's findings agree (2000, 207). The varied forms borrowed from English are a feature of Traditional Spanish, hardly making an appearance in the Border Spanish areas. Generational differences, then, must be interpreted through a geographical filter. The 4 forms representing stages of integration (*pantes*, *pantis*, *pentis*, *pentes*) are combined for display on map 12-3. These integrated forms appear primarily in the Traditional Spanish region, and especially in its rural heartland north of Albuquerque, which suggests that the loanword appeared first in this area. On the other hand, the Border Spanish heartland—the *calzones* area—has been breached by only a handful of cases of the Anglicism. These cases represent primarily the first stage of borrowing, ***panties***, indicating a quite recent introduction. Looking back at map 12-2 for 'Shorts,' we see that it is also only the first stage borrowing ***shorts*** that has made much encroachment into the far south.

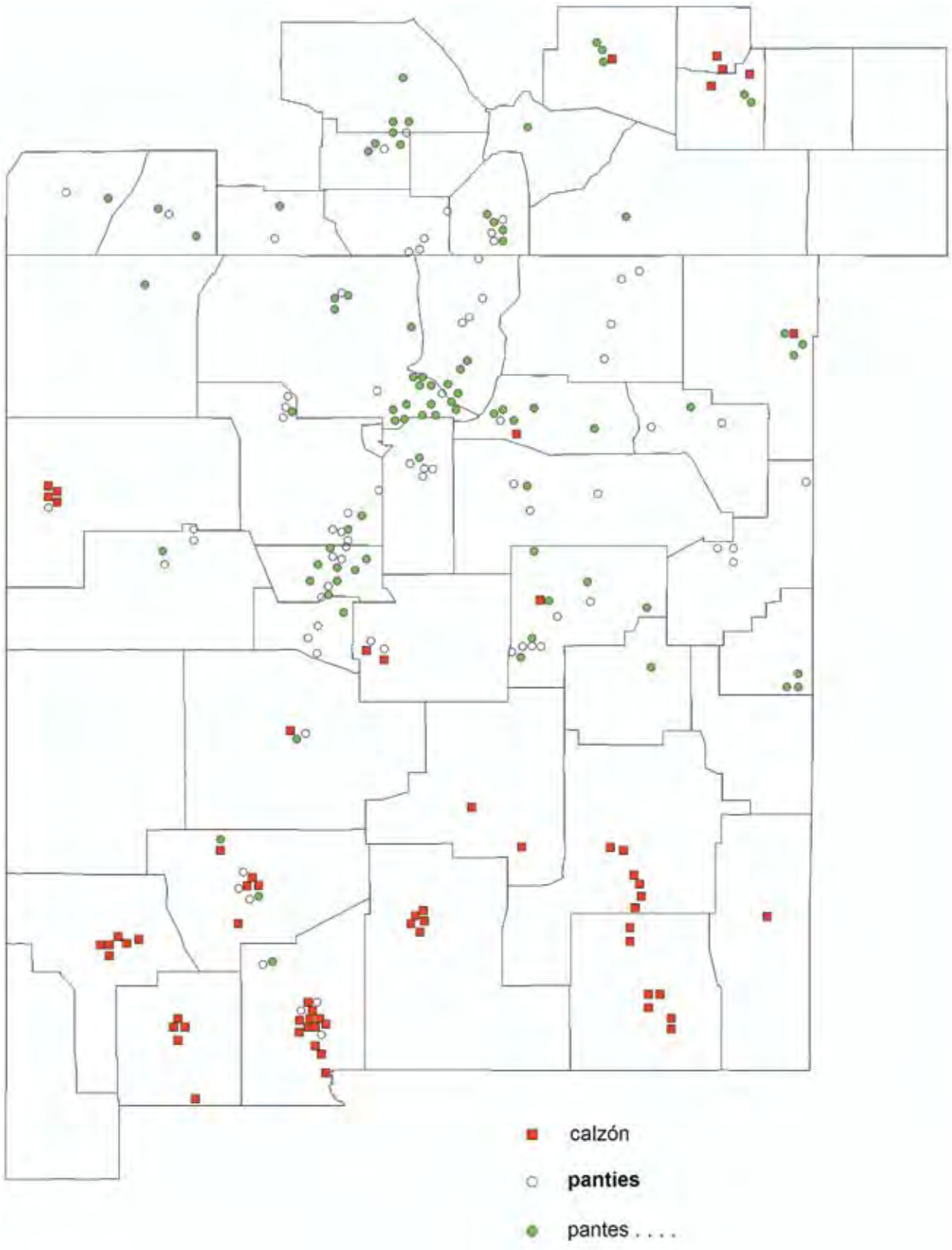
A further comparison with the responses for 'Shorts' is warranted. First, *pantaletas*, which is the standard American Spanish term for 'Panties' and the clearly preferred label in Mexico (mapa 919), is reserved in the NMCOSS area for the female undergarment; only 1 person in our survey offered *pantaletas* for 'Shorts' (and nobody in the *ALM* survey did so). Second, in the NMCOSS results, *calzoncillos* is favored for the man's underwear by a margin of 4 to 1 (45 *calzoncillos* for 'Shorts' versus 11 for 'Panties'). Finally, *calzones* is favored for woman's underwear by better than a margin of 2 to 1 (71 *calzones* for 'Panties' versus 32 for 'Shorts'); moreover, 7 of the 32 for 'Shorts' were specified as *calzones de hombre*. In Mexico, too, *calzones* responses were received for both 'Shorts' and 'Panties,' but far more so for the latter. In sum, the Anglicisms are taking over as labels for both female and male "underpants" (as the garments are often called in English). To the extent that native Spanish labels are used, they tend to follow the practice of modern Mexican Spanish.

The terms for 'Temple (of the head)' present an interesting counterpoint in that the form being most strongly displaced happens to be the standard variant. Table 12-7 lists the 3 major variants discussed in the preceding chapter in connection with map 11-12: the *sentido*/*sintido* label so characteristic of northern Traditional Spanish, the *sien* of standard Spanish, and the integrated Anglicism *templo*. In addition, we include here a minor variant representing another English borrowing, the unassimilated ***temple***.

Table 12-7 shows that the Traditional Spanish form remains fairly stable across the generations, losing a little ground in the third. But the *sien* variant crashes from 57% among the Older group to just 10% among the Younger group in spite of its status as both standard and Mexican and being the numerically dominant form overall in New Mexican Spanish (125 tokens versus just 68 for *sentido*/*sintido* and 49 for *templo*).

In any case, it is the 2 Anglicisms, and particularly the 1 that is integrated, that show an expansion in use over time to make up for some of the loss of the native Spanish terms. Similarly, in his Los Angeles study of mostly young Hispanics representing three generations in the United States, Domínguez (1983) found *templo* to displace *sien* as the favored form in the third generation.

However, another phenomenon that increases sharply across the generations is the inability or unwillingness to provide any label at all. Fully one-third of our Younger generation (and apparently 40% of Domínguez's third



12-3. ‘Panties’

TABLE 12-7. Responses for 'Temple' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
sentido, sintido	15.2	23.1	22.0
sien	10.1	38.5	56.8
templo	27.8	15.4	5.9
temple	10.1	5.4	2.5
Other response	3.8	8.5	8.5
No response	32.9	9.2	4.2
N	79	130	118

TABLE 12-8. Responses for 'Kite' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
papalote	38.0	50.0	78.6
kite	34.2	40.2	16.2
caite	5.1	6.1	0.9
Other response	8.9	1.5	1.7
No response	13.9	2.3	2.6
N	79	132	117

generation) provided no response. What does the future promise? No doubt an English takeover in one form (the Anglicism) or another (monolingualism in English).

It often seems that Anglicisms are most apt to creep in across the generations where there exists linguistic "dissension" within New Mexican Spanish, that is, where 2 or more other variants are already in competition. But English influence can affect even the most unified and homogeneous linguistic territory. Such is the case with the 'Kite' variable that we considered in chapter 7 (see map 7-7). Table 12-8 demonstrates that the early Nahuatlism *papalote* was the label of choice for 4 out of 5 of the Older age group. The Anglicism ***kite*** had hardly intruded on the recreational harmony of that generation. Two generations later, however, the frequency of the Nahuatlism was cut in half and the Anglicism ***kite*** along with its nascent integrated form *caite* was running neck and neck with *papalote*.

The strength of the No response and Other response for the Younger generation in table 12-8 signals another factor that enters into the equation—the loss of skills in Spanish, a topic to be treated in detail in the next chapter. Nearly a fourth of the Younger group (23%) could offer no appropriate response. The Other responses included several apparent attempts at *papalote* (*papolote*, *popote*, *pelota*—and Lope Blanch 1990a, 88, received a response of *tapalote* in Mora); such distortions also reveal an attrition of skill in the heritage language. The reluctance to offer any response at all may well have been avoidance of the so obviously un-Spanish ***kite***. In fact, the integrated borrowing *caite* is so marginally accessible that half of its occurrences came about only in accepting a prompt from the interviewer.

Map 7-7 for 'Kite' showed that the Anglicism was not affecting *papalote* across the entire geographical landscape. Like most of the preceding cases, its impact occurs principally in the Traditional Spanish region. The Nahuatlism holds on firmly in the Border Spanish strongholds. Moreover, it is the dominant form in Mexico. As we will examine more closely in the following section, linguistic features characteristic of Mexican Spanish are not prone to lose ground in New Mexican Spanish.

Mexican and Standard Spanish Influence

With regard to the influence of other Spanish dialects, perhaps the most prominent aspect of intergenerational

TABLE 12-9. Responses for 'I saw' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
vide	36.8	49.2	54.6
vi	61.8	50.8	41.7
Other response	1.3	0.0	3.7
N	76	132	108

TABLE 12-10. Responses for 'Skirt' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
naguas, nagua, enagua, enaguas	30.8	64.4	72.2
falda	50.0	30.3	26.1
Other response	7.7	5.3	1.7
No response	11.5	0.0	0.0
N	78	132	115

change in New Mexican Spanish is "standardization" according to the Mexican Spanish norm. A simple illustration of this trend is given in table 12-9. Very commonly in New Mexican Spanish, the first person singular form of the preterit tense for the verb *ver* 'to see' is *vide* 'I saw' (previously discussed in conjunction with map 5-8). Although this archaic form occurs widely in the Spanish-speaking world, it is viewed as rustic and uneducated wherever it occurs. An educated Spanish speaker is likely to view a sentence such as *Lo vide* in the same way as the educated English speaker views the translation 'I seen it.' There is a tendency, then, for speakers having contact with the broader community of Spanish to adopt the standard *vi*.

While half of the NMCOSS subjects overall offered the standard *vi*, table 12-9 shows us that the frequency of its occurrence gradually increases across the generations, from 42% in the Older group to 62% in the Younger group. The colloquial, nonstandard form appears to be losing ground as the Hispanic community becomes more highly educated and gains greater exposure to formal Spanish, a topic we will probe in chapter 14.

Individuals usually find it easier to adopt different vocabulary than to change grammatical forms. A vocabulary item that is rapidly undergoing standardization in New Mexican Spanish is the word for 'Skirt.' Map 6-9 showed that the borrowing from Taino, *naguas* (less commonly *nagua* and rarely *enaguas* or *enagua* in the NMCOSS), is strongly established in Traditional Spanish, while the standard Spanish *falda* is more typical of Border Spanish but with occurrences of *falda* scattered throughout the region.

Table 12-10, however, shows that the long established Tainism is rapidly being abandoned over time. Nearly three-fourths of the Older generation prefer *naguas* or one of its alternative forms. By the third generation, not even a third do so. We see a concomitant increase over time in the preference for the standard variant. The *falda* increase does not quite offset the *naguas* loss, however, due principally to the fact that 9 members of the Younger generation declined to label this piece of clothing. Perhaps it's hard to recall a new term after abandonment of a traditional term and they wished to avoid use of such an obviously English term as ***skirt***.

A quite different case is the word for 'Airplane.' The airplane is a recent phenomenon that developed only at the beginning of the twentieth century, well after the NMCOSS region had become part of the United States and ties to the rest of the Spanish-speaking world had been loosened considerably more. To label this phenomenon in mainstream Spanish, 2 terms were borrowed from French, *aeroplano* and *avión*. The latter has become the most widely used standard form in world Spanish. With regard to New Mexican Spanish, not quite half of the NMCOSS responses are these 2 forms: 131 cases of *avión* (39%) and 34 cases of *aeroplano* (10%)

TABLE 12-11. Responses for 'Airplane' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
aroplano	25.0	29.4	21.8
oroplano	6.3	10.3	21.0
eroplano	5.0	5.1	14.3
aeroplano	5.0	9.6	14.3
avión	53.8	40.4	27.7
Other response	3.8	5.1	0.8
No response	1.3	0.0	0.0
N	80	136	119

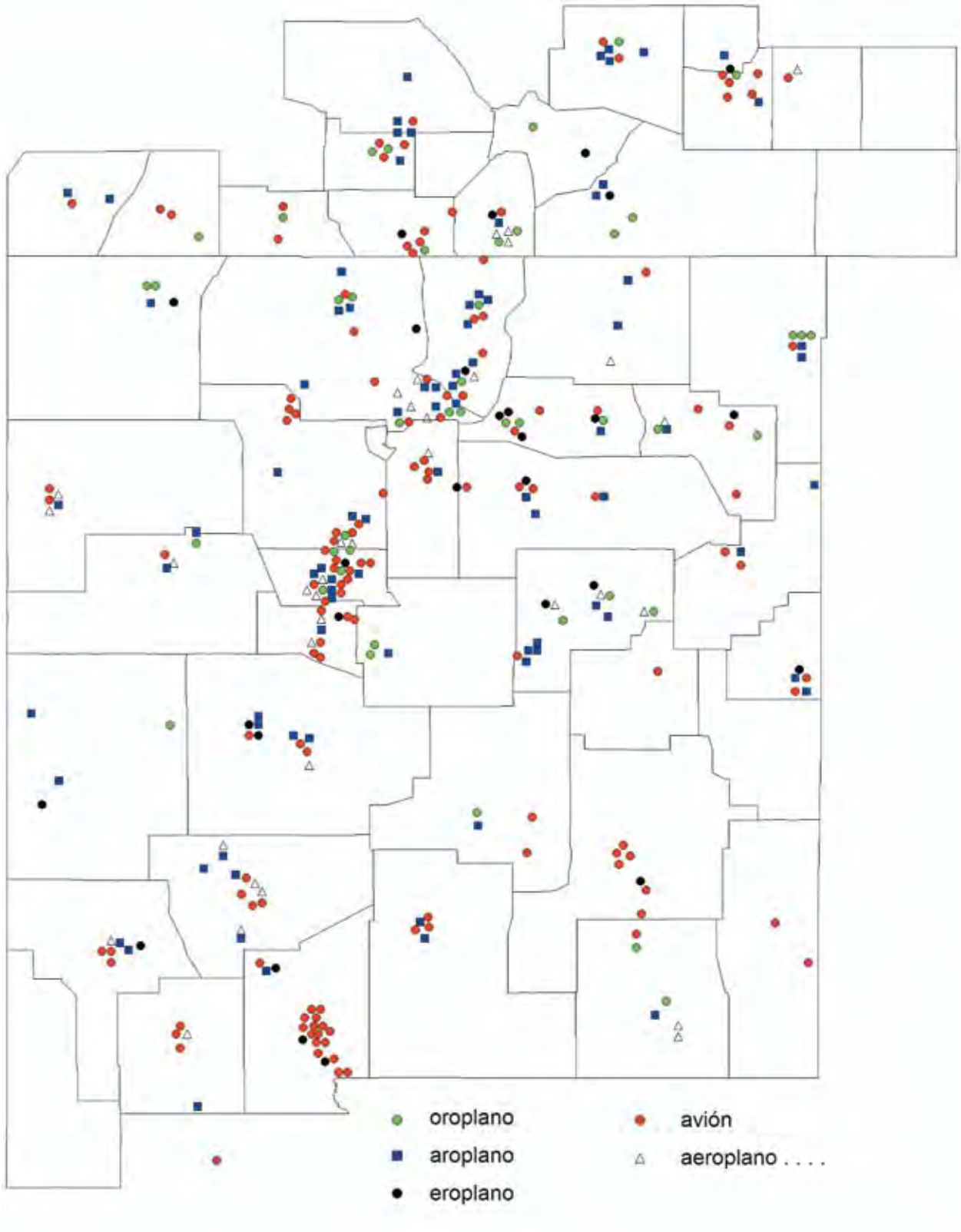
In the early days of aviation, speakers of New Mexican Spanish probably had limited exposure to those terms. But they would have had ready access to the English labels, the then common trisyllabic *aeroplane* as well as the now-standard disyllabic *airplane*. Still, they must also have had significant indirect exposure to the cultivated Spanish form *aeroplano*, since a typical resolution is a four-syllable word varying only in the initial vowel. Besides *aeroplano* itself (where the first syllable is a diphthong), we have found 10 other variants on the theme, the most firmly established of which are *aroplano* (85 cases, 26%), *oroplano* (44 cases, 13%), and *eroplano* (28 cases, 8%).

Our data also include 1 case each of *aeloplano*, *aloplano*, *areplano*, *erplano*, *erroplano*, *oraplano*, and 2 cases of *arroplano*. There are 3 other idiosyncratic cases with final stress gathering 1 vote each: *airioplán*, *airoplán*, and *eroplán*. Amazingly, no one offered English ***airplane***, and only 1 person claimed not to have a Spanish word, a nineteen-year-old male from Vaughn, New Mexico (interview 247). We think this detail and the diversity of responses indicate that our consultants know of the existence of the Spanish word. They're just not quite sure what it is.

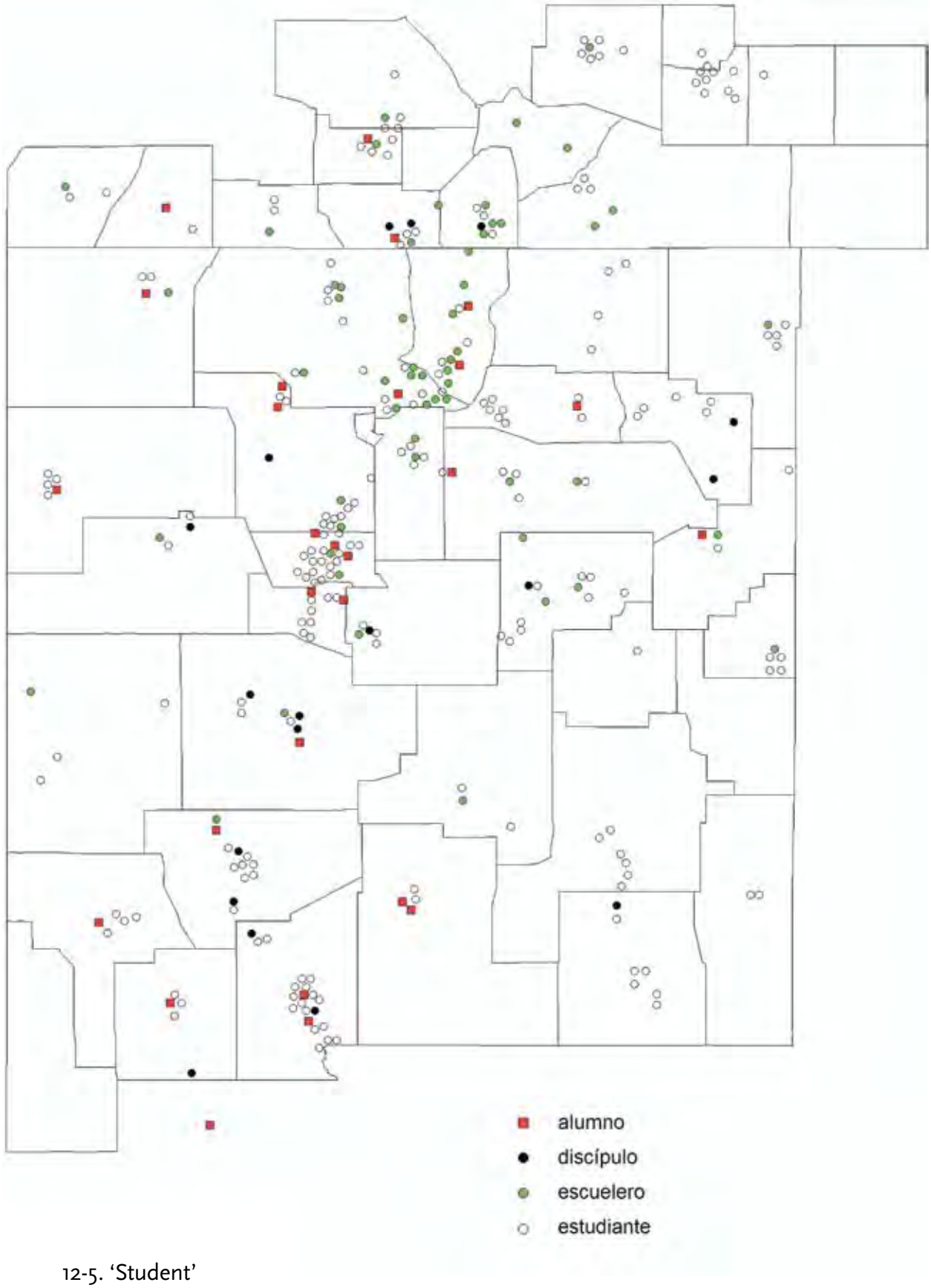
In this connection, it is important to review the geographical distributions of the major responses. Map 12-4 shows only the 5 major forms, the 2 standard words *avión* and *aeroplano* and the 3 nonstandard words *aroplano*, *eroplano*, and *oroplano*. This creates a rather messy picture, but a leisurely inspection of this map demonstrates that none of these terms represents a dialect or subdialect area. All are dispersed in fairly random fashion around the territory. About the only geographical observation we can make is that the standard *avión* dominates in Border Spanish and the nonstandard variants dominate in Traditional Spanish. In brief, regional dialectology does not explain the diversity; any explanation must consider other criteria.

Generation is one criterion (the related influence of standard Spanish will be examined in chapter 14). Like the map, table 12-11 includes only the 5 principal responses for 'Airplane.' We present the 3 nonstandard variants together in the first three rows to highlight the difference with the older standard in the fourth row and the current standard in the fifth row. The striking pattern in this display is the cross-generational increase in preference for the standard Spanish *avión*. All of the other labels decline significantly across the generations except for *aroplano*, which maintains a curious stability. But unlike *ganso* for 'Turkey,' *aroplano* is not associated with any community of speakers, and we cannot imagine that it'll endure for very long. In sum, while 72% of the Older generation use 1 of the 5 alternative forms in roughly equal measure, the trend across the generations is toward standardization, with *avión* becoming the preference of the majority in the Younger generation.

Another interesting case is the label for 'Student,' which was elicited through a picture of children seated at their desks in a classroom facing the teacher. This item yields 4 major variants, 2 of which are the mainstream standard forms, *estudiante* (204 responses, 63%) and *alumno* (just 27 responses, 8%). Another variant, *discípulo* (18 responses, 6%), is also a standard Spanish word, though elsewhere it generally refers to a follower of a specific teacher or viewpoint, like its cognate in English, *disciple*. The fourth variant is the dialectal form *escuelero* (56 responses, 17%), a derived form of the word for 'school,' *escuela*. Map 12-5 shows that *escuelero* is characteristic of Traditional Spanish while the other variants are scattered pretty much randomly across the region.



12-4. ‘Airplane’



12-5. 'Student'

TABLE 12-12. Responses for 'Student' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
escuelero	6.3	15.0	28.1
discípulo	0.0	1.5	14.0
estudiante	81.0	72.2	43.0
alumno	8.9	7.5	8.8
Other response	1.3	3.0	6.1
No response	2.5	0.8	0.0
N	79	133	114

TABLE 12-13. Responses for 'Suit' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
vestido, vistido	10.3	31.1	69.6
traje	32.1	13.3	15.7
sute	47.4	43.0	7.8
Other response	10.3	12.6	7.0
N	78	135	115

Escuelero and *discípulo* have two things in common. They are characteristic of the speech of the Older age group, and they are rapidly disappearing from the scene (see table 12-12). Representing 28% of the choices of the Older generation, *escuelero* is reduced to just 6% in the third generation. *Discípulo* starts off at half the level (14%) and disappears entirely from the active lexicon of the Younger generation. Meanwhile, the universally most unmarked label, *estudiante*, increases from an already dominant 43% of the oldest group to fully 81% of the youngest group. The other standard label *alumno* remains stable across the three generations. It is clear that New Mexican Spanish has recently moved sharply toward the standard in labeling an entity that epitomizes the educational scene.

Both English and Spanish: *Entre la espada y la pared*

Sometimes we see evidence of the ancestral forms of Traditional Spanish being caught 'between the sword and the wall,' or as we say in English, "between a rock and a hard place," that is, between the two powerful forces of English on one side and of Mexican or standard Spanish on the other. A straightforward example is the label for a man's 'Suit.' Map 10-14 and the discussion of 'Suit' in chapter 10 showed that *vestido* (often realized as *vistido*) is a characteristic of the Traditional Spanish dialect, especially in rural areas. But prominently represented also are the Anglicism *sute*, which occurs mostly in the Traditional Spanish area, and the Mexican Spanish *traje*, which occurs mostly in the Border Spanish areas.

Vestido for 'Suit' is apparently a Traditional Spanish term of long standing. And it is a "dialect marker," one of those forms like *y'all* that outsiders readily pick up on as a distinctive feature of a particular dialect. The salience of this dialect marker is the fact that in Standard Spanish the word refers to a woman's dress. No doubt this semantic conflict accounts for the wholesale abandonment of *vestido/vistido* for 'Suit' seen in table 12-13. The preference for this term drops from 70% in the oldest generation to 10% in the youngest generation. At the same time, a recent English borrowing, *sute*, is expanding rapidly. The preferential displacement of *vestido/vistido* by *sute* is manifest already in the middle generation. By the third generation, however, another competitor comes on strong, the Standard Spanish *traje*. The result of the increase of the 2 forms, Anglicism and standard, is the loss of one of those details that make New Mexican Spanish so unique. The Other response category in table 12-13 consists mostly of the unassimilated English borrowing ***suit***. But it also

TABLE 12-14. Responses for 'Quarter' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
dos reales	10.3	34.3	59.1
veinticinco centavos, un veinticinco	9.0	22.4	21.7
peseta	17.9	18.7	11.3
quarter	9.0	2.2	0.9
cuara	42.3	19.4	5.2
Other response	10.3	3.0	1.7
No response	1.3	0.0	0.0
N	78	134	115

includes 4 occurrences of the Pachuco slang form *tacuche*, offered by 4 members of the Middle generation, appropriately enough all males.

The same rapid undercutting of an ancestral Traditional Spanish lexical item is apparent in the data for the U.S. coin 'Quarter' provided in table 12-14. Nine out of 10 members of the Older generation select 1 of 3 native Spanish ways of referring to this coin. Subsequent generations are less loyal to the native heritage. Only the Mexican Spanish term, *peseta*, which our earlier map 10-7 demonstrates to be a feature of Border Spanish, gains some strength across the three generations. On the other hand, the variant characteristic of Traditional Spanish, the archaic *dos reales*, suffers a disastrous drop of almost 50 percentage points across the three generations.

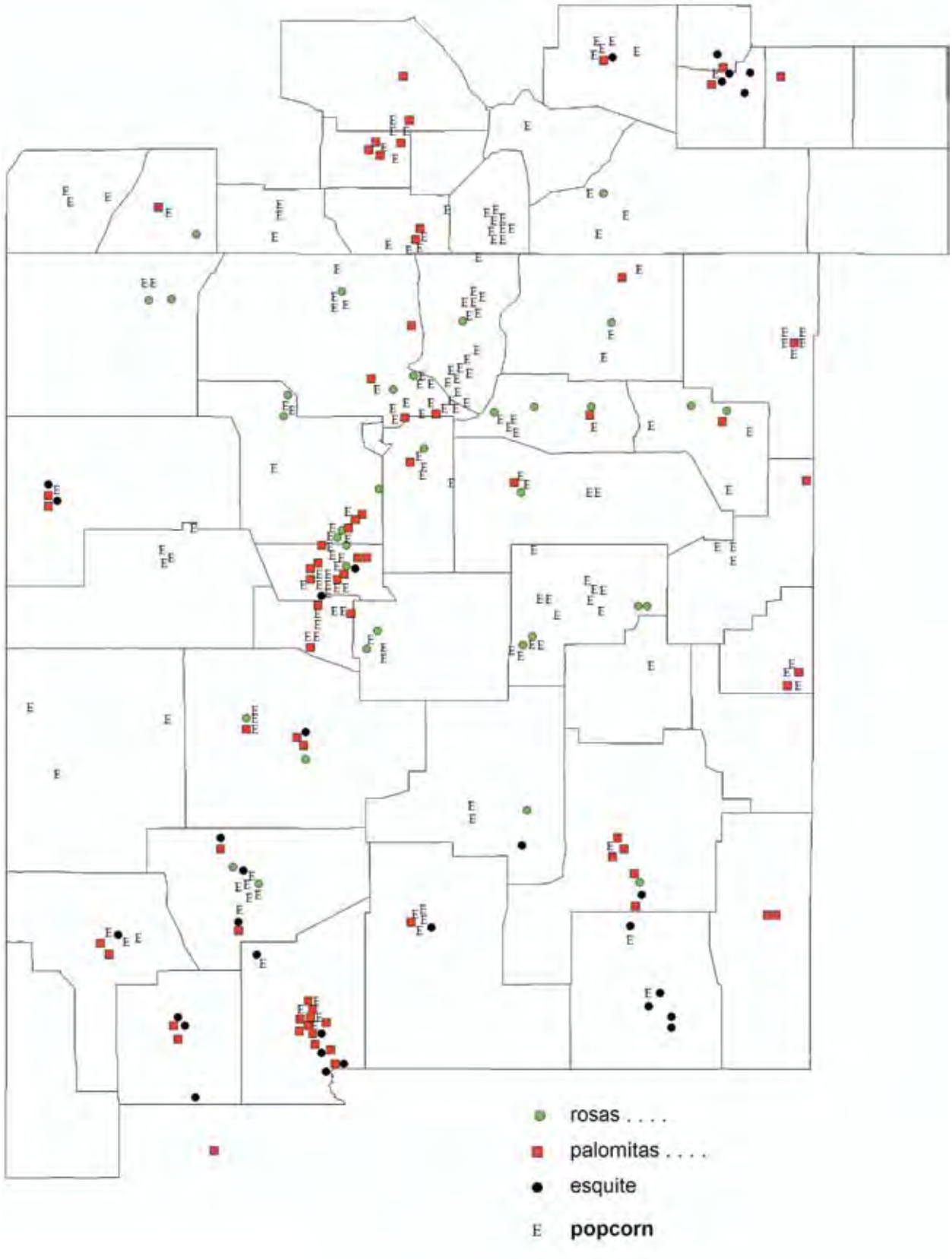
The cause of this erosion is, of course, the English label for this distinctly U.S. cultural artifact. The English label is sometimes realized as the spontaneous, unassimilated English form ***quarter***. But more common is the phonologically integrated form *cuara*, where the first peculiarly English /r/ is dropped, the typical [d]-like U.S. pronunciation of /t/ is replaced by the virtually identical tapped /r/ of Spanish, and the /r/-vowel of the second syllable is replaced by a good sensible Spanish /a/. As noted in chapter 10, however, *cuara* is typically not fully integrated morphologically. Like most new borrowings, it is assigned the default masculine gender, though a minority have moved further along in the integration process, placing this word in the feminine gender like almost all other words ending in *-a*. Whether integrated or not, the Anglicism hardly surfaces in the survey results for the oldest generation (barely 6% of their responses). But in two short generations it becomes the overwhelmingly dominant form in New Mexican Spanish. Its success parallels almost exactly the demise of the distinctive *dos reales* of the Traditional Spanish dialect.

A sharper temporal sequencing of the dual influences of English and Mexican Spanish appears in the label for 'Popcorn.' Map 12-6 reveals that each of the 4 principal terms for 'Popcorn' has dialect trappings. The ancestral Traditional Spanish term is *rosas* (literally 'roses'). There are a total of 35 first choices using this form, which includes 8 instances of *maíz de rosa* ('rose corn') and 4 of *rositas* ('little roses') as well as 1 preference each for *maíz de rosas* and *rosas de maíz*. (We are obliged to note that in most of these cases the word *maíz* is pronounced in the colloquial fashion with stress on the first vowel, *maiz*, a matter that does not concern us here). The 11% of the NMCOSS consultants who preferred 1 of these *rosas* forms are distributed broadly around the Traditional Spanish region.

In contrast, twice as many (71 persons, 21%) offered the term *palomitas* (including 3 cases of *palomitas de maíz* and 1 of *palomas*). This variant, which is characteristic of Mexican Spanish but more broadly used in the Americas, is strongly associated with Border Spanish even though it is sprinkled across the Traditional Spanish territory too, as map 12-6 shows. Only 32 people (10%) preferred another Mexican Spanish label, *esquite* (once referred to as *maíz de esquite*). This label is much more tightly restricted to Border Spanish territory.

This leaves us with the fourth variant, the Anglicism, as reported by a seventy-seven-year-old man from Clayton, New Mexico:

(12-3) *No teníanos nombre; le dicíanos* ***popcorn****, quizás.* 'We didn't have a word; we called it popcorn, I guess.' (interview 109)



12-6. 'Popcorn'

TABLE 12-15. Responses for 'Popcorn' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
rosas forms	0.0	9.0	19.7
popcorn	48.8	61.9	47.0
palomitas, palomas	43.8	16.4	12.0
esquite, maíz de esquite	3.8	7.5	16.2
Other response	2.5	3.7	4.3
No response	1.3	1.5	0.9
N	80	134	117

Popcorn is the majority preference with 177 responses, 53% of the 331 persons presented with this question. The Anglicism dominates in Traditional Spanish, but it also exists in Border Spanish as a significant minority form. Everybody happily pronounced this "Spanish" label as it is pronounced in English except for an eighty-eight-year-old woman (interview 10) from Ensenada, New Mexico, who spoke little English and produced a beautifully integrated *papecorne*. Another 4 persons failed to provide a response and several others made up labels such as *maíz reventado* 'exploded corn' and *maíz rompido* 'broken corn,' no doubt preferring to avoid using such a patently English word.

Table 12-15 provides the generational analysis of the 4 'Popcorn' terms. The Traditional Spanish *rosas* form was offered by only 20% of Older group and 9% of the Middle group and disappears entirely by the third generation. Some stability might be expected of a form that is more widely used and is so similar to *rosetas*, considered by the *DRAE* to be 1 of the 2 worldwide norms along with *palomitas*. But worldwide norms matter little when you find yourself between the Mexican Spanish *espada* and the English *pared*.

Instead, the Mexican and standard Spanish label *palomitas* increases from a preference level of just 12% of the Older generation to 44% of the Younger generation. The Anglicism ***popcorn*** was already the term of preference for nearly half of the oldest generation, indicating that it must have been their parents or grandparents who introduced the English term into the Traditional Spanish dialect. It remained the favored label over the three generations of NMCOSS consultants. The Anglicism and the Mexican standard are now competing on equal footing. One can only speculate on the possible outcome of this conflict, but one thing is clear: the Traditional Spanish *rosas* has been left in the dust.

Another term for 'Popcorn' well on the way to being discarded as well is *esquite*. Map 12-6 shows quite clearly that *esquite* occurs only in the areas associated with Border Spanish. Thus, the unholy alliance of Anglicisms and Mexican/standard Spanish not only kills off features of Traditional Spanish but also is undermining a more colloquial Mexican label that characterizes Border Spanish.

In the case of 'Suit' and 'Popcorn,' we find the Traditional Spanish term losing the fight against both an Anglicism and a Mexican form, where the Mexican form also happens to be the general Spanish standard. In other cases we find competition from an English loanword as well as 2 Spanish forms, the Mexican standard and the more general standard. This doubling of competing Spanish forces is seen with the labels for 'Ice cream.' The consequences for the Traditional Spanish term are predictable, as confirmed in table 12-16.

Map 12-7 shows the term *leche nevada* (literally 'snowed milk') hanging on across the NMCOSS territory but not so prominently in the Traditional Spanish heartland as we might presume. Overall, 63 of 334 consultants (19%) chose this label. But table 12-16 shows that this term, which historically must have been the Traditional Spanish preference, is now losing favor in dramatic fashion, declining from nearly a third of the Older generation to practically nothing among the Younger generation.

We see on map 12-7 that *leche nevada* is overwhelmed in the Traditional Spanish area by the Anglicism, which garnered almost twice as many preferences, the choice of 123 person (37%). This loanword was pronounced as in English, ***ice cream***, two-thirds of the time (83 cases), and the map shows this nonintegrated form to occur throughout the NMCOSS region. But this Anglicism often turned up with some degree of integration, converting the *r* to the alveolar tap consonant of Spanish, and sometimes converting the final *m* to an /n/ more appropriate

TABLE 12-16. Responses for 'Ice cream' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
leche nevada	3.7	17.8	31.4
ice cream variants	33.3	41.5	34.7
nieve	34.6	25.2	21.2
helado and variants	21.0	10.4	4.2
Other response	4.9	5.2	8.5
No response	2.5	0.0	0.0
N	81	135	118

to Spanish. Variable stress yielded 4 forms, in order of frequency: *aiscrim*, *áiscrim*, *aiscrín*, and *aiscrin*. Plotting these 4 variants together on map 12-7, we find that integration surfaces most strongly in the Traditional Spanish area, which has been exposed to English longer. There was also 1 attempt at further integration as *aiscrema*, substituting English *cream* with the Spanish equivalent *crema*, but we have not counted this blending as the Anglicism.

The data of table 12-16 show that the Anglicism parallels the Traditional *leche nevada* in being favored by about a third of the Older age group. Like ***popcorn***, it was already well established among the oldest generation and holds onto its favored status in the two following generations. So if the Anglicism displays intergenerational stability, what is causing the recent decline of the Traditional Spanish variant? Well, the other 2 Spanish variants, of course, which together represent the majority preference of the Younger generation. The use of the colloquial Mexican form *nieve*, the choice of 87 consultants (26%), has increased somewhat over the generations, from 1 in 5 of the Older group to 1 in 3 of the Younger group, and we can see in map 12-7 that *nieve* has intruded beyond the typical boundaries of Border Spanish.

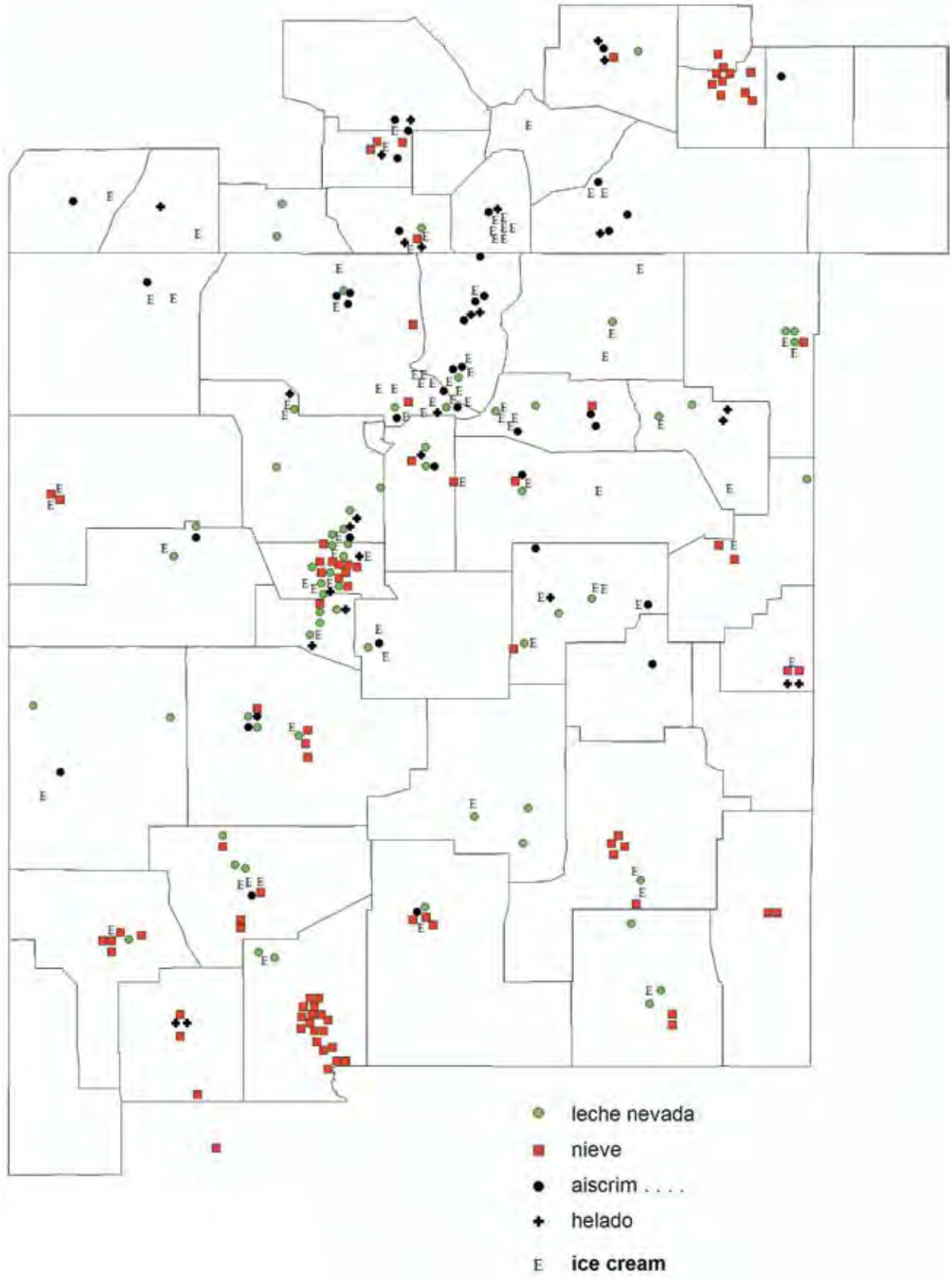
But a slightly larger intergenerational increase occurs with the standard Spanish word *helado*, which is the label preferred by just 36 persons overall (11%). The fact that a few of these were pronounced deviantly—*helada*, *hielado*, *halado*, and 1 instance of English orthographic influence pronouncing the written *h* to yield *jelado*—suggests a classroom acquisition of the label (a topic to which we return in chapter 14). Map 12-7, which plots only the 28 nondeviant *helado* occurrences, shows the standard label to be scattered randomly across the NMCOSS region, which also implies an influence of education. Notice, however, that the general Spanish standard *helado* hardly surfaces in the Border Spanish areas, where the Mexican Spanish standard reigns supreme.

An intriguingly more complex case showing expansion of forms influenced by both English and Mexican Spanish is the label for 'Cookie,' which, it is important to remember from our earlier lengthy discussion with respect to map 10-10, was elicited by a picture of chocolate chip cookies. A compilation of the most frequently occurring forms by generation is given in table 12-17.

A first question is: what might have once been the norm in Traditional Spanish for 'Cookie' as manifested by the chocolate chip version? Well, there probably wasn't one, just as there wasn't in general Spanish or in general English. What North American English speakers call *cookies* are called *biscuits* in most English-speaking countries, and *biscuits* are quite another delectable for us. 'Cookie' seems not to have a long linguistic pedigree in either English or Spanish, and the chocolate chip variety certainly represents a rather recent cultural innovation in New Mexico and southern Colorado.

What to call this new sweet? A small number of New Mexican Spanish speakers were willing to expand the scope of established terms having a more specific reference: *bizcochito* or *bizcocho*, a traditional cinnamon- or anise-flavored cookie, and *bollito* or *bollo*, a sugar cookie. A few others latched onto the Anglicism *craque*, generally used to refer to 'Cracker.' This in turn probably has something to do with the fact that *galleta* forms in general Spanish sometimes refer to cookies and sometimes to crackers. In addition to 56 responses of plain *galleta*, we received 12 responses of the diminutive *galletita* and 2 responses with a 'sweet' appendage, *galleta dulce*.

Ignoring *galleta* for the moment, we may observe in the first four rows of table 12-17 a tendency for the oldest generation to use a diminutive or one of the more specific



12-7. 'Ice cream'

TABLE 12-17. Responses for 'Cookie' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
bizcochito, bizcocho	6.1	5.2	11.5
bollito, bollo	2.4	0.0	4.1
craque, craque dulce	1.2	0.7	3.3
galletita	0.0	3.0	8.2
galleta, galleta dulce	32.9	12.6	9.8
cuqui, ***cookie***	12.2	22.2	23.8
cuque	42.7	53.3	36.1
Other response	1.2	3.0	3.3
No response	1.2	0.0	0.0
N	82	135	122

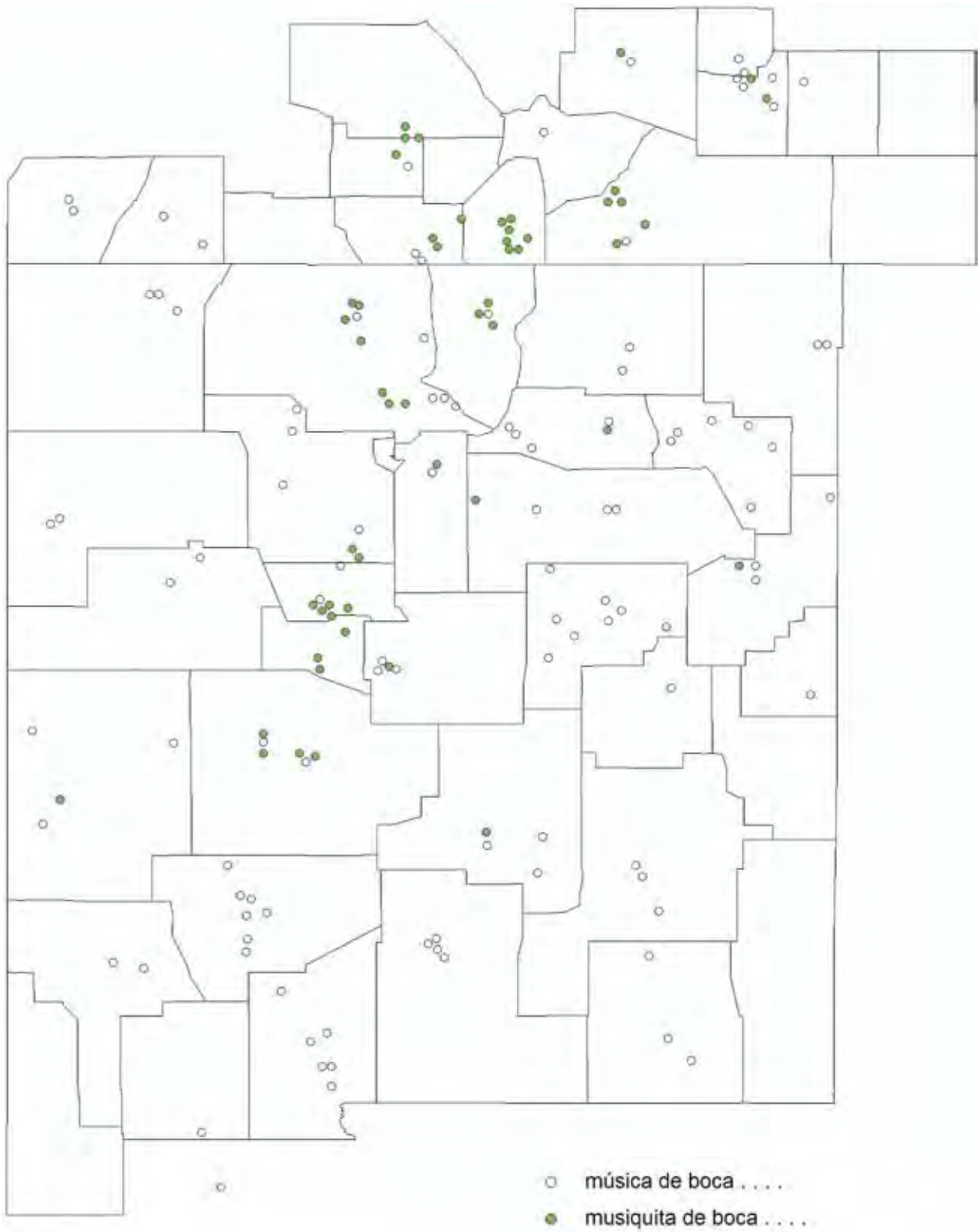
terms. Whereas 27% of the Older generation selected one of these labels, only 9% and 10% of the next two generations did so. It seems that something is being worked out over time. And that resolution is the unadorned *galleta*, the Mexican Spanish term for 'Cookie,' which map 10-10 shows to be particularly characteristic of Border Spanish. This solution rises from just 10% of the Older generation to 33% of the Younger generation. We again witness the advance of Mexican influence.

Then there is the specific Anglicism to consider. Like the other introduced special treats ***popcorn*** and ***ice cream***, the adoption of an English word was to be expected. In fact, the majority (60%) of the Older age group did so and that majority preference is maintained in the other two generations. The interesting diachronic aspect, however, is the degree of integration. In addition to 14 tokens of the clearly English ***cookie***, there were 55 instances of partially adapted *cuqui*, which differs from English pronunciation mostly in the quality of the first vowel and the lack of "aspiration" in the release of the initial consonant, typical characteristics of Spanish-influenced English. Notice that these 2 forms that are not completely integrated decline by half (from 24% to 12%) over the generations. On the other hand, the proportional preference for the fully integrated *cuque* increases from 36% of the Older group to 53% of the Middle group. The Younger group, however, achieves only 43% *cuque*. The sharp rise of the Mexican *galleta* in the youngest generation seems to be undermining the long-established Anglicism.

Finally, let's look at a case where English and standard Spanish team up against a traditional designation. In both languages the standard words for 'Harmonica' are similar in spelling (English *harmonica*, Spanish *armónica* or *harmónica*) as well as in pronunciation. The major differences in pronunciation are (a) the existence of an initial consonant /h/ in English but not in Spanish—again, the letter *h* is "silent" in standard Spanish—and (b) a different vowel sound for the letter *o* in the second syllable: /a/ in English, /o/ in Spanish. We'll see that these similarities produce some chaotic variation in the NMCOSS. On the other hand, the labels traditionally used in New Mexican Spanish are based on a very different *música de boca* (literally, 'mouth music'), which also shows interesting variation.

Let's first summarize the variation encountered. The most frequently occurring label was the traditional *música de boca* category with 158 preferences (48% of the 326 respondents). Nearly a third of these (47 cases) were in the diminutive form *musiquita de boca*. A small number of the total responded without the 'mouth' part: 9 *música* and 6 *musiquita*. There were also single occurrences of *música de mano* and *música de tocar*, but these are not included in the total for *música de boca*.

Contrasting broadly with this category, almost as many preferred a label on the standard Spanish/English side, totaling 146 responses (45%). Of these, 43 are the standard Spanish *armónica* and 11 are the standard English ***harmonica***. In addition, there are 3 blends of these 2 standards. While 58 persons produced the Spanish form with the initial consonant of English, *jarmónica*, another 11 altered the Spanish form using the stressed vowel of English, *armánica*. And 23 employed both the initial consonant and the stressed vowel of English, *jarmánica*, which is essentially the English word pronounced with



12-8. 'Harmonica'

TABLE 12-18. Responses for 'Harmonica' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
música de boca, *musiquita de boca*	15.2	42.9	78.1
harmonica, *jarmánica*	21.5	11.3	1.8
armónica	25.3	11.3	7.0
jarmónica	15.2	27.1	8.8
armánica	7.6	3.0	0.9
Other response	5.1	3.8	0.9
No response	10.1	0.8	2.6
N	79	133	114

a strong Spanish accent (i.e., with a Spanish /r/ and relatively tense vowels throughout).

Turning to geography, perhaps the most striking finding is that not 1 of the 5 standard based variants (*armónica*, ***harmonica***, *jarmónica*, *armánica*, *jarmánica*) displays any regional clustering. Each one is so haphazardly scattered around the NMCOSS territory that mapping is unrevealing. Of the traditional terms, only the diminutive displays a regionally restricted distribution. Map 12-8 shows that the 53 cases of *musiquita de boca* (including the 6 cases of bare *musiquita*) occur exclusively in the Traditional Spanish territory. For the 105 cases of the nondiminutive *música de boca* (including the 9 bare *música*), however, no particular pattern is revealed on the map, but the fact that this label is strewn around the entire region is of interest.

Believe it or not, the display for Mexico (*ALM* mapa 812) is much, much messier. Importantly, *música de boca* and the standard *armónica* are both dominant across the northern half of Mexico, with the former probably having the numerical edge. That map shows no cases of *musiquita de boca* though there is 1 bare *musiquita* in the far south. Bare *música* is also a relic form in the southern highlands of Colombia, a country in which the usual form is the different *dulzaina* and variants (*ALEC* vol. 3, mapa 231). These facts suggest that it was the *música de boca* label that was brought to the New Mexico colony and remained the norm until the contact with English and standard Spanish. They suggest, furthermore, that the diminutive variant was an independent development in this colony as an alternative term that spread through the Traditional Spanish area. The *ALM* reports none of the English or English-influenced variants. But also prominent in Mexico are variants with *flauta* 'flute' (e.g., *flauta de boca*) and *órgano* 'organ' (e.g., *organito de boca*, like the dialectal English *mouth organ*). None of these alternatives surfaced in the NMCOSS.

With this background, we can now turn to the generational analysis. The raw data reveal that use of each of the 4 traditional variants (*música de boca*, *musiquita de boca*, *música*, and *musiquita*) declines across the three generations. Consequently, we have combined the 4 in table 12-18, which shows that the traditional label has plummeted from favor, from over three-quarters of the Older age group to less than half of the Middle age group to just 15% of the Younger age group.

The gap left by this loss has been filled by varied realizations of the other Spanish and English forms. The English ***harmonica*** and its version *jarmánica*, which is lightly tuned to Spanish, were offered by only 2 members of the Older generation but came to be the term of choice of 1 out of 5 in the Younger generation. The Standard/Mexican Spanish *armónica* was the preference of just 7% of the oldest group and rose to 1 in 4 of the youngest group. The Spanish word with an initial consonant as in English, *jarmónica*, was already favored by nearly 1 in 10 of the Older group and increased in succeeding generations, especially in the Middle group. The opposite blending, the English word without the initial consonant sound, *armánica*, is a minor variant but 1 that increases with time. The result of this frontal assault by the English-Spanish-Mexican alliance is a very messy battleground indeed in the Younger generation, with adherents to any single banner claiming no more than a fourth of the total group. But one intergenerational trend is abundantly clear. The *armónica*/***harmonica***-type variants are rapidly replacing the traditional *música de boca* forms.

Our analysis of generational differences indicates quite clearly that, after four centuries of vitality, this divergent variety that we so lovingly call Traditional Spanish has been losing—with astonishing swiftness—a lot of its traditional vivacity. Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1995, 696–97) point out that dialects tend to disappear as a result of contact either with other languages or with other varieties of the same language. The Traditional New Mexican Spanish dialect is dying out, and its agony is attributable to both types of contact—contact with English as a result of the U.S. takeover of the Southwest, and contact with modern Mexican Spanish and standard Spanish as a result of immigration and education. Both contacts became increasingly intense during the course of the twentieth century, and the continued viability of this unique dialect is seriously threatened. The next three chapters explore in more detail certain aspects of the repercussion of these contacts.

CHAPTER 13

The Long Goodbye

The Attrition and Loss of Spanish Skills

We saw in the previous chapter that Anglicisms are not only expanding in New Mexican Spanish, but also are displacing features that are characteristic of the Traditional Spanish dialect. Borrowing words from another language, however, is not in itself detrimental. It is a natural process of language change that does, in fact, produce further uniqueness or specialness.

There is a far more pernicious side to the effect of English on Spanish in the United States—**language shift**. Language shift refers to the historical process by which a linguistic community adopts the language of another community and gradually abandons its original heritage language. New Mexican Spanish is in the throes of language shift. The rise of English dominance and the loss of skills in Spanish have had a devastating effect on New Mexican Spanish, threatening in particular the very survival of the Traditional Spanish dialect.

For the speakers of New Mexican Spanish, the twentieth century, and the last half in particular, was a period of unstable bilingualism in which Spanish became increasingly viewed as less useful than English. English was accorded the sociocultural prestige associated with economic, political, and cultural power. When the United States annexed the northern half of Mexico, the Hispanic residents initially used English exclusively for dealing with Anglos. But over the next century, the functional roles of English expanded to use in school, in business, in church, in recreation, in all facets of life. At the same time, the social scope of Spanish steadily eroded, eventually relegating the ethnic heritage language to use predominantly in the home and in the village or barrio. Moreover, in recent decades English has invaded these last domains of Spanish language use. Many, many children of Hispanic heritage have now abandoned the Spanish language entirely. As Juan Antonio Trujillo observes (2000, 125), "the transition to English monolingualism continues unchecked as English expands its role as the universal language of economic and social success."

Spanish-speaking parents are only too willing to blame themselves for their children's loss of Spanish, as explained by a forty-seven-year-old woman from Clovis, New Mexico, in the eastern part of the state on the Texas border:

(13-1) *En este lugar, aquí en **Clovis**, era muy difícil hablar el español sin que se riera el güero de uno. Le hacían busla [=burla] a uno, so, pa' mí, cuando yo truje mis hijas al mundo yo dije que primero yo quería que hablaran inglés pa' que no se rieran de ellas.* 'In this place, here in Clovis,

it was very difficult to speak Spanish without an Anglo laughing at you. They'd make fun of you, so, for me, when I brought my daughters into this world I said that I wanted them to speak English first so they wouldn't laugh at them.' (interview 351)

That same motivation is reported by children. One such report comes from a forty-six-year-old man from Ratón, New Mexico, in the extreme north of the state on the Colorado border. He is a passive bilingual, fairly adept at understanding the Spanish of the interviewer, but extremely limited in his productive ability in Spanish. He was assigned the lowest rating on our Spanish proficiency scale. He says, in English of course,

(13-2) Both of us, my wife [also a native of Ratón] and I, recalled that there wasn't a lot of Spanish spoken in the home. And we asked my father-in-law, Was that a conscious decision on their part not to speak Spanish or not to teach his children Spanish? And he said, Yes, it very well—definitely was a conscious decision on his part. He said, "I maybe made a lot of mistakes in my life." Probably thought that maybe that was one. But at the time he felt that the Spanish was not an important thing. In fact, he—everything that he was observing at the time indicated that speaking English *well* was the way to get ahead in life and have a better future for yourself. So he *did* make a conscious effort *not* to teach his children Spanish. (interview 309)

Very different in Spanish skills and from the other end of the state, but reporting a similar situation, is a twenty-one-year-old woman from Las Cruces (interview 149). She comments on the strategy adopted by her father, himself an immigrant born in Mexico:

(13-3) *[A]ntes para que nosotros aprendiéramos inglés, él nos hablaba en inglés.* '[E]arlier so that we would learn English, he'd speak to us in English.'

Curiously, now that the children are grown, she says, her father speaks to them only in Spanish. And more curious still, though this woman is fully fluent in Spanish, she claims she now speaks only English to him.

Many Hispanics who have wound up monolingual in English complain that their parents didn't "teach" them Spanish at home. But this is an unfair complaint, and probably an invalid complaint in most cases. In the first place, children don't learn their native language by teaching but rather simply by exposure. In the second place, it seems that many, many Hispanics who are essentially monolingual in English (we may call them "Anglophone" Hispanics) were indeed exposed to Spanish in the home. But—and this is the crucial point—when the child or an older sibling entered school and became immersed in the larger social reality, it was the child who brought English into the home and promoted its use there. How else can we explain such recurring reports as the comment in example 13-4 by an eighteen-year-old woman from Roswell?

(13-4) *Mi papá habla no más español, pero lo contesto en inglés.* 'My dad speaks only Spanish, but I answer him in English.' (interview 332)

Children introduce far more changes into the home than we recognize. In the use of special family labels for siblings, parents, grandparents, and others, it is usually the parents and other adults who follow the lead of the child whose still imperfect pronunciation produces *Beto* for *Alberto*, *Chela* for *Graciela*, and so forth. And as children become exposed to the trends of a more dominant society outside the home, they are definitely the leaders in creating cultural change in the home, whether it is turkey instead of tamales at Christmas, video games instead of homemade toys, or English instead of Spanish. Nevertheless, it is no more just to blame the child for being a sensitive human being than it is to blame an adult for being a sensitive parent. The no-fault result is massive language shift, an unprecedented rupture in the transmission of the heritage language.

More and more, those who speak Spanish in the southwestern United States tend to be first generation Mexican immigrants and their children (as demonstrated in Bills 1989; Bills, Hernández Chávez, and Hudson 1995; Hudson, Bills, and Hernández Chávez 1995; McCullough and Jenkins 2005; and many other studies). And even the children of immigrants, who tend to grow up in thoroughly Spanish-speaking homes, rapidly become dominant in English. Such is the case of a twenty-five-year-old male (interview 312) from Rocky Ford, Colorado, who reports that although his immigrant mother is monolingual in Spanish, he speaks only English with his siblings and with his daughter.

The consequences of this language shift are clear in our survey. It must be remembered that we designed our

TABLE 13-1. Generation by Age acquired English (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
(Co-)First language	41.6	15.9	7.3
Before age 6	28.6	14.3	8.6
At age 6	27.3	58.7	50.0
After age 6	2.6	11.1	34.4
N	77	126	128

survey to include only *native-born* Hispanics and our intent was to document *all* manifestations of natively spoken Spanish, whether fluent or not. Consequently, all of our consultants were bilingual to some degree. Overall, 67% of our consultants rated their English as "good" and 62% rated their Spanish as "good." Although a few of the oldest were close to being monolingual in Spanish, the majority reported stronger speaking proficiency in English than in Spanish. Of the 293 consultants for whom we have self-ratings in both languages, only 44 claimed their Spanish was better than their English—and 75% of these persons were age seventy or older. One of the biggest obstacles to achieving the desired balance of consultants across ages was lining up persons under the age of forty who had sufficient skills (and confidence) in Spanish to participate. A few of the youngest subjects were essentially passive bilinguals with a markedly limited productive ability in Spanish. The NMCOSS did not sample the speech of the many other Hispanics who possess still more rudimentary Spanish skills—or none at all.

We examine the attrition of Spanish skills in this chapter by exploring the associations between kinds of linguistic responses and three characteristics of the consultants. In addition to the age/generation variable treated in the preceding chapter, we deal here with two other variables: Spanish language proficiency and the age at which English was acquired. As might be expected, these three variables are substantially associated with one another. That is, younger people tend to have learned English at an earlier age and to have less proficiency in Spanish while older people generally acquired English only as a second language and have stronger Spanish skills.

Regarding language acquisition, the NMCOSS interviewers elicited information from 331 consultants concerning the age at which they learned Spanish and the age at which they learned English. All reported learning Spanish, at least to some extent, as children in their homes (or in their grandparents' homes). Acquisition of English, however, was a very different story. While some consultants reported learning English first or at the same time as they learned Spanish, only one-third claimed to have acquired English before starting school. Nearly half (48%) were essentially monolingual in Spanish until starting school at the age of six, and a number of others acquired English still later in life. We divide the consultants into four groups for age at which English was learned: (1) as first language or co-first language along with Spanish, (2) before age six, (3) at six years of age, and (4) at seven or more years of age.

Table 13-1 displays the interaction of the different age groups with the category of English acquisition. It shows, for example, that only 16% of the Older generation learned English before starting school while 30% of the Middle generation did so and fully 70% of the Younger generation did so: a striking three-generation transition to the early acquisition of English.

With regard to Spanish ability, the NMCOSS database contains information on three measures of proficiency for both Spanish and English. First, during the course of the interview the consultant was asked to provide a self-assessment of speaking ability in each language. Second, after completing the interview, the interviewer wrote down an independent evaluation of the consultant's proficiency in the two languages. Finally, the persons who listened to the recorded interview for data entry provided another independent assessment. The last measurement is the one utilized here for analysis. We consider it the most reliable since there were fewer people involved in making this assessment and, in addition, almost all of these ratings were double-checked by two researchers (Ysaura Bernal-Enríquez and Garland Bills). We used a five-point scale to rate each consultant's proficiency, but, as pointed out earlier, most consultants had good Spanish skills. We gave only 5 persons the lowest rating (1) and 10 others the second lowest rating (2). Consequently, for the cross-tabulation analysis, we combine the three lowest ratings into a "Weak" Spanish proficiency category.

TABLE 13-2. Generation by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
Weak (1–3)	42.2	12.4	2.9
Adequate (4)	20.4	29.9	13.1
Strong (5)	37.3	57.7	83.9
N	83	137	137

TABLE 13-3. Age acquired English by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
Weak (1–3)	47.5	19.6	8.8	1.7
Adequate (4)	21.3	27.4	22.6	11.7
Strong (5)	31.1	52.9	68.6	86.7
N	61	51	159	60

The cross-tabulation of age group and Spanish ability in table 13-2 shows a clear interaction between the two variables. Only 3% of the Older generation was assessed by the data transcriber as having "Weak" proficiency in Spanish. But 12% of the Middle age group received that low assessment and 42% of the Younger group did. The intergenerational decline in Spanish ability is sharp.

Relatedly, those who learned English later in life tend to enjoy greater fluency in Spanish and those who learned English early tend to have weaker Spanish ability, as demonstrated in table 13-3. Only 2% of the late English acquirers were judged to have weak Spanish skills while 48% of those who claimed English as a first language were so judged.

How closely associated are these three variables of age, English acquisition, and Spanish proficiency? Close indeed. Each of the cross-tabulations shows a positive and highly significant Pearson correlation (a measure of the linear association between the two variables, with values ranging from -1 to 1) as follows:

Age and age of acquisition of English	.47
Age and Spanish proficiency	.44
Spanish proficiency and age of acquisition of English	.44

However, these correlations are not so high (i.e., approaching the absolute value of 1) as to suggest that the three variables represent just one measure. They decidedly are not measuring exactly the same thing. Each variable contributes independently to an understanding of the linguistic variation we encounter. We draw on all three variables for the analysis of Spanish attrition in this chapter.

The loss of skills in Spanish shows up in a number of ways in the NMCOSS linguistic data. Prominent are the following five effects: (1) consultants were sometimes unable (or unwilling) to provide any response at all to the given stimulus; (2) at other times they claimed that they would just use the English word since they'd never heard or didn't know the equivalent in Spanish; (3) while some consultants were able to respond without hesitation, others required assistance from the interviewer regarding a possible response; (4) consultants also occasionally came up with erroneous, phonologically distorted, or otherwise less accurate responses; and finally, (5) the decline in Spanish ability shows interesting associations with variation in New Mexican Spanish and supports other evidence about future directions of the dialect. We address each of these topics in separate sections.

Inability to Respond

Because all of our consultants were born and raised in the NMCOSS region, all have some ability in both English and Spanish, though with varying degrees of language dominance. Those more dominant in English naturally had more problems of lexical access in Spanish. Consultants would occasionally conclude the elicitation of a specific linguistic form with a decisive *No sé* 'I don't know' or *No sé cómo le dicen* 'I don't know what it's called.' We have listed such reactions as "No response" in

TABLE 13-4. No response for selected variables by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
'Grasshopper'	7.4	0.7	0.0
'Skirt'	11.5	0.0	0.0
'Goose'	13.4	7.4	4.8
'Apricot'	14.3	4.5	2.6
'Purple'	17.3	9.8	1.6
'Cellar'	18.8	0.7	0.0
'Moth'	19.0	5.4	6.7
'Rouge'	20.0	6.3	3.4
'Shear' (sheep)	21.5	6.0	0.8
'Porcupine'	22.8	4.4	2.5
'Grinding stone'	32.4	21.3	7.0
'Temple' (of head)	32.9	9.2	4.2
'Tadpole'	34.6	17.0	15.8
'Mortar'	35.7	26.5	14.3
'Dove'	37.0	21.5	10.7
'Marrow'	37.0	7.9	0.9
'Calf of leg'	52.2	36.6	16.5
'Wattle' (of turkey)	58.8	38.4	30.3
'Hem of skirt'	64.3	33.3	28.4

the tables of the preceding chapter. For example, we saw in table 12-4 that 6% of the Older group, 8% of the Middle group, and 22% of the Younger group could provide no response at all for 'Bat.' Table 12-7 for 'Temple' shows a similar generational trend of inability to respond, from 4% of the oldest generation to fully one-third of the youngest generation.

In this section, we examine the possibility that the inability to respond is a consequence of diminished Spanish skills. The failure to call up a particular word may amount to nothing more than simply a temporary access problem, as when the specific term you were trying to recall in an afternoon telephone conversation suddenly occurs to you at bedtime. Or it may mean that your familiarity with the word is sufficiently weak that you might never independently recall it though you would understand it when used by others. Or it could be that your mental dictionary just doesn't contain that word. Whatever the causes, the cross-generation weakening in the ability to respond is a pattern that occurs repeatedly and appears to be a reflection of loss of Spanish skills through time.

Table 13-4 provides summary generational data for a small sample of variables for which a number of consultants fired blanks. In each case we see a declining ability to respond with each younger generation. 'Skirt,' for example, provoked no failures to respond among the Older or Middle group but 12% of the Younger group were unable to respond. For 'Hem of skirt,' many consultants in all three generations gave up on producing a response, ranging up to almost two-thirds of the youngest generation.

This kind of response is related to language acquisition as well. Childhood bilingualism or multilingualism is a perfectly natural phenomenon. To the chagrin of adults who struggle mightily to learn a little bit of a second language, children are able to become fluent in two or more languages with great ease. However, in a situation of rapid language shift with its turmoil of language attitudes, the acquisition of the societally dominant language is often associated with reduced skills in the heritage language. Inability to respond is one manifestation of underdeveloped skills that shows a pattern of consistent correlations with the age of acquisition of English.

TABLE 13-5. Responses for 'Bat' by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
ratón volador	21.7	51.0	54.9	67.9
murciélago and variants	26.7	23.5	19.6	20.8
bat	23.3	11.8	11.1	1.9
bate	3.3	3.9	3.3	1.9
Other response	5.0	0.0	2.6	1.9
No response	20.0	9.8	8.5	5.7
N	60	51	153	53

TABLE 13-6. No response for selected variables by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
'Umbrella'	10.5	10.6	2.7	0.0
'Cellar'	15.8	6.3	2.7	0.0
'Porcupine'	16.7	13.7	5.2	3.8
'Crow'	25.0	7.8	3.9	1.9
'Thread' (a needle)	31.3	14.9	7.9	6.5
'Marrow'	34.6	16.7	6.3	2.0
'Belch'	35.3	24.4	11.2	4.1
'Mane'	35.8	23.5	16.9	5.8
'Ankle'	42.3	31.1	23.0	16.3
'Chin'	51.0	52.0	22.5	16.3

For example, the cross-tabulation of the responses for 'Bat' according to English acquisition is displayed in table 13-5. The trends seen in this table are remarkably parallel to those seen in table 12-4 for generation. Among those who claimed English as a mother tongue, the preference for Traditional Spanish *ratón volador* drops drastically and the preference for English ***bat*** increases. The *murciélago* variants hold steady across the groups. And the failure to provide any response at all becomes more prominent with each category of earlier acquisition of English, rising from barely 1 in 20 of the late English learners to 1 in 5 of the very early English learners.

Table 13-6 lists a sample of other variables that illustrate this pattern. In each case, the earlier English is acquired, the greater the difficulty in providing a Spanish label for the given stimulus. For example, 11% of those who acquired English before starting school were unable to provide a response for 'Umbrella'; none of the late English learners had such difficulty.

One might suppose that these patterns of performance difficulty do not really indicate language loss but rather reveal psychological factors that cause those of younger age and less exposure to Spanish in early childhood to feel less secure in the interview situation and to be more guarded in displaying their command of Spanish. We are able to show, however, that such performance errors are directly related to Spanish proficiency.

Once again, let's begin with the responses for 'Bat.' Table 13-7 lists those responses for three levels of Spanish proficiency. The results in table 13-7 reveal the same trends observed in tables 12-4 for generation and 13-5 for English acquisition. As Spanish ability weakens, the Traditional Spanish form declines and the English form increases. But unlike the previous two tables, the standard label also decreases. And most significant for the present discussion, the inability to respond increases substantially, from just 5% of the Strong proficiency group to 29% of the Weak proficiency group.

Now, it might be objected that the Spanish proficiency variable and inability to respond are the same thing, that is, that inability to respond is simply a lack of ability in Spanish. Well, both are tapping into matters of

TABLE 13-7. Responses for 'Bat' by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
ratón volador	14.5	50.0	58.9
murciélago and variants	7.3	18.9	26.2
bat	38.2	9.5	6.5
bate	7.3	5.4	1.4
Other response	3.6	2.7	2.3
No response	29.1	13.5	4.7
N	55	74	214

TABLE 13-8. No response for selected variables by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
'Trunk'	9.6	6.9	0.0
'Strawberry'	11.1	6.9	2.9
'Nuts'	16.7	5.6	0.5
'Rubber band'	18.2	2.8	1.0
'Cellar'	19.2	2.7	2.0
'Scorpion'	20.4	11.1	10.0
'Roadrunner'	25.5	16.7	7.0
'Sideburns'	34.7	22.5	7.0
'Hummingbird'	37.0	14.1	8.9
'Buzzard'	49.1	44.4	26.4
'Marrow'	54.5	11.8	3.0
'Wattle' (of turkey)	58.1	41.0	35.8
'Waterfall'	58.5	38.4	26.1

linguistic performance. But one's ability in a language as assessed in global fashion based on performance during a lengthy interview is very different from one's accession and use of a specific linguistic feature. Use of a specific linguistic variable on a single occasion can be affected by all sorts of performance factors other than proficiency in the language. Thus, table 13-7 shows that 5% of even those judged to have strong Spanish skills were unable to provide a label for 'Bat.' We would have to be very worried about our assessment of proficiency if that measure failed to show associations with linguistic phenomena such as inability to respond that are considered manifestations of lack of proficiency. The fact that the associations are usually strong provides support for the validity of both.

Table 13-8 shows the proportion of No responses at three proficiency levels for a variety of other lexical variables. Once again, in every case there is a consistent increase in the percentage of those unable to respond as the assessed ability level decreases. Thus, while only 1 in 100 of those showing strong Spanish skills gave up on providing a label for 'Rubber band,' 1 out of 5 of those with weak skills did so.

English Response to Fill a Lexical Gap

Less common than no response at all, but still generally revealing of language loss, is the confession by some consultants that they would simply use the English word to label the particular stimulus. Such interjection of English words is, of course, a common phenomenon in everyday speech in this region and is often derided with the pejorative labels *Tex-Mex*, *mocho*, or *pocho*. But it is perfectly natural behavior in a linguistic situation where almost everyone who knows Spanish is also fluent in

English. Still, during an interview carried out in Spanish where the understood topic is the Spanish language, the ones who are more likely to resort to responding with a bare English word are those who are younger, those who acquired English earlier, and those who display less Spanish proficiency.

For example, up to a fourth of our consultants had a gap in their Spanish mental lexicons for 'Bat,' though the word ***bat*** seemed firmly ensconced in their English inventory. The filling of this Spanish lexical gap with the English word is seen in the three tables for 'Bat': 12-4, 13-5, and 13-7. We see that an increased frequency of the "default English" strategy occurs with each younger age group, each earlier stage of English acquisition, and each lower level of Spanish proficiency. Given that bats are ubiquitous in the region, the fact that 23% of the NMCOSS consultants were unable to respond or could respond only in English is telling.

Tables 13-9 to 13-11 provide a few additional examples of this use of English to fill a lexical gap for our three measures of language attrition: generation, age of acquisition of English, and proficiency in Spanish. Table 13-9 reveals, to cite just 1 case, that many consultants used the English word ***ladybug*** to identify that common and distinctive insect, but with a substantially greater dependence on English with each younger generation. (The reversed trend for 'Panties' will be discussed following Table 13-11.)

Table 13-10 shows a similar increase in reliance on English with each earlier stage of learning of English. For instance, a fourth or more of those who learned English before starting school resorted to English ***praying mantis*** or ***walking stick*** to label this insect, but only 1 person among the late acquirers of English did so.

Finally, the same trend of increased reliance on English is displayed for Spanish ability in table 13-11. For example, 1 in 10 of those having weak Spanish skills had to resort to English ***grasshopper*** while none of those with strong Spanish needed to do so.

Several reasons motivate our inclusion of 'Panties' as the last item in the preceding three tables. First, it shows that language use is complex and there is no simple switch mechanism to characterize when a Spanish speaker resorts to using an English word. The 'Panties' variable illustrates a spontaneous borrowing, but it also exemplifies the process of integration of an Anglicism, as already discussed with reference to table 12-6. There it was demonstrated that the fully integrated *pantes* exhibits increased use by the younger age groups. Here, table 13-9 shows *decreased* recourse to a nonintegrated English word (***panties***, ***bloomers***, ***underwear***) in the younger generation, a reversal of the tendency the table is intended to document. The reversal illustrates the fact that the linguistic process of integrating an English word is quite different from the psychological process of latching onto English to make up for a deficiency in Spanish.

Second, although the variable 'Panties' fails to follow the attrition pattern in table 13-9, it certainly does adhere to the attrition patterns in tables 13-10 and 13-11. Why should that be? Well, linguistic integration of a borrowed word is a process that requires time, typically a generation or two, and our Younger generation reflects that increased time with increased use of the integrated *pantes*. On the other hand, resorting to English to fill a lexical gap manifests a weakness in Spanish and is therefore associated with general proficiency in Spanish as well as with the early acquisition of English that might impede the forming of a comprehensive foundation in Spanish. Finally, the different associations displayed for 'Panties' in these tables demonstrates the point made earlier that the age, age acquired English, and Spanish proficiency variables do not measure the same thing. They are independent variables.

Prompt Required

When a consultant could not independently come up with a response to a stimulus, the interviewer would often offer one or more possible variants as a prompt. Again, there are surely many different psychological reasons for needing a prompt to access a lexical item. Memory loss associated with older age is surely one. Performance in the test-like situation of responding to specific elicitation is another. But in the NMCOSS situation, reduced dominance of Spanish is clearly one of the most salient reasons.

Table 13-12 displays the responses to the activity 'Thread (a needle)' for the three generational groups. *Ensartar* is one of those archaisms that is widespread in the Americas, according to Lerner (1974). For example, it is apparently the most widely used form in Colombia (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 68). In New Mexican Spanish it is the only label of importance for this activity, being the preference of three-quarters (76%) of the consultants overall. Yet barely half (55%) of the youngest generation made this selection. Moreover, of those persons in the Younger age group who expressed a preference for *ensartar*, 57% had to be prompted to do so. Since only 17% of the oldest generation and a third of the middle generation required such prompting, we may guess that prompts reveal a loss of Spanish language skills. As for the Castilian standard variant, the single instance of *enhebrar* was prompted, and of 2 truncated versions (*hebrar*) offered, 1 was prompted.

TABLE 13-9. Lexical gap English response for selected variables by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
'Barber'	3.9	2.3	0.0
'Boat'	5.1	0.8	0.8
'Dragonfly'	17.5	9.8	3.4
'Scorpion'	23.2	9.2	3.2
'Ladybug'	56.8	46.6	27.7
'Panties'	19.2	29.1	29.7

TABLE 13-10. Lexical gap English response for selected variables by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
'Moth'	5.7	3.9	3.4	0.0
'Purple'	8.3	8.0	2.6	0.0
'Quarter'	8.8	4.3	2.0	2.0
'Buzzard'	16.7	15.7	8.7	7.5
'Sideburns'	18.0	12.8	6.7	2.0
'Hummingbird'	29.3	11.8	9.8	0.0
'Praying mantis'	29.6	24.5	17.6	2.0
'Porcupine'	35.2	13.7	13.7	0.0
'Panties'	35.7	31.9	26.0	16.3

TABLE 13-11. Lexical gap English response for selected variables by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
'Crow'	9.1	4.1	1.9
'Calf of leg'	9.5	8.7	1.5
'Blouse'	9.8	5.6	5.3
'Grasshopper'	10.9	1.4	0.0
'Cellar'	11.5	4.1	2.0
'Ankle'	12.2	4.3	5.0
'Goose'	18.5	4.1	3.7
'Umbrella'	27.5	9.7	2.9
'Bat'	38.2	9.5	6.5
'Roadrunner'	29.1	22.2	19.2
'Rouge'	49.0	43.7	25.5
'Panties'	39.2	29.2	23.0

TABLE 13-12. Responses for 'Thread' (a needle) by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
ensartar	55.2	78.6	86.9
Percent of *ensartar* prompted	56.8	33.0	17.2
Other response	14.9	12.2	5.6
No response	29.9	9.2	7.5
N	67	131	107

TABLE 13-13. Responses for 'Temple' by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
sentido, sintido	11.1	16.0	21.5	32.0
sien	14.8	38.0	42.3	56.0
templo	24.1	24.0	11.4	4.0
Percent of Spanish prompted	32.4	20.0	16.0	10.6
temple	13.0	2.0	4.7	2.0
Other response	13.0	2.0	8.7	2.0
No response	24.1	18.0	11.4	4.0
N	54	50	149	50

Also revealing the loss of skills, of course, is the fact that 30% of the youngest generation offered no response at all. And the remainder of this Younger group were only able to provide a descriptive phrase (e.g., *meter el hilo en la abuja* 'insert the thread in the needle') or attempt to coin a word (e.g., *abujear* 'to needle[?]').

Prompting is also associated with how early an individual learned English. In table 13-13, for example, the periods of English acquisition are cross-tabulated with the responses for 'Temple,' which has 3 frequently occurring labels. It is instructive to compare these findings with those of table 12-7 for generation. Across both successively younger age groups and successively earlier English acquisition groups, the standard Spanish *sien* decreases substantially and the integrated Anglicism *templo* increases substantially. The Traditional Spanish *sentido/sintido*, however, shows considerably greater slippage across the English acquisition stages than across the generations.

But an important point revealed in table 13-13 is the attrition of Spanish vocabulary generally. While 92% of the late English acquirers selected 1 of the 3 common labels, only 50% of those with English as a mother tongue did so. Moreover, 1 in 3 (32%) of these responses had to be prompted (versus 1 in 10 among the late English acquirers). Finally, as additional evidence of Spanish language loss, another quarter (24%) of the more Anglophone group could provide no label at all, and another 13% offered only the English term.

We previously demonstrated in this chapter that people who are younger, learned English at an earlier age, and have more restricted competence in Spanish tend to have more difficulty responding to the elicitations. It is to be expected, then, that those same groups will require more prompts. That is indeed the case. However, although both generation and English acquisition are frequently associated with the need for a prompt, Spanish proficiency pretty consistently shows the strongest correlation. Consequently, we limit our further discussion of prompting to that single extralinguistic variable.

Table 13-14 shows the impact of proficiency on the need for a prompt for a series of lexical variables. In the calculation of the prompt percentages in this table we have excluded all cases of no response and nonintegrated English response. That is, the prompts are calculated as a percentage of the Spanish responses only. Thus, among those with a Weak level of proficiency, two-thirds had to be prompted to produce a Spanish label for 'Bat' and 'Hummingbird.' The consistent display in table 13-14 of significantly more prompts among those with less ability in Spanish is a prominent manifestation of loss of Spanish fluency.

TABLE 13-14. Prompt required for selected variables by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

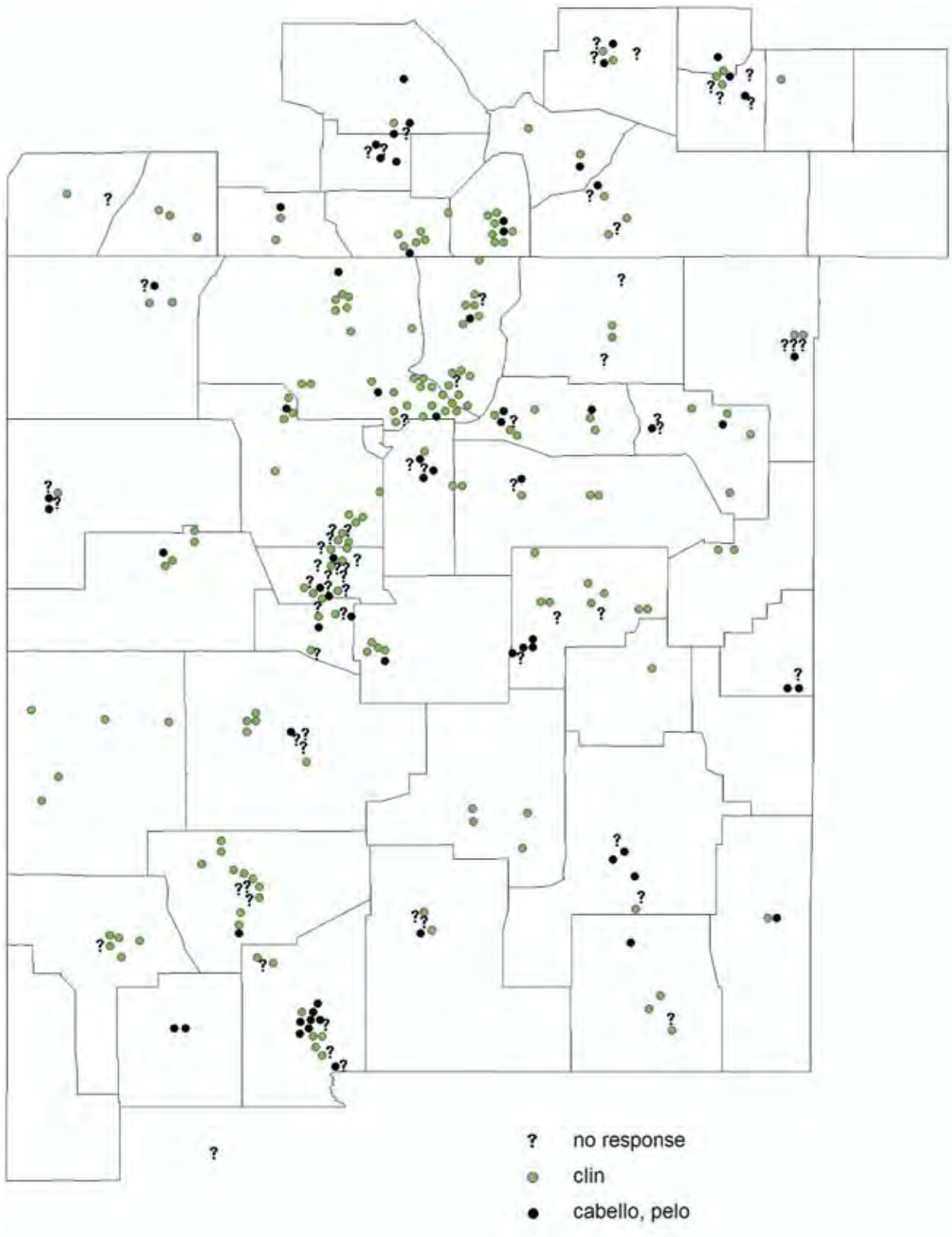
	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
'Quarter'	5.8	2.9	2.0
'Tin can'	11.5	0.0	0.5
'Nuts'	21.4	7.5	3.0
'Umbrella'	24.0	10.9	4.1
'Earthworm'	24.0	15.3	10.1
'Rubber band'	29.2	17.5	9.3
'Trunk'	31.0	20.9	5.8
'Grasshopper'	34.8	15.7	5.2
'Strawberry'	37.5	20.8	11.7
'Calf of leg'	38.5	11.1	13.8
'Temple'	40.0	26.3	12.0
'Belch'	41.7	21.8	9.6
'Purple'	42.5	28.3	12.2
'Dove'	43.8	21.3	19.2
'Dragonfly'	53.3	50.0	30.9
'Crow'	55.6	40.9	23.4
'Roadrunner'	60.0	54.5	33.5
'Ankle'	64.3	39.2	22.5
'Praying mantis'	66.7	42.9	39.6
'Bat'	66.7	45.6	21.6
'Hummingbird'	68.8	44.9	20.0
'Buzzard'	68.8	61.8	39.3

Nonspecific Response

No response, an English response, and the need for a prompt all reveal a weakening of Spanish ability among the NMCOSS consultants. But even where individuals come up with a response, we find telltale indications of the attrition of Spanish skills. One such indication is a response that is vague or nonspecific. Consider, for example, the labels for the 'Mane' of a horse, for which we find three principal categories of response. First, 176 of 336 consultants (52%) favored the appropriate term *clin* or *crin*. As in Mexico (*ALM* mapa 647), the preferred realization was *clin*; only 8 of our consultants chose the *crin* variant that seems to be preferred in Spain (according to the *DRAE*). Second, 67 persons (20%) offered no response at all. And third, another 20% (66 persons) responded imprecisely with a general term for 'Hair,' *cabello* or *pelo*.

These three categories of response for 'Mane' are plotted on map 13-1. We see at a glance that there is nothing indicative of regional dialect variation in this display. The three categories—appropriate, clueless, and nonspecific—occur haphazardly in all sectors. We must look elsewhere than geography for any explanation of the considerable variation we find.

We already saw in table 13-6 that the No response category for 'Mane' increases with earlier points in the acquisition of English. Table 13-15 shows this variable's association with age. All three of the major response categories show strong relationships to age. Eight out of 10 in the Older generation identified the 'Mane' of a horse appropriately as *clin* (or *crin*), but only 5 in 10 in the Middle generation and 2 in 10 in the Younger generation did so. The most common



13-1. ‘Mane’

TABLE 13-15. Responses for 'Mane' by Generation (percentages)

	YOUNGER AGES 15–40	MIDDLE AGES 41–64	OLDER AGES 65–96
clin, crin	19.0	47.1	80.2
cabello, pelo	40.5	20.6	5.0
mane	6.3	8.1	1.7
Other response	3.8	2.9	1.7
No response	30.4	21.3	11.6
N	79	136	121

TABLE 13-16. Responses for 'Earthworm' by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
lumbriz and variants	50.9	66.7	77.1	88.2
gusano	45.5	33.3	20.3	11.8
Other or No response	3.6	0.0	2.6	0.0
N	55	51	153	50

response among the youngest group, even more common than no response at all, was simply the loosely descriptive word for 'Hair,' *cabello* or *pelo*.

Now, the point might be taken that the older consultants are more likely to have grown up in a rural society where a term for 'Mane' was apt to be used on a regular basis. That is so. But the generation differences are too great for this to be the sole explanation. We are confident that far more than 19% of the Younger group know the English term. In fact, 6% so responded even knowing we were seeking their Spanish label. It might also be pointed out that our vocabulary expands with experience gained in the world, especially with regard to words like 'Mane' that may be alien to daily life. That too is so. But these people in the Younger group are hardly spring chickens. We wouldn't be willing to bet that fifty years from now 80% of this group will be able to respond with *clin*. We cannot escape the conclusion that the generational differences in attempts to label 'Mane' reflect a serious diminution over time in Spanish language dexterity.

A similar case of imprecise labeling is seen in the response for 'Earthworm.' With this variable we do encounter an interesting detail of geographical variation, but we leave that discussion to the concluding chapter (see map 16-13). Almost three-fourths of our consultants (242 of 335, 72%) offered an appropriately specific term for 'Earthworm,' usually *lumbriz* (198 cases). We also occasionally received related responses of (in descending order of frequency) *lumbricia* (26 cases), the standard variant *lombriz* (13), and *lumbriza* (5). But another fourth of our sample (85 persons, 25%) could come up with only the general term for 'worm,' *gusano*.

We already saw (table 13-14) that 'Earthworm' is one of those terms that often requires a prompt and is associated with Spanish proficiency. And like 'Mane,' the responses are closely related to the generation; for example, only 16% of the Older generation offered the nonspecific *gusano*, but 41% of the Younger generation did so. In this case, however the strongest association is with the age of English acquisition. Table 13-16 reveals that 88% of the late acquirers of English identified an 'Earthworm' as one of the *lumbriz* variants. Each earlier category of English acquisition shows a decline in use of a specific term, down to barely half of the group with English as a first language. And at each earlier stage of English acquisition, we find a compensatory increase in the more general, nonspecific term *gusano*. *Gusano*. A befitting image for linguistic decay.

The decay is also seen in the loss of a Spanish lexical item for which there exists (to our knowledge) no equivalent word in English. *Corva* refers to the curved area of the leg behind the knee. Almost half of the NMCOSS consultants (155 of 316) offered this term for the variable

TABLE 13-17. Responses for 'Back of knee' by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
corva and variants	15.2	52.2	62.1
rodilla and *canilla* forms	19.6	6.0	6.4
Other response	0.0	3.0	4.9
No response	65.2	38.8	26.6
N	46	67	203

'Back of knee,' and we see in map 13-2 that this term is used throughout the NMCOSS region. A small number of respondents proposed an array of related forms, ranging from the acceptable *corvilla* and *corvo* to the near-misses *covra*, *cuerva*, *cuervo*, *curva*, *curvia*, and even *córdova*. *Corva*, a feminine noun, is also the dominant term—overwhelmingly so—in Mexico, according to the *ALM* (mapa 753), although the *DRAE* reports only the masculine variant *corvo*.

Of course, the other half of our sample did not come up with the appropriate label *corva* or a close approximation. In fact, 110 persons (35%) were unable to provide any response at all. Map 13-2 demonstrates that there is no geographical patterning to this lexical loss.

Intermediate between a knowledge of the term and the inability to respond was a strategy to identify the body part with some reference to *rodilla* 'knee' or *canilla* 'shin,' for example, *atrás de la rodilla* 'behind the knee,' much like an English speaker referring to that area as *back of the knee*. Nineteen persons (8%) selected this strategy to fill a lexical gap. Still others simply offered the wrong body part (*rodilla*, *canilla*, *zancarrón*, *codo*). These other manifestations of lexical loss also have nothing to do with geography.

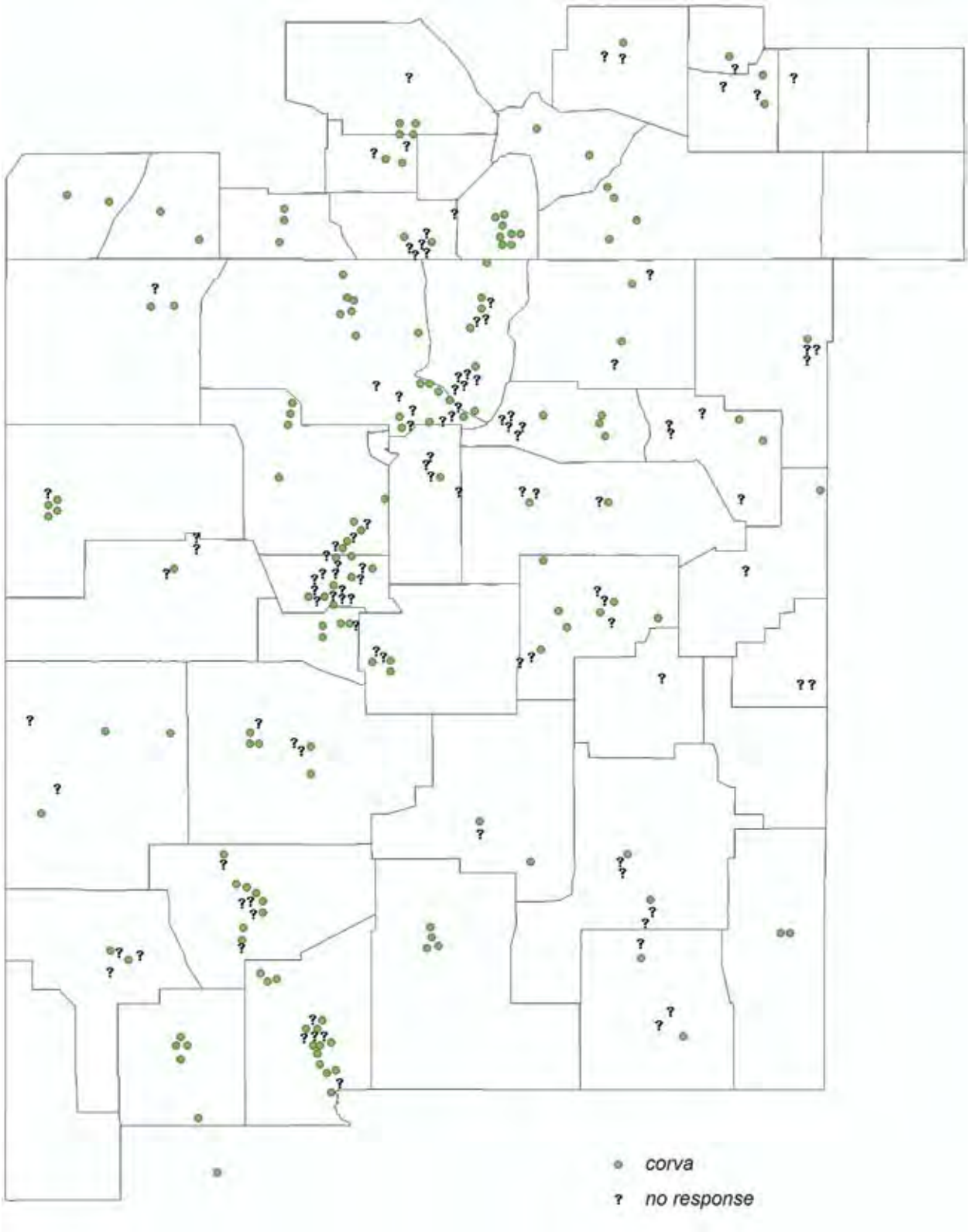
The 'Back of knee' variable is strongly associated with the Spanish proficiency measure, as table 13-17 demonstrates. While 62% of the fluent Spanish speakers accurately identified this body part, a minuscule 15% of those judged to have weak Spanish skills were able to do so. The resort to using a part of the leg to provide a description accounts for another 20% of the responses of those with weak Spanish. Nonetheless, the imprecise descriptive approach accounts for over half of the Spanish responses they could muster, since nearly two-thirds (65%) of these speakers could produce no response at all.

Now, *gusano* for 'Earthworm,' *cabello* or *pelo* for 'Mane,' and *atrás de la rodilla* for the body part behind the knee are "correct" responses in some sense. We can be sure that the speaker will be able to adequately communicate about such entities, though perhaps having to draw on other linguistic and extralinguistic resources (e.g., pointing, drawing a picture) to do so. Nevertheless, consistency in the inability to label a subcategory with a specific term must be seen as another clear indication of language attrition and the process of language shift.

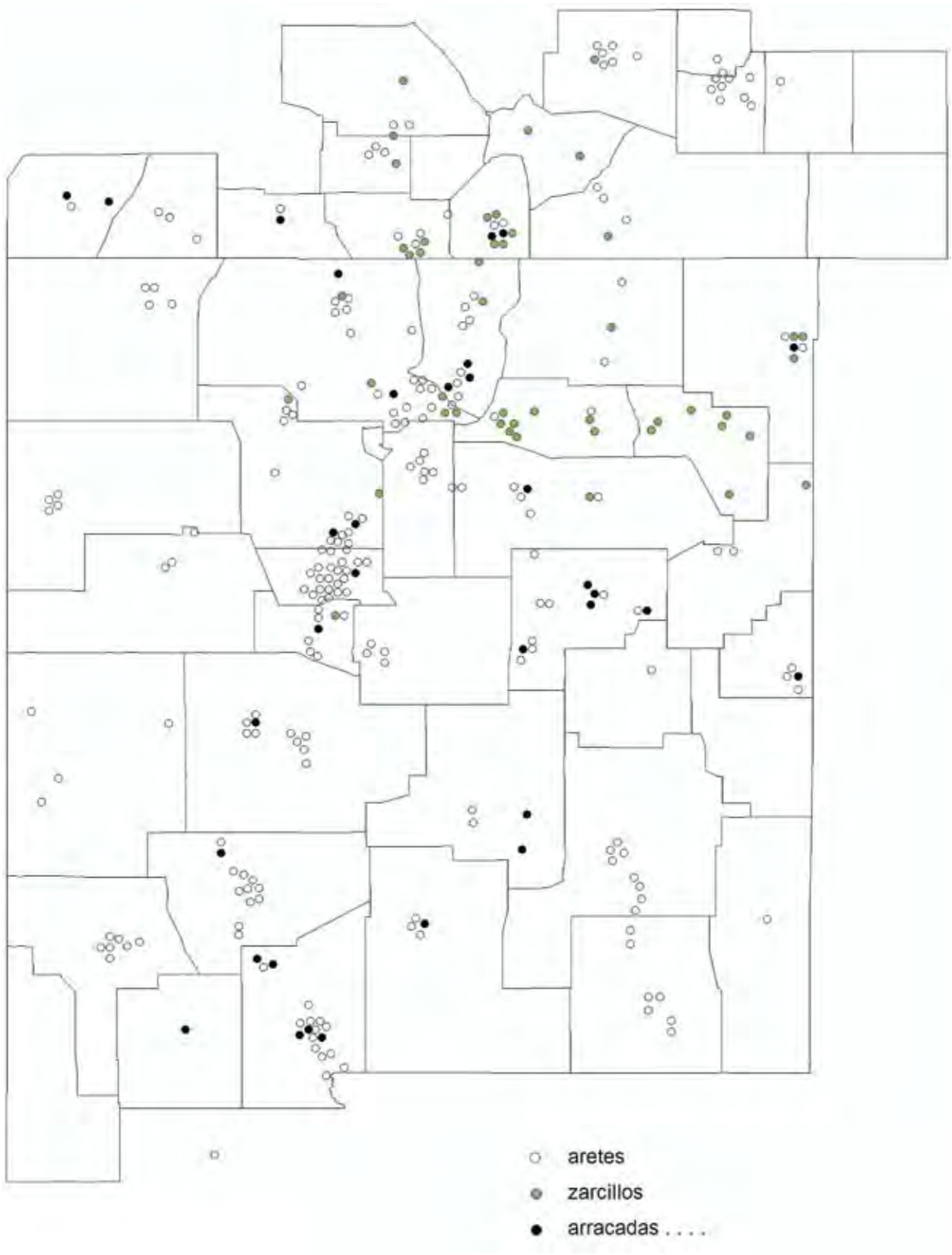
A phonological correlate of lexical nonspecificity would appear to be distortions in the form of a word. Let us illustrate with the responses for 'Earrings.' It may be important to point out for those familiar with other dialects of Spanish that the stimulus was a pair of large white hoop earrings. The most common term, preferred by two-thirds of the consultants overall (215 of 321, 67%), is the usual Spanish label *aretes*. The 2 minor variants are *zarcillos* (47 preferences, 15%) and *arracadas* (33 preferences, 10%). Map 13-3 reveals that *aretes* and *arracadas* are distributed without any pattern. But *zarcillos* is decisively a characteristic of the Traditional Spanish of the rural north. Neither L. Trujillo (1983) nor Cobos lists this 'Earrings' variant, though Cobos lists *zarcillos* (1983) and *zarcíos* (2003) as a flowering plant. Alvar (2000, 208) and Pedrero (2002, 53–54) document 4 mentions in the NMCOSS region as well as 3 in Texas. *Zarcillos* for 'Earrings' is also quite common in the traditionally less accessible areas of Colombia, the southern and eastern Andes (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 36).

Table 13-18 displays the 'Earrings' responses according to evaluated proficiency in Spanish. In comparison to those with strong Spanish skills, those with weak skills show less preference for each of the Spanish words except for the traditional *zarcillos*. The decline in Spanish vocabulary is offset by a corresponding increase in the English response and in no response at all among those having more limited Spanish.

We combine in this table as "Distorted Spanish response" the 12 terms offered that are distortions of the usual forms. Examples of these distortions are *aldaretes*, *arracatas*, *arrajadas*, *arrecadas*, *eretes*, and *oretes*, each of which occurred just 1 time. Notice that the distortions that



13-2. ‘Back of knee’



13-3. 'Earrings'

TABLE 13-18. Responses for 'Earrings' by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
aretes	51.0	67.6	70.9
zarcillos	13.7	12.7	15.6
arracadas	5.9	11.3	11.1
Distorted Spanish response	11.8	7.0	1.0
earrings	7.8	0.0	1.0
Other response	0.0	1.4	0.5
No response	9.8	0.0	0.0
N	51	71	199

TABLE 13-19. Responses for 'Quiero que' completion by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
Subjunctive	53.5	98.3	97.2
Indicative	46.5	1.7	2.8
N	43	58	181

occur in these examples involve consonants and vowels of unstressed syllables, that is, phonological units that are less salient in perception and therefore more easily misinterpreted under conditions of reduced exposure and use. It is unsurprising, therefore, to find that the distortions become more frequent with weaker Spanish proficiency (up to 12% of the responses of the Weak group in table 13-18). They also become more frequent from one generation to the next (1% of the responses of the Older group to 8% of the Younger group), but these distortions show no association with the English acquisition variable.

Such idiosyncratic phonological distortions of consonants and atonic vowels occur repeatedly in association with loss in our data, as we'll clarify further in chapter 15. To show one example, the usual word for 'Nurse' in New Mexican is *nodriza*, but we encountered numerous distortions (e.g., *nodricia*, *nordiza*, *novriza*). With regard to generation, for example, the aberrant forms accounted for 23% of the responses of the Younger group, 16% of the responses of the Middle group, and just 2% of the responses of the Older group.

Phonological distortions occur especially—and unsurprisingly—in longer words of four or more syllables. For example, among those with low Spanish fluency we find such nonsystematic or nonce deviations as *abercorque*, *abrecoque*, and *albercoco* for the target *albercoque* 'Apricot'; *paguaraja* and *parayagüe* for target *paraguas* 'Umbrella'; *marcélego*, *murzágalo*, and *murciela* for target *murciélago* 'Bat'; and *petequilla* and *tapaquilla* for target *petaquilla* 'Trunk.'

Finally, the equivalent of lexical nonspecificity shows up also in grammatical constructions. To illustrate, let us examine a single glaring example, the choice of indicative or subjunctive mood in a particular subordinate clause. In Spanish, the subjunctive is universally required in a clause subordinate to a verb such as *querer* 'want.' One of the more test-like tasks in the NMCOSS questionnaire was to complete a sentence along the lines of *Yo quiero que el presidente . . .* 'I want the president to . . .' (the 'Quiero que' variable). Table 13-19 shows how the three proficiency groups made the choice of mood on the verb used to complete this sentence. Virtually all of the consultants in the two more fluent groups adhered to the expectation by employing the subjunctive mood, and the few deviations appeared to be attributable to confusion about the task. On the other hand, almost half of those with less than adequate competence utilized the indicative mood in their responses. (De la Puente-Schubeck 1991 provides a comprehensive examination of the loss of the subjunctive across three generations of ten families of Albuquerque, New Mexico.)

The final stage in the process of language shift, then, begins with a diminution of control of nuances of the heritage language. Others, especially Carmen Silva-Corvalán

TABLE 13-20. Responses for 'Quarter' by Spanish proficiency (percentages)

	WEAK (1–3)	ADEQUATE (4)	STRONG (5)
dos reales	19.2	31.4	43.9
peseta	5.8	12.9	19.5
cuara	30.8	28.6	14.1
Other response	44.2	27.1	22.4
N	52	70	205

in a long series of publications on Hispanic residents of East Los Angeles (e.g., 1988; 1994a; 1994b; 2001, 308–27), have explored in great detail the attrition of Spanish skills among U.S. bilinguals. Our discussion in this section has been limited to presenting more straightforward examples of simplification and loss, and these examples clearly demonstrate how many speakers of New Mexican Spanish are exhibiting diminished control of the language in vocabulary, phonology, and grammatical structure.

Disproportionate Impact of Loss in Traditional Spanish

We saw in the previous chapter that there is a generational trend of change that favors Anglicisms and Mexican and standard Spanish forms at the expense of forms that are typical of the Traditional Spanish dialect. The same trend toward declining use of nonstandard and Traditional Spanish terms occurs with the attrition of Spanish ability (though we do occasionally find counterexamples such as the relative maintenance of *zarcillos* for 'Earrings' as seen in table 13-18).

For example, as we've seen in map 10-7, the 3 usual terms for the coin 'Quarter' in New Mexican Spanish are the Traditional Spanish form *dos reales*, the Border Spanish form *peseta*, and the Anglicism *cuara*. Table 13-20 indicates that among those having strong proficiency in Spanish, 44% prefer the Traditional Spanish term and only 14% the Anglicism. With the weakening of Spanish skills the situation reverses; *dos reales* falls to just 19% preference and *cuara* rises to 31%.

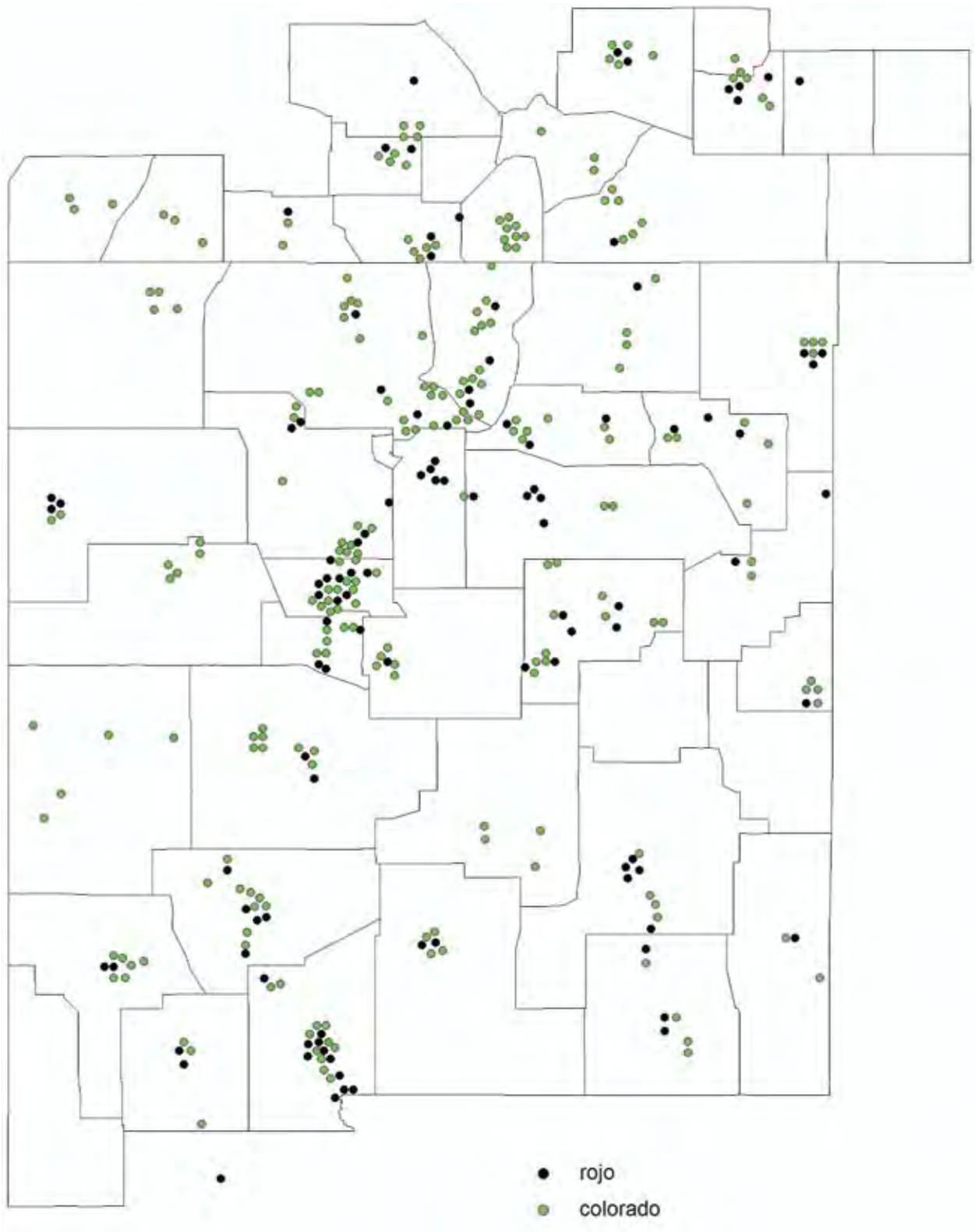
The usual term for the color 'Red' in New Mexican Spanish is *colorado*, the long established colloquial form reflected in the name of the state, a couple of rivers, and numerous other topographical features of the Southwest. Two-thirds of our consultants (229 of 343, 67%) selected this label. Another 30% (108 persons) chose to use *rojo*, which happens to be the standard Spanish term always used in textbooks. No geographical dialect patterning is apparent in the preference for the 2 labels (see map 13-4).

Table 13-21 displays the words chosen for the color 'Red' and their associations with the age of acquisition of English. Among the consultants who did not learn English until age seven or later, over 80% identified the color as *colorado*. For the next two groups there was a reduction to 70% and 63% in the preference for *colorado*, and those who grew up with English as their first language offered that form less than half the time. The opposite trend occurs with *rojo*. Nearly half of those who acquired English early gave *rojo* as their preferred choice but just 15% of the late English learners did so.

Table 13-22 shows similar results for a morphological variable, the third person singular form of *ver* in the preterit, that is, the variable 'I saw.' Nearly 60% of the late English learners offered the archaic variant *vido* even though its use is quite stigmatized. In contrast, almost three-quarters of the early English learners preferred the standard *vio*.

We would expect early acquisition of English to favor English influence, but why should it favor Mexican or standard Spanish influence? The results are due in part to the fact that the acquisition variable is confounded with the age variable. That is, those who learn English early tend to be younger while the late learners tend to be older. In turn, the age variable is negatively associated with education and the formal study of Spanish (as we'll explore in the next chapter). The younger NMCOSS consultants tend to be more highly educated in general and to have more exposure to classroom Spanish. Thus, the influence of English as well as the influence of standard and Mexican Spanish are apt to be most apparent in the speech of the Younger generation.

However, the Pearson correlations of -.35 for English acquisition and education and -.28 for English acquisition and Spanish study, while attaining high statistical significance, are not terribly strong correlations. The acquisition variable proves to be somewhat independent of these



13-4. ‘Red’

TABLE 13-21. Responses for 'Red' by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
colorado	49.2	62.7	70.3	81.5
rojo	47.5	37.3	28.4	14.8
Other response	3.4	0.0	1.3	3.7
N	59	51	155	54

TABLE 13-22. Responses for 'I saw' by Age acquired English (percentages)

	(CO-)FIRST LANGUAGE	BEFORE AGE 6	AT AGE 6	AFTER AGE 6
vido	26.9	28.3	41.4	57.4
vio	71.2	69.6	57.9	40.4
Other response	1.9	2.2	0.7	2.1
N	52	46	145	47

other social variables. Early acquisition of English typically means being raised in an English-speaking home and thereby having less exposure to Spanish, at least in the home. Perhaps these more Anglophone consultants further develop their Spanish skills outside the home. If in the community, it is increasingly likely to be Mexican Spanish or standard Spanish for that is what is now mostly heard on the streets, at the malls, in theaters. And if in the classroom, it will certainly be standard Spanish. Consequently, the lapse in intergenerational transmission of Spanish in the home and the diminution of Spanish fluency facilitates the intrusion of Border Spanish.

Cumulatively, the varied findings explored in this chapter point to a high degree of functional reduction of Spanish vis-à-vis English and imperfect learning of the ethnic mother tongue. The loss of a nonstandard dialect can be no surprise given such a high level of performance error. This performance problem is not just dialect shift away from the Traditional Spanish norm, however. It is the symptom of a terminal disease. Continued reduction of proficiency in the ethnic heritage language is sure to culminate in the death of the Traditional Spanish dialect. And in the death of the Spanish language in general for many persons of Hispanic heritage in the NMCOSS region.

To witness such loss is devastating to those of us who treasure this dialect. Interviewer Ysaura Bernal-Enríquez laments:

> (13-5) There were two interviews that made me want to cry. One was of a man in his seventies who described his experience of being punished in school for speaking Spanish. Even though he was from the eldest group of interviewees, he agonized in trying to recall even some of the most basic words in Spanish. The other was of a woman in her late eighties who was so insecure about her variety of Spanish that she would not tell me her variant unless I could show it to her on my list or could tell her it was in a dictionary such as Rubén Cobos's *A dictionary of New Mexico and southern Colorado Spanish*.

CHAPTER 14

Expanding Horizons

The Impact of Standard Spanish

Introduction

One of the principal trends illustrated in chapter 12 is the kind of language change that is usually called "change from below," change that is inspired by the speech of the common people, the ordinary colloquial language of our friends and neighbors. Thus, we saw the expansion of nonstandard lexical items such as the regional *ganso* for 'Turkey,' the Anglicism *sute* for 'Suit,' and the Mexican *nieve* for 'Ice cream.' Such change from below is particularly apparent in the grammatical system, as we saw in the expansion of such colloquial forms as *hamos* and *la clima*. This kind of language change is typically "below the level of social awareness" (Labov 1972, 178), but it can have a special attraction. If we have moved away, it may remind us of home, of our parents and grandparents, of our extended family. And, if we're old enough, it may remind us of "the good old days."

In this chapter, however, we probe a very distinct kind of change, "change from above," change inspired by the speech of the educated or cultured, the kind of language that most people will readily evaluate in a positive way. It is language that has an attraction that is very distinct from that of colloquial speech. It is said to have "overt" prestige, because the community members will generally label it as "good" and "proper." A colloquial variety of Spanish or English may have an attraction that is in some ways equally strong or much stronger, but whatever prestige it has is "covert." Perhaps we kind of like it, feel comfortable around it, feel at home with it, but it might not normally be called "good" Spanish or "good" English.

Most people feel it's easy to identify "good" speech and are quite content to label that "good" way of talking as standard. However, it is astonishingly difficult to objectively define what a community of people or even what a single individual considers to be "good" English or "good" Spanish. The identification of good speech is usually made in a negative fashion. People identify what is *not* good: "He doesn't speak English properly." "Their Spanish is really ignorant."

Moreover, whatever the standard language is, it is not a single dialect that can be readily pinpointed. It is highly variable. Standard American English is very different from standard British English. Standard Castilian Spanish is very different from standard Mexican Spanish. Standard Boston English is very different from standard

Philadelphia English. And Bostonians from different parts of the city will differ significantly in identifying the "best" kind of English.

In Spanish, the variety perceived to be good is often called the *norma culta*. This notion of the "cultivated norm" reveals a distinguishing characteristic of a standard variety. The standard language tends to be what the cultured, educated classes consider normal. It holds sway wherever the cultured, educated people hold sway—for example, in the schools, in the courts, in the banks. It is therefore associated with a special kind of success in life, economic success in particular. And it is therefore to be emulated when seeking that kind of success.

The Spanish speakers of our survey region are bilinguals who are usually dominant in English and tend to have a far stronger awareness of what is considered good English than of what is considered good Spanish. That is a natural result of 150 years of political detachment from world Spanish and nearly a century of compulsory education in English. The ambiguities of the linguistic and social situation have led to the kinds of myths discussed in chapter 2. Perceptions of the local Spanish are typically defined by the assessments of outsiders educated in Spanish, in whose view it seems quaint, archaic, rustic, folksy. The rampant influence of English is believed to be really bad. One thing that becomes clear to most speakers of New Mexican Spanish is that this variety is certainly *not* the *norma culta*.

But finding out what *is* the *norma culta* is not so easy. Nevertheless, a lot of speakers of New Mexican Spanish manage to gain some idea of what standard Spanish might be (as Kravitz 1985 has documented for a Hispanic barrio of Albuquerque). And they try to make use of that knowledge in circumstances where the standard might be considered appropriate—for instance, when plopped down before a tape recorder for an interview! Thus, we can certainly expect some manifestations of that knowledge to show up in the NMCOSS data.

Our consultants may have gained familiarity with standard Spanish in two principal ways: through exposure to written Spanish, independently or in the classroom, and through experience with speakers of the standard variety, in face-to-face interactions or via radio and television. In this chapter, we examine just two social variables that tap into those kinds of engagement with standard Spanish.

One of these social variables is the number of years of education that the individual has completed. We cannot, of course, expect each additional year of education to show a one-to-one correlation with a specific level of awareness of standard Spanish. But we can expect tendencies to show up because education is one of the most powerful indicators (along with occupation and income, see Labov 2001, 60) of socioeconomic status. Although all education for our consultants was typically in English, persons with higher levels of education tend to have broader contacts in the world, including in the Spanish-speaking world.

For analysis of the variable for years of education, we divided the consultants into five groups of roughly comparable size: (1) persons who completed fewer than nine years of education, (2) those who completed nine to eleven years of high school, (3) high school graduates, (4) those who attended college but did not complete a four-year degree, and (5) college graduates, some of whom have more advanced degrees. For example, as suggested previously, the use of the standard Spanish label *pavo* for 'Turkey' is associated with this education variable. Its frequency of mention increases with each higher level of education. *Pavo* was the choice of none from the lowest educational group, of only 6% of those in the two groups with some high school education, of 8% of the group with college experience, and of a hefty 18% of those having a college diploma.

The second social variable that we can expect to be associated with awareness of standard Spanish is how much experience in a Spanish classroom formed a part of that education. To explore the impact of classroom Spanish, we divide the NMCOSS consultants into four groups according to the amount of Spanish coursework they reported, ranging from no formal study at all to three or more courses (where a course is a year at the school level and a semester at the college level). For example, *pavo* was the term of preference for just 1 of the 120 persons who had no formal Spanish, but that label was offered by 6% of those with one Spanish course, 10% of those with two Spanish courses, and 13% of those with three or more courses.

Although *pavo* for 'Turkey' has been familiar to speakers of New Mexican Spanish for a long time, it does not seem to evidence a change in progress. Recall that it accounted for 8% of the responses in Kiddle's study (1951–52) from the 1930s, and it still represents only 7% of our cases in the 1990s. This is a case of a standard Spanish lexical form that some speakers become acquainted with but that appears not to be penetrating deeply into New Mexican Spanish.

A more vibrant illustration is the identification of the color 'Red' using the standard variant *rojo*, which was the preferred choice of nearly a third (31%) of the

TABLE 14-1. Responses for 'Red' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
colorado	88.1	84.0	65.9	45.3	50.7
rojo	9.0	12.0	31.7	53.1	47.8
Other or No response	3.0	4.0	2.4	1.6	1.5
N	67	50	82	64	67

TABLE 14-2. Responses for 'Red' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
colorado	84.4	71.0	49.2	45.8
rojo	13.1	25.8	50.8	54.2
Other or No response	2.5	3.2	0.0	0.0
N	122	62	59	72

NMCOSS consultants. Map 13-4 in the previous chapter shows that neither of the two terms for 'Red' displays a clear geographical distribution. The two-thirds of the consultants who prefer the term *colorado* are scattered all over the territory. Those who prefer *rojo* are also spread randomly throughout the region. As usual, however, when spatial distributions are unrevealing for a variable item, social correlations tend to surface with greater strength. *Rojo*, the standard Spanish term used widely across the Spanish-speaking world, shows strong associations with both the education and the Spanish study variables.

Table 14-1 displays the preferences for the terms for 'Red' according to years of education. We see that fewer than 1 in 10 of those who completed no more than eight years of formal education offer the standard *rojo*. At the opposite extreme of education, among those who have gone to college, *rojo* becomes as highly preferred as the traditional *colorado*.

Table 14-2 displays the 'Red' results according to formal courses in Spanish. As happens with education as a variable, an increase in the formal study of Spanish coincides with a marked increase in the use of the standard Spanish word. Indeed, *rojo* becomes the majority choice among those who have taken just two or more courses in Spanish.

Both formal study of Spanish and education in general, then, are associated with the emergence of standard Spanish vocabulary in the NMCOSS region. The following sections explore each of these social variables separately.

Formal Study of Spanish

Exposure to standard Spanish as presented in school and college Spanish classes clearly affected the language behavior of some of our consultants. Spanish teachers, by virtue of their training, have become educated Spanish speakers, and many of them—even native speakers of New Mexican Spanish—tend to feel it is their obligation to correct the "errors" they perceive in the Spanish of their Hispanic students. In Spanish classes today, especially at the college level but also in high school courses, there is an emphasis on accepting and nourishing the Spanish skills that the heritage speaker brings to the classroom. But this has not always been the case, as illustrated by the following comments of a forty-eight-year-old man from Albuquerque (interview 21):

(14-1) *Yo nunca tuve vergüenza como hablo. Nunca. 'Ora otra gente tuvo problema con la idioma. . . . Pus, estaba un maestro allí en* ***Lincoln****, ¿no? cuando ya (estaba?) en el* ***eighth grade****. Y siempre los [=nos] pescaba allí en el* ***study hall****. . . . Y siempre los abajaba, los avergonzaba, ¿no? porque no hablábamos 'l español como libro. Es que estaba enseñando* ***Spanish one*** *o no sé qué.* 'I have never been ashamed of how I talk. Never. Now other people had a problem with my language. . . . Well, there was a teacher there in Lincoln [Middle School], you see, when I was in the eighth grade. And he would always catch us there in study

TABLE 14-3. Responses for 'Teacher' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
maestro	44.3	55.7	62.7	71.8
maistro	7.4	11.5	5.1	2.8
mestro	42.6	26.2	25.4	16.9
profesor	5.7	6.6	6.8	7.0
Other response	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
N	122	61	59	71

> hall. . . . And he would always put us down, he'd try to shame us, you see, because we didn't speak Spanish like in the books. It's that he was teaching Spanish-1 or something of the sort.'

The formal study of Spanish may have considerable impact on one's native dialect, but the potential effect is limited in two ways. First, some students are more susceptible than others to the influence of teachers and the academic world. The teacher's admonitions appear to have had little effect on the Albuquerque man just quoted. Notice too in table 14-2 that barely half of those who had three or more Spanish courses adopted the more universal *rojo* for 'Red'; 46% continue to prefer the colloquial *colorado*.

Second, the effect is constrained by what is presented and emphasized in the Spanish classroom. Things and activities within the school domain are, of course, particularly emphasized. Consider, for example, the pronunciation of the word for 'Teacher' presented in table 14-3. To pronounce *maestro* with stress on the *e*, typically with the first two vowels in separate syllables, is characteristic of careful standard Spanish. The colloquial norm, common throughout the Spanish-speaking world, is to merge these two vowels into a single syllable as a diphthong with stress on the *a*, thus *maistro*. The popular solution in New Mexican Spanish (and in other dialects) is reduction to just the second vowel, *mestro*. (Jenkins 1999 and Alba 2005 provide detailed and authoritative analyses of the treatment of adjacent vowels in New Mexican Spanish.)

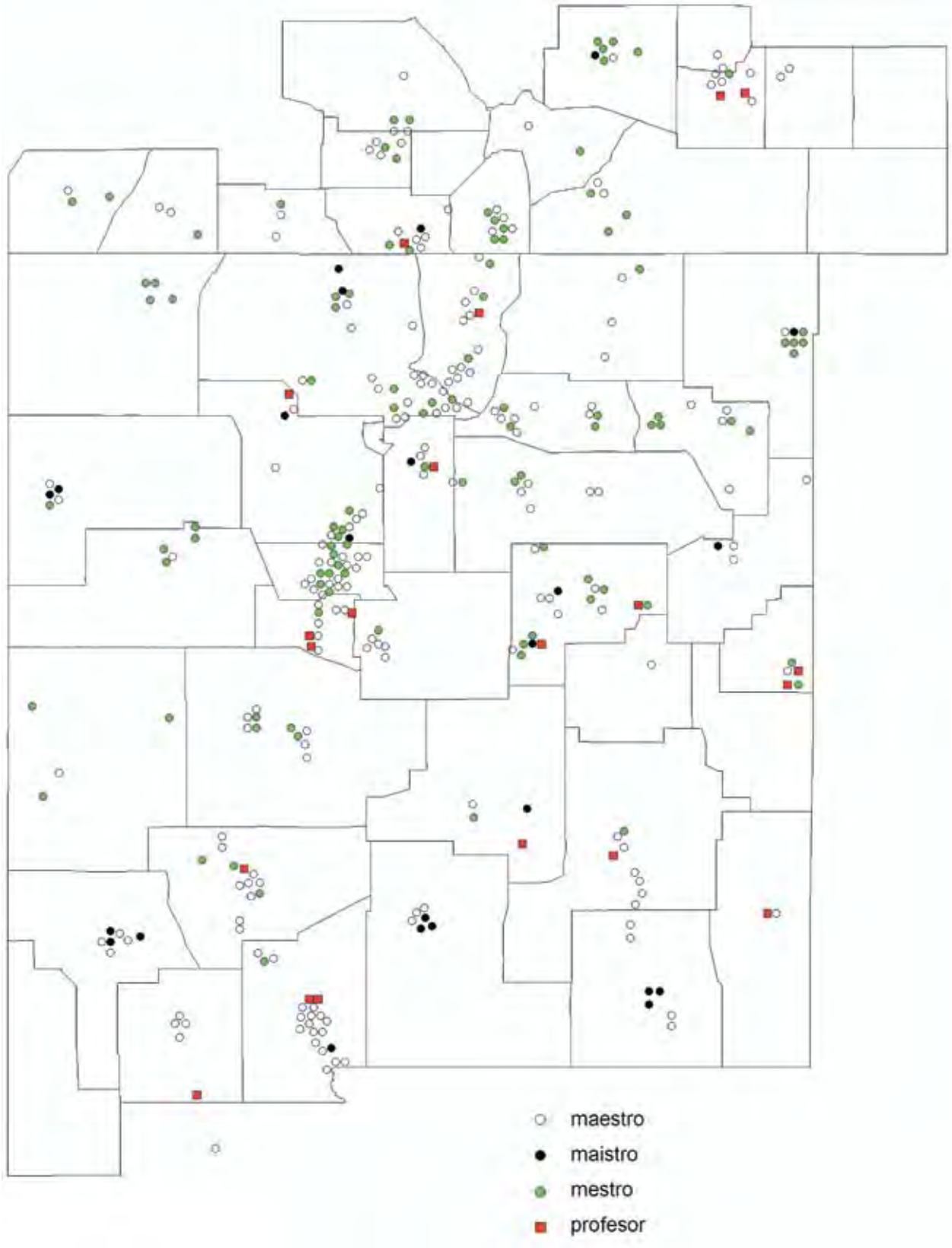
As it happens, the standard variant is the preferred variant in New Mexican Spanish, the choice of 57% of our 340 consultants (193 first choices). *Mestro* comes in second with barely half as many preferences (30%, 103 first choices). Least common in New Mexican Spanish are the widespread colloquial form *maistro* (24 responses, 7%) and the suprastandard *profesor* (20 responses, 6%). Map 14-1 reveals that the *mestro* variant is particularly characteristic of the Traditional Spanish area while the other 3 variants show no geographical clustering.

Table 14-3 makes clear that the standard pronunciation is widely accessible in the community, being volunteered by 44% of those who never set foot in a Spanish classroom. But each increase in classroom exposure increases the frequency of *maestro*, rising to 72% among those having three or more courses in Spanish. The 2 colloquial forms tend to display a corresponding decrease in frequency.

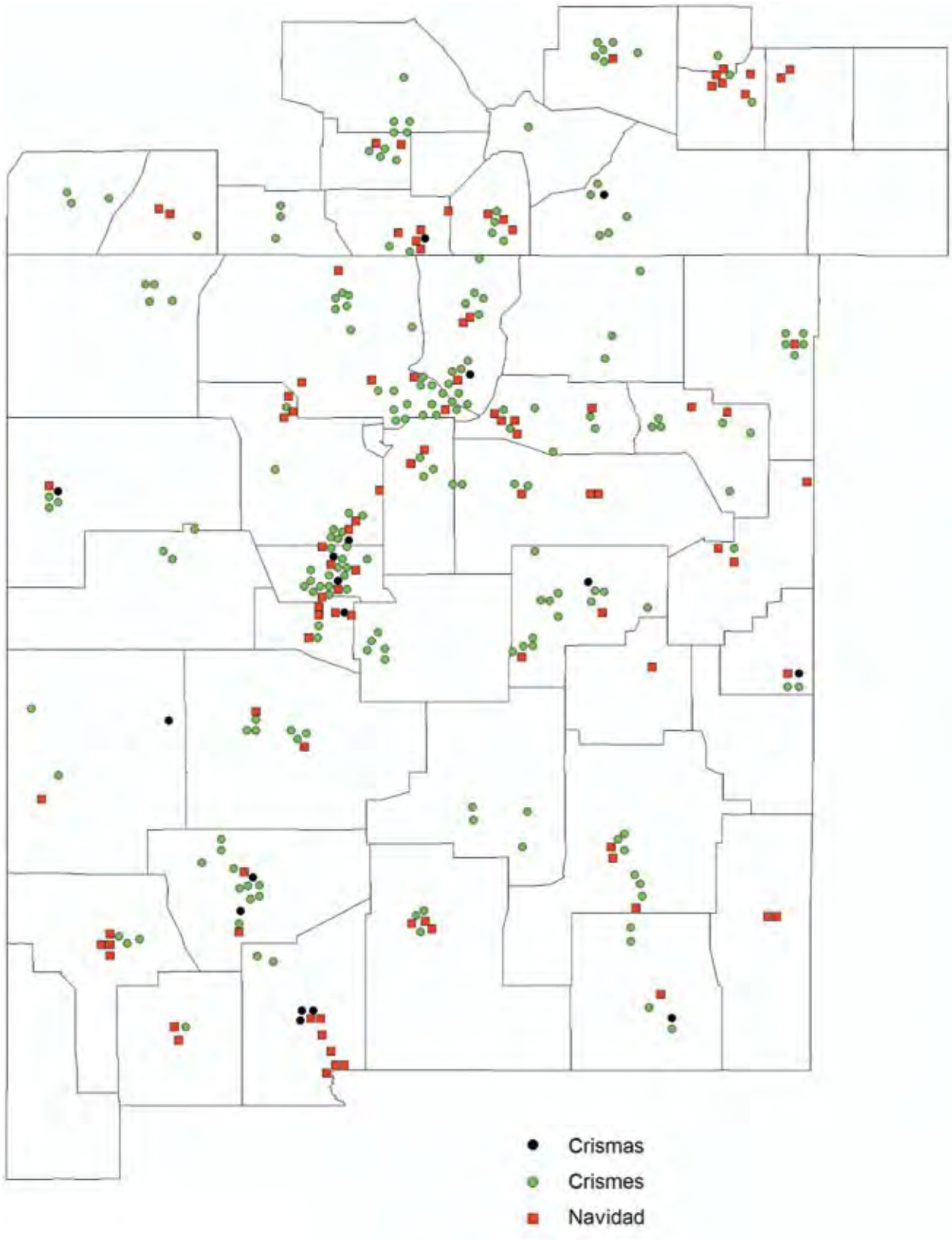
Where the classroom context is appropriate for the introduction of a particular lexical item, one of the common consequences is the suppression of Anglicisms. An excellent example is the label for the important December holiday that is invariably discussed in the classroom, 'Christmas' (briefly mentioned in chapter 10). By far the most common label in New Mexican Spanish is the Anglicism *Crismes* with 195 preferences (63%). There were in addition 17 responses of the slightly different *Crismas* and 4 cases of unassimilated ***Christmas***. It surprises us that Alvar (2000, 241) finds no instances of the Anglicism in the other Southwest states. In contrast, only 30% of our consultants (93 persons) offered the standard Spanish term *Navidad*.

Map 14-2 shows that the *Crismes* variant occurs across the NMCOSS territory. The *Crismas* variant with /a/ and *Navidad* occur sporadically throughout the region, but both are noticeably more prominent in the Border Spanish areas. The relative prominence of *Navidad* in Border Spanish represents the influence of Mexican Spanish, but its broader distribution must be attributable to social factors. The change-from-above trend to replace Anglicisms is additive when the standard variant happens also to be the norm in Mexico, as is the case with *Navidad*. This makes the standardization pressure even more potent and becomes in effect a Mexicanization process.

And that standardization pressure for appropriately labeling the Christmas holiday is clearly evident in the



14-1. ‘Teacher’



14-2. ‘Christmas’

TABLE 14-4. Responses for 'Christmas' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
Crismes, Crismas	81.4	70.9	61.5	57.4
Navidad	17.7	23.6	38.5	41.2
English or Other response	0.9	5.5	0.0	1.5
N	113	55	52	68

TABLE 14-5. Responses for 'Balloon' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
balún and variants	73.0	68.4	62.5	43.1
balloon	11.3	14.0	10.7	11.1
globo	11.3	12.3	23.2	40.3
Other or No response	4.3	5.3	3.4	5.6
N	115	57	56	72

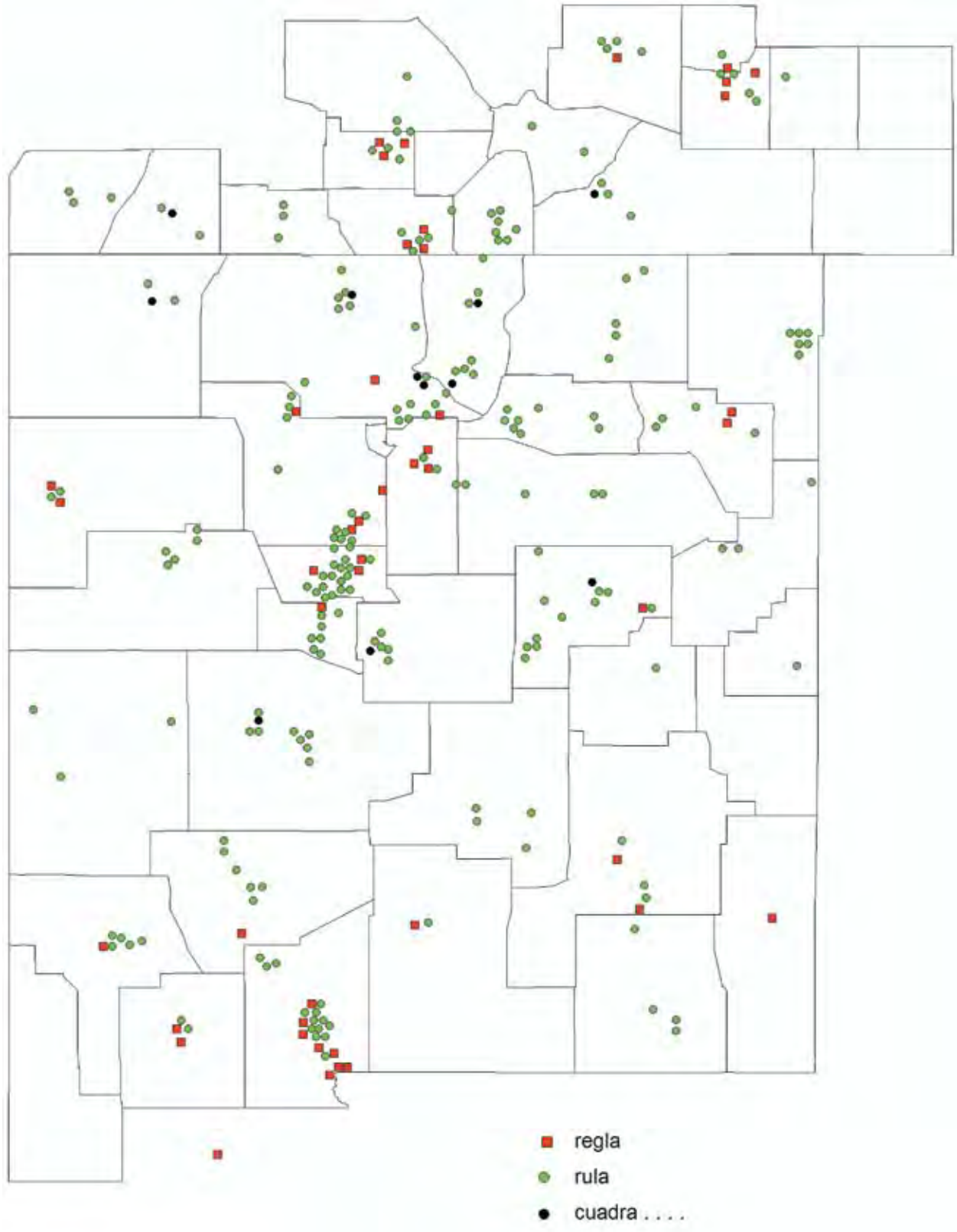
data for classroom exposure to Spanish (see table 14-4). The Anglicism *Crismes* is the term of preference of 81% of those having no formal instruction in Spanish, but its preferential status declines with each additional Spanish course, being progressively replaced by the standard Spanish *Navidad*.

Another Anglicism that shows the impact of standardization is the word for the spherical inflated toy of parties and carnivals, 'Balloon.' The typical speaker of New Mexican Spanish knows no other label for 'Balloon' than the English word, usually fully integrated as *balún* (occasionally but rarely *bolún*, *belún*, or *balón*). This variable is treated in greater detail in the following chapter (see map 15-3). Here we deal only with the impact of formal Spanish study. Table 14-5 shows how forcefully the standard *globo* displaces the integrated Anglicism, a displacement of almost 30 percentage points across the four categories of Spanish instruction. Formal study of Spanish seems to have no effect, however, on the willingness to confess that the English word ***balloon*** is the only label known (a point to which we return later).

A very similar case is the label for the measuring device 'Ruler,' pictured in our protocol as the twelve-inch wooden variety typically used in schools. Fully 74% of the responses for this variable are Anglicisms—either completely integrated as *rula* or some such variant or as the nonintegrated ***rule*** or ***ruler***. By far the most common form of this borrowing is *rula*, offered by 210 of the 330 respondents (64%). Map 14-3 shows that *rula* covers every inch of the region. The standard Spanish variant *regla* was the preference of just 46 persons (14%) and shows up most prominently, as we would expect, in the southern part of the region closest to the Mexican border. But in this case, too, there are scattered occurrences elsewhere and we find that sociological factors again play an important role. We have included on the map a minor form, *cuadra*, which achieved 11 preferences (2 being the metathesized *cuarda*) and which shows up only in rural parts of the Traditional Spanish territory. *Cuadra* in this area generally refers to the carpenter's 'square' (which may also be used for measuring). Perhaps the meaning of *cuadra* has been extended to cover a common ruler. Or perhaps these 11 persons grasped at a related term to avoid using an Anglicism.

As with 'Balloon,' the most significant social correlation appears to be the formal study of Spanish: more study of Spanish is associated with more use of the standard variant and less use of the Anglicism (see table 14-6). *Rula* falls from 74% among those who never studied Spanish to only 41% of those with the most exposure to Spanish in the classroom. Meanwhile, standard *regla* increases from 6% to 32%. The seemingly inexplicable increase in the ***ruler*** variant will be considered later.

Another Anglicism faces a different dilemma: which Anglicism is better? The options for 'Sweater' discussed in chapter 10 illustrate the dilemma. Do I use the variant based on spoken English, *suera*, or the one based on written English, *suéter*? Or should I just use the English label ***sweater***? The random distribution of the 3 variants in our earlier map 10-2 suggests that in making that decision,



14-3. 'Ruler'

TABLE 14-6. Responses for 'Ruler' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
rula	73.9	71.7	62.5	40.8
ruler	2.6	8.3	10.7	12.7
regla	6.1	5.0	14.3	32.4
Other or No response	17.4	15.0	12.5	14.1
N	115	60	56	71

TABLE 14-7. Responses for 'Sweater' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
suera	91.2	86.9	77.2	56.9
suéter	5.3	9.8	17.5	34.7
sweater	2.7	1.6	3.5	6.9
Other or No response	0.9	1.6	1.8	1.4
N	113	61	57	72

my life experiences (social factors) have more influence on the choice than where I'm from.

Indeed they do. For example, females, younger persons, those who learned English at an early age, those with higher income, and especially the more highly educated show a preference for the form *suéter*. But the strongest social correlation is with the formal study of Spanish. Table 14-7 shows that 91% of those having no classroom study of Spanish prefer *suera* and that the proportion drops with each course of formal study, falling to 57% among those who completed three or more Spanish courses. At the same time, the standard *suéter* shows a substantial increase with more formal study of Spanish.

As we just observed for 'Balloon' and 'Ruler,' although the integrated Anglicism shows a negative association with the formal study of Spanish, the unassimilated English form (***balloon***, ***ruler***, ***sweater***) fails to do so. In fact, the frequencies of ***ruler*** and ***sweater*** actually increase with more study of Spanish. Why should harkening to the stark English word maintain or increase its appeal with greater exposure to formal Spanish in the classroom? We can only speculate on the reason. Perhaps those who tend to take extended Spanish in high school or college are those who grow up with weaker skills in Spanish in the first place. Maybe they didn't get *rula* at home, and if they did, the experience in the classroom may have made them aware that the form *rula* is stigmatized. And if they got *regla* in the classroom, it didn't stick. So the English word becomes the only option.

Sometimes we find that the formal study of Spanish has a stronger negative impact on a well-established Traditional Spanish form than on the corresponding Anglicism. Map 12-7 shows that each of the 3 major terms for 'Ice cream' has a fairly clear geographical distribution: the *leche nevada* variant and the various forms of the Anglicism are characteristic of Traditional Spanish while the *nieve* of popular Mexican speech is typical of Border Spanish. But another label of fairly high frequency, the standard Spanish *helado*, displays no geographical clustering.

Formal study of Spanish is one of the social variables (along with education) that accounts for the occurrence of this last form; see table 14-8. While only 3.5% of the consultants who had never studied Spanish selected the *helado* label, 24% of those claiming three or more Spanish courses did so. The explanatory effect is not huge. After all, 3 out of 4 of those in the highest formal Spanish group failed to offer the standard label. But it is evident that *helado* is a recently emerging form in New Mexican Spanish and that its emergence is attributable in great measure to classroom experience with Spanish.

But what is the effect of formal study of Spanish on the other labels for the frozen dairy sweet? Perhaps because of the recency of the intrusion of *helado*, the trends are not sharply defined. With regard to the Traditional Spanish terms, there is a sharp drop-off of *leche nevada* among those having three or more years of Spanish. We also see a modest decline in the Anglicism with more study of Spanish. On the other hand, there is

TABLE 14-8. Responses for 'Ice cream' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
leche nevada	25.4	18.0	23.7	6.9
nieve	21.1	21.3	28.8	30.6
ice cream and variants	42.1	42.6	30.5	33.3
helado and variants	3.5	9.8	10.2	23.6
Other or No response	7.9	8.2	6.8	5.6
N	114	61	59	72

TABLE 14-9. Responses for 'Dress' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
túnico	62.6	55.7	56.1	45.8
vistido	7.8	3.3	5.3	1.4
vestido	27.0	34.4	36.8	48.6
Other or No response	2.6	6.6	1.8	4.2
N	115	61	57	72

a modest rise in use of the Mexican label, *nieve*, which may seem a bit unexpected. However, as we pointed out in chapter 2, Mexican Spanish has an aura of "goodness." That is, if the local Spanish is considered "bad" and a local variant differs from the variant used in Mexico where people are educated in Spanish, then the Mexican variant must be "good." Such linguistic insecurity is particularly common among language teachers, such as the teacher mentioned in example 14-1. *Helado* versus *nieve*, then, should really be considered a competition between two different standards.

Table 14-9 illustrates the impact of a standard Spanish form on not just 1 but 2 marked Traditional Spanish variants. The standard term for a woman's 'Dress' is *vestido*. We see in the table that its frequency rises from barely a quarter of those with no formal Spanish to nearly a half of those who enjoyed three or more Spanish courses. In Traditional Spanish, however, the usual term for 'Dress' is *túnico* (see earlier map 5-3). As expected, the preference for this term declines with expanded exposure to classroom Spanish, although nearly half of the highest formal Spanish group continues to prefer the *túnico* label.

The increase in the use of *vestido* is particularly remarkable due to the fact that in Traditional Spanish this term typically has a sharply divergent meaning, referring not to an article of women's clothing, but to a man's 'Suit' (see map 10-14). This contrast in meaning is not a terribly surprising development given that *vestido* is historically the past participle of the verb *vestir* 'to dress' and thus means simply 'dressed'; the evolution of a meaning for clothing associated with one gender could understandably go either way and has done so in different regions. But the widely accepted standard is the use of *vestido* for 'Dress.' Consequently, formal study of Spanish has a concomitant impact on the label for a man's 'Suit,' where the preference for a *vestido* form declines from 56% of those with no experience in the classroom to 29% of those who had one or more Spanish courses.

Adding to the trouble, moreover, is the fact that in Traditional Spanish *vestido* is commonly realized as *vistido*, a shibboleth of nonstandard speech. The importation of the standard Spanish form, then, not only undermines the traditional term for 'Dress' but also promotes a change in meaning as well as pronunciation of another traditional term.

Similar trends toward standardization as a result of experience with formal Spanish in the classroom show up with many other lexical variables. A sampling is provided in table 14-10. For example, the standard *afeitarse* 'Shave' (competing with *hacerse la barba*, *rasurarse*, and *resurarse*) was proffered by no one having fewer than two Spanish courses but by 13% of those having more than two courses. *Desayuno* as the label for the morning meal 'Breakfast' increases from 6% among those who never studied Spanish to 20% among those who had at least three Spanish courses, supplanting the retained *almuerzo* that now typically

TABLE 14-10. Selected standard lexical responses by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
cerdo, *puerco* (vs. *marrano*, *cochino*) 'Pig'	0.0	4.8	5.1	9.9
afeitarse (vs. varied) 'Shave'	0.0	0.0	1.7	12.7
mono (vs. *chango*) 'Monkey'	2.5	1.6	3.4	11.1
cuello (vs. *pescuezo*) 'Neck'	2.6	3.3	5.1	15.9
lata (vs. *bote*, *jarro*) 'Tin can'	3.5	4.9	12.1	17.4
alumno (vs. varied) 'Student'	3.6	6.6	5.4	18.3
lodo (vs. *zoquete*) 'Mud'	4.3	5.0	11.9	20.0
maleta (vs. *velís*) 'Suitcase'	4.5	4.9	5.3	12.5
frenos (vs. *brecas*, *maneas*) 'Brakes'	4.6	6.9	12.7	20.9
autobús (vs. *bos*, etc.) 'Bus'	6.0	11.5	8.9	25.0
desayuno (vs. *almuerzo*) 'Breakfast'	6.1	15.3	14.3	20.3
lago (vs. *laguna*) 'Lake'	6.8	22.0	20.7	39.4
murciélago (vs. varied) 'Bat'	7.5	6.3	18.6	27.8
cascada (vs. varied) 'Waterfall'	7.8	9.8	10.3	21.4
tobillo (vs. varied) 'Ankle'	8.1	12.7	26.3	23.9
enfermera (vs. *nodriza*) 'Nurse'	10.5	11.7	19.3	25.4
paraguas (vs. varied) 'Umbrella'	14.2	20.0	28.1	45.8
tocino (vs. *jamón*) 'Bacon'	14.0	14.8	21.7	28.6
regalo (vs. *presente*, varied) 'Present'	16.9	18.6	34.5	39.4
plátano (vs. *banana*) 'Banana'	16.9	24.6	37.9	40.3
gris (vs. *pardo*, *plomo*) 'Gray'	18.8	32.3	37.5	51.4
piel (vs. *cuero*) 'Skin' (of human)	19.1	31.0	29.3	66.2
dentista (vs. *dientista*) 'Dentist'	20.2	31.7	30.4	50.7
falda (vs. *nagua(s)*) 'Skirt'	22.5	34.4	28.1	50.7
estampilla (vs. *estampa*) 'Stamp'	22.6	15.0	24.1	38.0
o(b)scuro (vs. *escuro*) 'Darkness'	32.8	38.3	37.9	54.9
avión (vs. varied) 'Airplane'	31.4	39.3	41.1	47.2
bicicleta (vs. varied) 'Bicycle'	31.6	51.7	38.6	73.2
teléfono (vs. *telefón*) 'Telephone'	32.5	39.3	65.5	57.1
fresa (vs. *mora*, varied) 'Strawberry'	33.1	29.5	45.6	50.0
espalda (vs. *espinazo*) 'Back'	40.9	41.4	44.1	58.0
taza (vs. *copa*) 'Cup'	40.2	47.5	47.4	62.5
estómago (vs. *estógamo*) 'Stomach'	51.3	56.9	58.9	77.5
blusa (vs. *cuerpo*) 'Blouse'	52.2	54.1	78.6	66.2
humo (vs. *jumo*) 'Smoke'	63.0	66.1	74.6	72.5

TABLE 14-11. Selected standard grammatical responses by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
el idioma (vs. *la idioma*) 'Language'	8.3	17.5	21.8	35.2
papás (vs. *papases*) 'Fathers'	27.3	39.3	38.5	56.3
mamás (vs. *mamases*) 'Mothers'	27.8	43.1	44.2	62.0
vi (vs. *vide*) 'I saw'	30.9	55.4	46.3	72.9
el calor (vs. *la calor*) 'Heat'	35.5	37.3	41.5	52.1
trajo (vs. *trujo*) 'He brought'	38.9	42.9	50.0	54.9
hemos (vs. *hamos*) 'We have'	41.0	58.5	70.4	70.1
vio (vs. *vido*) 'He saw'	43.5	66.1	65.5	72.9
he (vs. *ha*) 'I have'	45.8	47.4	54.7	62.9

refers to the lunch meal in standard Spanish. The Standard pronunciation *dentista* 'Dentist' (as opposed to the diphthongized *dientista* that is formally closer to *diente* 'tooth') increases from 20% to 51% while the nonmetathesized *estómago* 'Stomach' (as opposed to metathesized *estógamo*) increases from 51% to 78%.

The number of grammatical variables is far smaller than the number of lexical variables, but Spanish teachers are prone to give special attention to grammatical explanations. We may therefore anticipate that formal study of Spanish will have an impact on grammatical structures that are perceived to be nonstandard. The forms presented in table 14-11 exemplify this impact, which is often substantial. For example, the preference for *vi* (versus the archaic *vide*) as the first person singular preterit form of *ver*—the 'I saw' variable—rises from 31% to 73%, an increase of 42 percentage points. The standard replacements *trajo* 'He brought' and *vio* 'He saw' for 2 other archaic and stigmatized preterit forms also generally increase for formal Spanish, though not so dramatically. Preferences for the standard plurals for *papá* and *mamá* expand significantly, as do preferences for the standard masculine gender assignments for *idioma* and *calor* and for the standard first person present tense forms of *haber* (*he* and *hemos*).

But as we all know, an inoculation of learning in the classroom does not always take. Consider the use of the subjunctive mood, which proves to be a major hurdle in learning Spanish as a second language. Fluent Spanish of any variety requires the subjunctive form of the verb in a clause following a verb like *querer* 'want.' As explained with reference to table 13-19 in the previous chapter, near the end of the interview schedule, NMCOSS consultants were asked to provide a completion for a sentence like *Yo quiero que el presidente . . .*, the 'Quiero que' variable. The results? Fully 96% of the consultants who had never studied Spanish formally employed the subjunctive but only 82% of those with three or more Spanish courses did so. To what can we attribute this surprising result? Once again, perhaps it is those who have suffered a greater degree of loss of their ancestral language who feel the stronger need to pursue more Spanish language courses. In similar fashion, the Navajo courses offered at the University of New Mexico seem to hold a special attraction for Navajos—and even other Native Americans!—who failed to acquire a good command of their heritage language at home.

Education in General

Spanish speakers in the United States come under the influence of the *norma culta* in places other than in the Spanish classroom. The standardization process—in many respects the Mexicanization process—is associated with greater exposure to the larger Spanish-speaking world in many other ways. A consistent finding in our data is the association of standard Spanish variants with number of years of education in general. Why should that be? Most of the NMCOSS consultants received all their education in English (except in the occasional Spanish class). How could education in English affect their Spanish? A plausible response is that more education enhances opportunities for international travel and international acquaintances and is associated with the higher income that makes such communication contacts more feasible.

TABLE 14-12. Responses for 'Bicycle' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
bicicleta	29.3	30.0	35.1	66.7	70.1
Other *-cicleta*, *-ciqueta* forms	62.1	66.0	53.2	23.8	25.4
baica, *báicico*, etc.	3.4	2.0	6.5	4.8	1.5
bicycle, ***bike***	3.4	2.0	1.3	1.6	0.0
Other or No response	1.7	0.0	3.9	3.2	3.0
N	58	50	77	63	67

As might be expected, formal study of Spanish and years of education are very highly intercorrelated (Pearson's r = .622), and both have an inverse correlation (but less strong) with age. That is, younger people tend to have a higher level of education, and those who have spent more years in the classroom in general tend to have more classroom experience with Spanish. Nevertheless, we sometimes find that education in general seems to make an independent contribution to the use of standard Spanish forms. In addition, the education variable uncovers a "hypercorrect" sociolinguistic behavior that we discuss later.

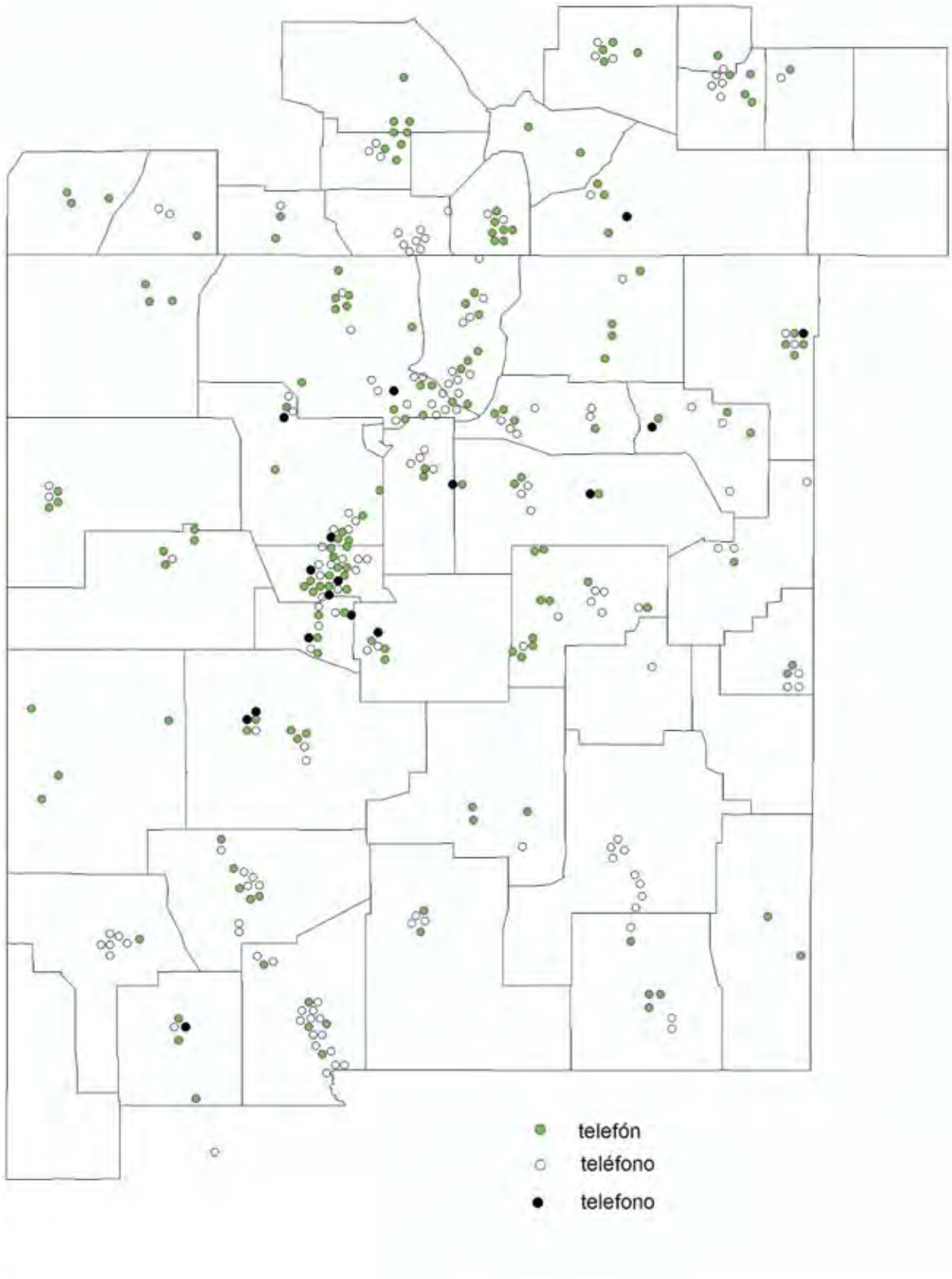
One of the strongest impacts of the education variable that we have encountered concerns the word for 'Bicycle.' Overall, 154 of the 328 respondents (47%) reported the standard Spanish term *bicicleta*. Table 14-12 shows that the preference for this term increases from just 29% among the least educated to 70% among the most highly educated, those with a college degree. Notice in table 14-10 that the association of the standard term with formal study of Spanish is about equally strong.

But overall there were nearly as many responses (149, 45%) that deviated slightly from the standard *bicicleta*. There was a variety of these distortions, as we have come to expect of four-syllable words. The commonalities among these aberrant variants are (a) consistently four syllables, (b) *-ci-* as the second syllable, and (c) either *-cleta* or *-queta* as the final two syllables. But the first syllable varies widely: *baicicleta*, *bacicleta*, *becicleta*, *blaciqueta*, *laciqueta*, *bleciqueta*, and several others. After *bicicleta*, the second most common single form (with 56 mentions) is *baicicleta*, which appears to be a blend of the English and Spanish forms. Yet only 12 persons offered an integrated Anglicism (*báicico*, *baicico*, *baique*, *baica*) and only 5 limited their response to the English ***bicycle*** or ***bike***. There is little geographical patterning among these variants. The standard variant is dominant in Border Spanish, but it is also strongly represented everywhere else. The distortions are somewhat more characteristic of Traditional Spanish.

In the case of a more recent technological development, the 'Telephone,' the early influence of English is strongly apparent. Both the English *telephone* and the standard Spanish *teléfono* were created as classical borrowings utilizing two Greek elements that yield the literal meaning of 'distant sound.' But it was English that was the dominant language in the NMCOSS region when telephones were introduced. Consequently, the most common form in New Mexican Spanish is the integrated Anglicism *telefón*, garnering 161 preferences (49%). But the standard Spanish *teléfono* is not far behind with 153 preferences (46%).

The stress pattern on *telefón* merits a brief commentary. English typically has two stresses, one primary and one secondary, on words of three or more syllables. *Telephone*, for example, has primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the final syllable, thus *télephòne*. The usual integration of such forms into Spanish is to place the stress on the last emphasized syllable, thus *telefón*. This adaptation is so typical that it also shows up in the dialect called Chicano English with such pronunciations as *elevátor* for standard English *élevàtor*. Though antepenultimate stress (stress on the third from last syllable) is possible in Spanish and in fact occurs in the standard *teléfono*, the fact that not 1 consultant offered *télefon* demonstrates the rigor of this pattern of stress adaptation.

On the other side of the coin, English speakers have a difficult time with stress on some Spanish words. The name *Esteban* (sometimes spelled *Estevan* in our area) is stressed on the second syllable in Spanish. But even though English *Steven* has the stress in the same place, Anglos tend to pronounce this name *Éstebàn*—for reasons of the phonological nature of English that are too complex to pursue here. Or paying really close attention, they might come up with *Èstebán*, with primary stress on the final syllable! But to nail the native *Estéban* requires real effort. Similarly,



14-4. ‘Telephone’

TABLE 14-13. Responses for 'Telephone' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
telefón	64.5	54.0	49.4	39.1	39.4
telefono	8.1	2.0	6.3	3.1	6.1
teléfono	27.4	42.0	43.0	56.3	54.5
Other response	0.0	2.0	1.3	1.6	0.0
N	62	50	79	64	66

TABLE 14-14. Responses for 'Ice cream' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
leche nevada	24.1	29.4	22.5	9.7	13.2
nieve	19.0	25.5	26.3	37.1	22.1
ice cream and variants	48.3	31.4	31.3	38.7	38.2
helado and variants	0.0	2.0	13.8	6.5	25.0
Other or No response	8.6	11.8	6.3	8.1	1.5
N	58	51	80	61	68

the English speaker tends to feel compelled to stress *Vigil* on the first syllable, and consequently coauthor Vigil has adapted to introducing himself as *Vígil* when the circumstances seem to require it.

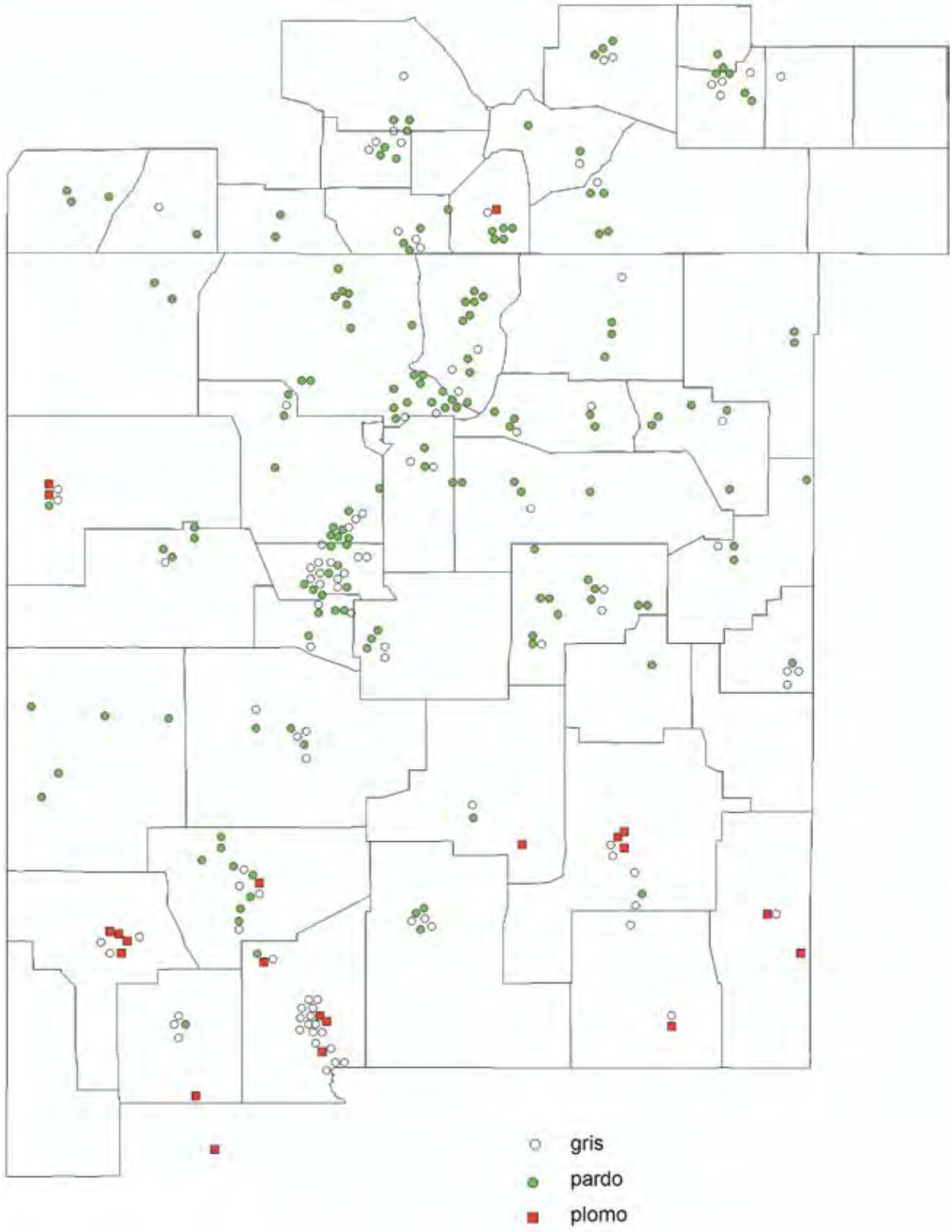
We have charted the distributions of 3 'Telephone' variants on map 14-4. The standard form and the integrated Anglicism are both dispersed across the NMCOSS region without any strong geographical patterning. The third variant, *telefono*, appears to be an alternative way of integrating the Anglicism, but it has not become widely accepted, receiving only 17 choices (5%).

The lack of a geographical pattern suggests the existence of a social pattern, and educational factors seem to be the important social influence. The association of standard *teléfono* with formal study of Spanish is seen in table 14-10. The association with education in general is comparably powerful. Table 14-13 shows that the proportion of the standard *teléfono* response doubles from the lowest to the highest educated (from 27% to 55%). Since young people tend to have higher levels of education, we might assume that the standard label is gaining fast on the Anglicism. However, our data reveal no association with the age groups. The Younger generation shows a 49% preference for *teléfono* and the Older generation 46%. The lack of indication of generational change suggests that the Anglicism will remain a feature of New Mexican Spanish for some time to come.

Standard Spanish variants expand along with the number of years of education in general, and, as with the classroom study of Spanish, a concomitant change is the displacement not only of Anglicisms like *telefón* but also of nonstandard variants in general. The displacement is apt to be especially strong where the nonstandard variant is a feature of Traditional Spanish. The labels for 'Ice cream' provide an excellent example.

The results for level of education presented in table 14-14 are very similar to those for formal study of Spanish in table 14-8, but the increase in the standard *helado* is slightly greater. Here we have 3 nonstandard variants and the standardization trend affects each one differently. As before, it is only the Traditional Spanish *leche nevada* that shows a significant decline in frequency with more years of education. The Anglicism variants retain their plurality status quite well. And the Mexican Spanish *nieve* also maintains its strength.

A similar but much less complicated case involves the words for the color 'Gray' in New Mexican Spanish. The 3 principal responses—*gris*, *pardo*, and *plomo*—are displayed on map 14-5. The most frequent response is *pardo*, the choice of almost half of the 332 respondents (159 persons, 48%). As the map indicates, this word strongly characterizes Traditional Spanish. But it is also widely used for 'Gray' in the Americas, including Mexico (though this item was unfortunately not included in the *ALM*). In contrast to *pardo*, the variant *plomo*, which received only 21 first choices (6%), is restricted almost



14-5. 'Gray'

TABLE 14-15. Responses for 'Gray' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
pardo	69.8	59.6	43.8	37.5	43.9
plomo	7.9	8.5	6.3	3.1	1.5
gris	11.1	25.5	32.5	45.3	47.0
Other or No response	11.1	6.4	17.5	14.1	7.6
N	63	47	80	64	66

TABLE 14-16. Responses for 'Ankle' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
hues(it)o sabroso	50.9	27.5	25.7	18.3	17.2
tobillo	8.8	15.7	10.8	23.3	23.4
ankle	8.8	5.9	6.8	6.7	3.1
Other response	19.3	29.4	31.1	15.0	26.6
No response	12.3	21.6	25.7	36.7	29.7
N	57	51	74	60	64

entirely to Border Spanish. It, too, is used in Mexico, documented in Santamaría's dictionary (1959). But the dominant term in the Border Spanish territory and becoming quite prominent in the Traditional Spanish region is the standard label *gris*, the term of preference for 105 consultants (32%).

We saw already in table 14-10 that the label *gris* for 'Gray' is increasingly favored as number of courses in Spanish increases. One man directed his wrath about the impact of the Spanish classroom on his daughter, specifically citing this lexical item:

> (14-2) *Un día vino la Verónica y dijo que le habían enseñado en la escuela que pardo era gris.* 'One day Veronica came and said that they had taught her in school that gray was *gris*.' (interview 41)

Table 14-15 shows that this standard term also increases dramatically across the educational levels, from 11% at the lowest level to 47% among the college graduates. The consequence of this increase is that *pardo*, the typically Traditional Spanish variant, undergoes considerable erosion, from 70% to 44%. Notice that in this case the Border Spanish variant *plomo* also generally declines with more years of education.

For 'Ankle,' discussed previously in connection with map 11-11, the fall from favor of the nonstandard *huesito sabroso* or *hueso sabroso* is still more pronounced, sliding from 51% of the least educated to just 17% of those having a college degree (see table 14-16). Again we see that the preference for the standard Spanish variant, *tobillo*, increases along with education and contributes to the demise of the 'sweet bone' form. But part of the decline in the nonstandard label is attributable to the loss of skills discussed in chapter 13. It cannot surprise us to find that the No response category (inability to respond to the stimulus) also increases with education, an education imparted almost exclusively in English.

A sampling of some other lexical forms that are associated with educational attainment is contained in table 14-17. A pattern that the reader may have noted in some of the preceding tables is reinforced when a number of linguistic variables are displayed together this way. In about half of the cases, the thirteen to fifteen years of education group shows a stronger preference for the standard label than the highest group, those persons holding a university degree. Thus, for example, while 20% of the some-college group chose *desayuno* as the label for 'Breakfast,' only 13% of the college graduates did so, a percentage even smaller than that of the high school graduates. Such behavior may strike us as counterintuitive—at least at first glance.

However, this kind of pattern may well reflect a general sociolinguistic tendency reported in many studies. The most successful members of society often seem to be more comfortable in their language skins than those of the just lower rung of the socioeconomic ladder. This lower group often shows greater signs of linguistic

TABLE 14-17. Selected standard lexical forms by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
afeitarse (vs. varied) 'Shave'	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.9	6.0
cerdo, *puerco* (vs. *marrano*, *cochino*) 'Pig'	0.0	0.0	4.9	6.3	10.3
lata (vs. *bote*, *jarro*) 'Tin can'	3.3	8.2	8.9	9.4	18.5
autobús (vs. varied) 'Bus'	3.3	12.0	9.0	20.3	19.4
maleta (vs. *velís*) 'Suitcase'	3.4	2.0	3.8	9.4	13.8
enfermera (vs. *nodriza*) 'Nurse'	3.4	14.0	12.7	28.6	18.5
suéter (vs. *suera*) 'Sweater'	3.4	8.0	3.8	29.7	33.8
correcaminos (vs. *paisano*) 'Roadrunner'	4.8	6.0	7.3	27.7	17.9
desayuno (vs. *almuerzo*) 'Breakfast'	5.1	6.1	15.4	20.0	12.7
abrigo (vs. varied) 'Overcoat'	5.2	2.0	10.3	15.6	18.5
cascada (vs. varied) 'Waterfall'	5.2	8.2	7.4	17.5	21.2
lago (vs. *laguna*) 'Lake'	6.6	15.7	15.6	34.9	28.8
regla (vs. *rula*) 'Ruler'	6.8	6.1	10.4	15.6	29.9
dentista (vs. *dientista*) 'Dentist'	6.9	20.8	30.8	46.0	49.3
frenos (vs. *brecas*) 'Brakes'	7.7	6.1	10.4	11.5	20.6
murciélago (vs. varied) 'Bat'	9.4	10.0	7.3	24.6	20.6
tocino (vs. *jamón*) 'Bacon'	10.0	12.0	21.5	25.0	20.0
actriz (vs. *actor(a)*) 'Actress'	11.1	18.0	23.0	36.1	34.3
globo (vs. *balún*) 'Balloon'	11.7	12.0	17.1	41.7	20.6
regalo (vs. *presente*) 'Present'	11.7	25.5	21.8	37.7	37.3
piel (vs. *cuero*) 'Skin' (of human)	15.8	33.3	31.2	40.7	53.7
dólar (vs. *peso*) 'Dollar'	16.4	28.0	31.3	46.9	43.1
falda (vs. *nagua(s)*) 'Skirt'	18.6	27.1	33.3	42.9	38.5
Navidad (vs. *crismes*, *crismas*) 'Christmas'	18.6	31.8	25.7	31.0	43.8
avión (vs. varied) 'Airplane'	27.9	34.0	34.6	54.7	43.3
o(b)scuro (vs. *escuro*) 'Darkness'	28.1	31.3	30.5	50.0	51.5
mariposa (vs. *palom(it)a*) 'Butterfly'	35.9	44.0	39.0	60.9	61.8
silla (vs. *silleta*) 'Kitchen chair'	37.7	52.1	49.4	62.5	55.2
maestro (vs. *mestro*) 'Teacher'	47.0	51.0	50.6	64.5	72.1

TABLE 14-18. Responses for 'Form of *idioma*' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
idomia	56.9	42.0	29.6	16.7	10.4
idioma	43.1	58.0	70.4	83.3	89.6
N	65	50	71	60	67

TABLE 14-19. Responses for 'Gender of *idioma*' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
Feminine gender (*la*)	92.2	81.6	82.2	75.0	63.6
Masculine gender (*el*)	7.8	18.4	17.8	25.0	36.4
N	64	49	73	60	66

insecurity and tries harder, so to speak, linguistically. William Labov labels this phenomenon the "hypercorrect pattern" (1972, 244–45), that is, where members of the second-highest status group manifests hypercorrection in linguistic behavior by "go[ing] beyond the highest-status group in their tendency to use the forms considered correct and appropriate for formal styles" (1972, 126).

Choice of grammatical forms often also shows a clear association with education. The noun commonly used for 'language' in New Mexican Spanish varies in two ways. First, the lexical form may be either the standard Spanish *idioma* or the nonstandard form with vowel metathesis *idomia* (see the earlier conversational example 10-10). Second, there is grammatical variation in the gender assigned to this noun, as manifest through agreement of its modifiers, such as the definite article: feminine *la* in the nonstandard (examples 10-1 and 14-1) or masculine *el* in the standard (example 2-11). Although words ending in *-a* usually carry feminine gender (as previously discussed concerning *cuara* for 'Quarter,' map 10-7), this "irregular" assignment of masculine gender applies also to a number of other *a*-final words of Greek origin, such as *problema* and *clima*. Giving *idioma* feminine gender, then, amounts only to a regularization of the system, but as we know from English, regularization of irregular forms (such as *throwed* for *threw*) is often highly stigmatized.

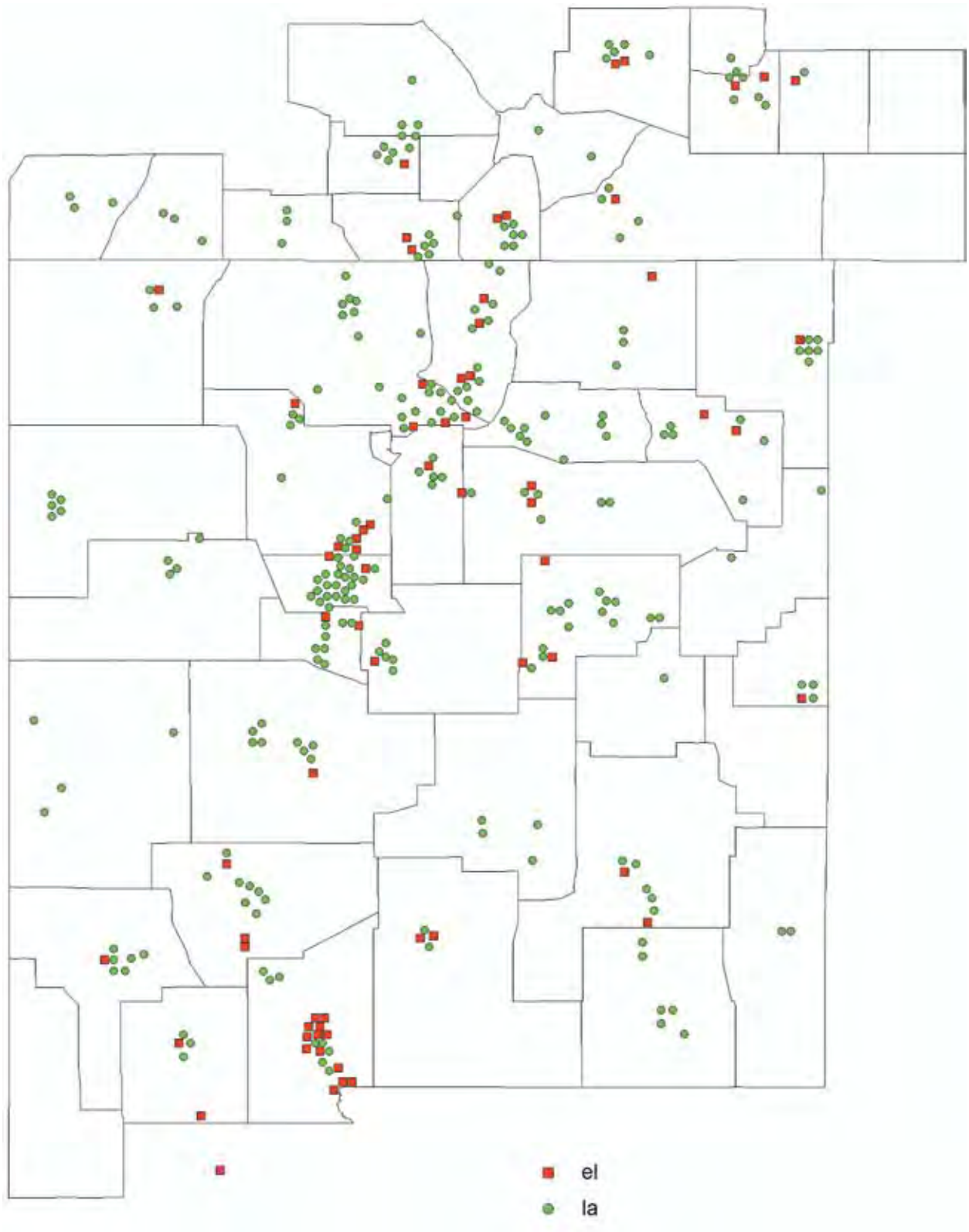
In New Mexican Spanish, however, giving nonstandard feminine gender to *idioma/idomia* is the norm, preferred by fully 79% of our consultants (252 of 321). Map 14-6 for the variable 'Gender of *idioma*' shows that masculine gender assignment is favored only sporadically around the NMCOSS region. There is a significant concentration of this standard Spanish preference only in the southern Las Cruces area.

In contrast, the standard form *idioma* is the norm in the NMCOSS region, at least in the interview setting, preferred by 221 of 320 consultants (69%). Map 14-7 for the variable 'Form of *idioma*' shows that *idomia* occurs as a Traditional Spanish phenomenon. The standard variant *idioma*, while dominant in the southern quarter, appears throughout the survey area. Geography appears to play only a small role in the gender assignment for this word and only a slightly greater role in its lexical form.

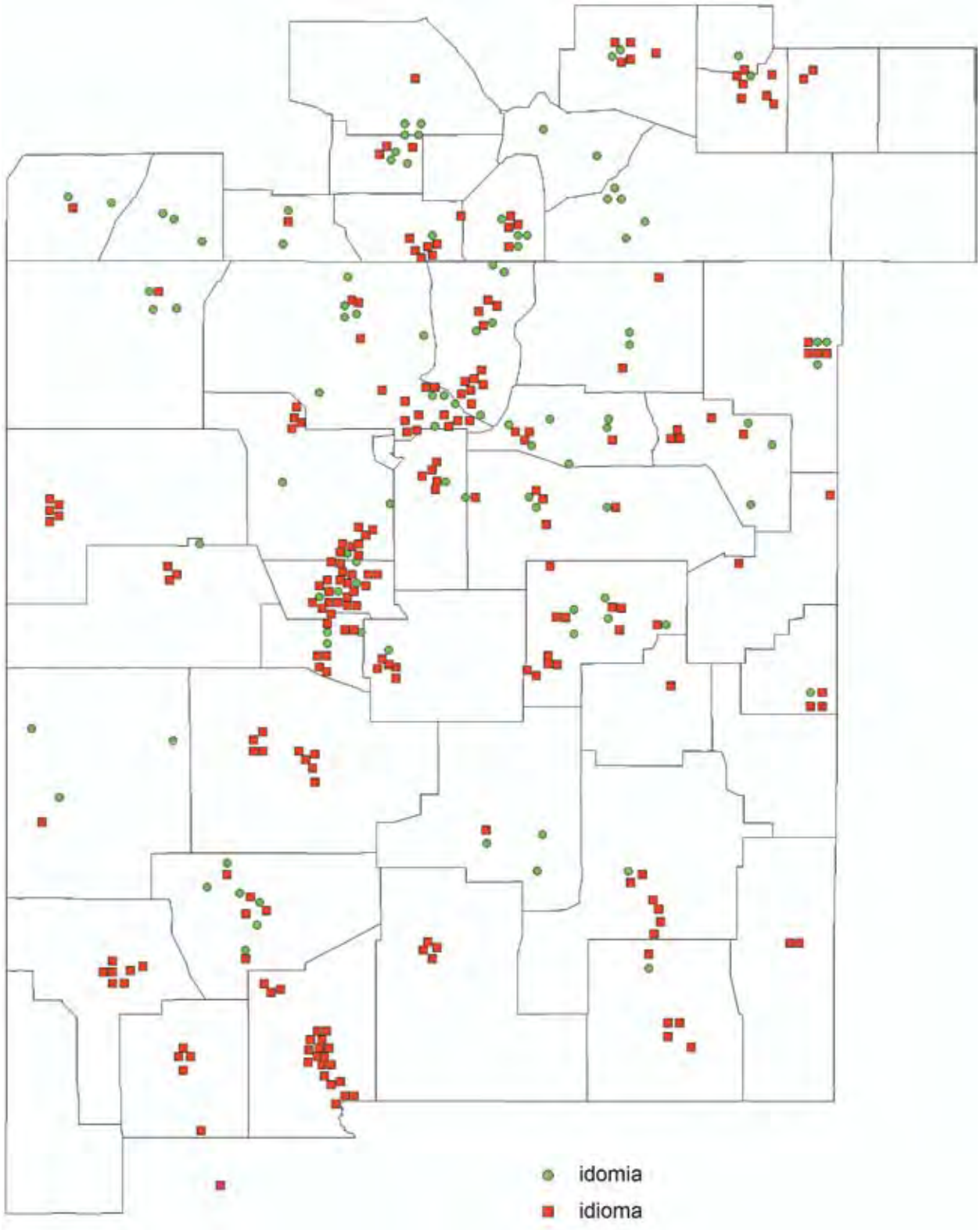
Education, however, exercises a strong influence on both kinds of variation. Table 14-18 shows that the stigmatized form with metathesis becomes increasingly rejected by each higher level of education. The preference for the standard *idioma* rises to 9 out of 10 of those having sixteen or more years of education.

Adopting the standard masculine gender, however, proves more difficult. While more than two-thirds (69%) of the NMCOSS consultants overall offered the standard form *idioma*, only 21% chose to use the standard article *el*. Nonetheless, table 14-19 demonstrates a conspicuous increase in preference for the standard gender with more years of education.

Education shows a slightly stronger association with these two phenomena than does the formal study of Spanish. Why might this be? Perhaps the explanation relates to the common use in the Spanish classroom of the alternative term *lengua* for 'language.' That is, the more colloquial term *idioma* (or *idomia*) may not surface regularly in the classroom, thereby allowing it to escape serving as a target for correction of form and gender. The well-educated, on the other hand, tend to



14-6. 'Gender of *idioma*'



14-7. 'Form of *idioma*'

TABLE 14-20. Selected standard grammatical forms by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
mamás (vs. *mamases*) 'Mothers'	16.4	28.6	43.8	53.3	59.7
papás (vs. *papases*) 'Fathers'	19.0	26.5	43.7	42.4	53.7
vi (vs. *vide*) 'I saw'	31.6	48.9	43.2	66.7	65.2
vio (vs. *vido*) 'He saw'	36.4	57.4	61.3	66.7	74.2
hemos (vs. *hamos*) 'We have'	50.9	48.8	47.1	61.4	73.8
pies (vs. *pieses*) 'Feet'	80.7	83.7	84.0	85.2	92.4

have greater opportunities for conversational interaction with educated Spanish speakers. Language happens to be a common conversational topic and there is a good chance such encounters will reveal the stigmatized status of forms such as *idomia* and "bad" gender assignment.

Table 14-20 lists the standard variants of several other grammatical forms that increase in frequency with increased education. Curiously, the hypercorrect pattern does not show up clearly with the grammatical variables in our data. Reaching the highest levels of educational attainment appears not to let one relax and be comfortable with nonstandard grammatical forms.

Education in general and study of the Spanish language in particular, then, contribute importantly to the nature of New Mexican Spanish today. We can anticipate that the influence will only accelerate in the future. That prognosis is strengthened by the linguistic impact of recent immigration from Mexico, a topic to which we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 15

Coming Full Circle

The Impact of Recent Mexican Immigration

Over the past century and a half, the Spanish speakers of New Mexico and southern Colorado have been buffeted by powerful forces. Chapter 10 considers the pervasive influence of the English language and U.S. culture. The linguistic influence on New Mexican Spanish of that contact, however, amounted largely to the borrowing of lexical items to label new or different entities introduced by U.S. culture. But we pointed out in chapter 13 that another consequence of that contact is an unstable bilingualism that leads to loss of Spanish skills and eventual monolingualism in English. Chapter 14 examines the influence of increasing exposure to standard Spanish through educational experience and the associated expansion of contact with Spanish speakers from other countries. Finally, the present chapter explores another powerful current of history that will likely determine the future form of New Mexican Spanish. This latest force is the Spanish of modern Mexico.

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War and transferred to the United States over half of the national territory of Mexico (not including the previous loss of Texas). Suddenly there was a political border separating the Mexican people of Mexico from the Mexican people of New Mexico. Although the immediate border area remained porous to the coming and going of people who had been under one flag and spoke the same language, continued contact with Mexico farther north in the New Mexico territory was greatly reduced. Northern New Mexico already had an established population and there was no surplus of economic opportunities that might have attracted lots of Mexican immigrants. In fact, the Hispanic population in northern New Mexico had grown to sixty thousand by the middle of the nineteenth century (Abbott 1976, 38), a density sufficient to cause Northerners to begin moving farther northward to colonize the San Luis Valley in southern Colorado, where the first town, San Luis, was established in 1851. Moreover, some Northerners took advantage of a guarantee in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and elected to move south into the Mesilla Valley west of the Río Grande to remain citizens of Mexico—only shortly afterward to be incorporated once again into the United States with the Gadsden Purchase of 1853.

The Americanization of the Southwest has progressed relentlessly since the adoption of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but several events over the last hundred years or so have contributed to a gradually deeper and deeper penetration of modern Mexican influence in most parts

of New Mexico and southern Colorado. During the late nineteenth century the need for workers on the railroads and in the mines attracted many Mexican immigrants (Martinez 1957, 7–11). From 1910 to 1917 the political, social, and economic instability created by the Mexican Revolution, coupled with the drawing power of U.S. economic expansion, especially in agriculture, encouraged more Mexicans to immigrate to the region. At the same time, World War I, with its demand for military personnel and development of war material industries, created an expanded need for "braceros"—contracted Mexican laborers, primarily farm workers. But, "of the four border states, New Mexico in 1920 had the smallest Mexican population. The principal reason being that it had the least to offer the braceros. . . . The absence of agricultural or industrial diversification has always kept the number of Mexican immigrants comparatively low in New Mexico" (Martinez 1957, 67). Nevertheless, according to the estimates of Gutmann et al. (2000, table 3), the Mexico-born population of New Mexico nearly doubled between the 1910 and 1920 censuses, from 12,759 to 24,014, increasing from 3.9% of the total population to 6.7%.

The Great Depression era and the implosion of the cotton market naturally reduced Mexican immigration substantially during the 1930s. But immigration from Mexico increased dramatically again during World War II with the institution in 1942 of the Bracero Program, the formal adoption by both governments of a guest-worker program that had been initiated by Mexico in 1920. Because of widespread abuses, the Bracero Program was discontinued in 1964. But Mexican immigration, both legal and illegal, continues even more strongly up to the present because of the lure of the powerful U.S. economy.

The braceros of the first half of the twentieth century tended to be migratory because of the seasonal nature of the agricultural crops, and they typically returned to Mexico for the cold season. Nevertheless, braceros, like all immigrants, tend to put down roots. Those who moved into southern Colorado, while small in number, could work in the mines during the cold season and were therefore less likely to be transitory. Paradoxically, one result of the collapse of cotton in the 1920s and 1930s was that some braceros settled down permanently in the Mesilla Valley of the Río Grande in southern New Mexico.

There was one thing that all of these immigrants brought to the new land. They were native speakers of Spanish, often monolingual or with only marginal skills in English, and they spoke the variety of Spanish they had acquired growing up in Mexico. All those immigrants, particularly those who became permanent residents of New Mexico and southern Colorado, were in a position to have an impact on the further development of New Mexican Spanish. Although our survey excluded immigrants (with the one exception previously noted), some of the children and grandchildren of immigrants were included in the NMCOSS sample, and our analyses of the NMCOSS data make clear the significance of that impact.

Standardization versus Mexicanization

Recent linguistic influence from other Spanishes comes from two main sources: the standard variety and the modern Mexican variety. In the preceding chapter, we illustrated the intrusion of standard Spanish associated with classroom study of Spanish and higher educational status. Sometimes that influence appears to be independent of the Mexican influence. For example, although *rojo* for 'Red' and *teléfono* for 'Telephone' are strongly associated with those two education variables (see tables 14-1, 14-2, 14-10, and 14-13), maps 13-4 for 'Red' and 14-4 for 'Telephone' reveal no particular strength of those standard variants near the Mexican border. That is, the presence of these variants is associated with the two educational variables, not with the temporal or geographical proximity of their users to Mexico.

On the other hand, some terms are connected to both influences. We can feel confident of modern Mexican Spanish influence when a variant is characteristic of Border Spanish and not of Traditional Spanish. And we saw in the last chapter numerous cases where the variant characteristic of Border Spanish is also associated with education. Witness, for example, the geographical concentrations of *Navidad* for 'Christmas' on map 14-2 and of *regla* for 'Ruler' on map 14-3 and the connections of those two variables to education manifested in tables 14-4 and 14-17 and tables 14-6 and 14-17, respectively.

Consider another example. The majority of the NMCOSS consultants (197 of the 334 respondents, 59%) identified the U.S. paper monetary unit 'Dollar' as a *peso*. The conversational use of the term is illustrated in example 15-1, a comment by a fifty-two-year-old woman from Tomé, New Mexico, describing how she would help out as a child in her father's gasoline station, obviously quite a few years back when there was greater value to a dollar and cheaper gasoline:

(15-1) *[Dicían,] "Échame un peso de gas." Iba y pompeaba los cuatro galones.* '[They'd say,] "Give me a dollar's worth of gas." I'd go and pump four gallons.' (interview 1)

TABLE 15-1. Responses for 'Dollar' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
peso	69.3	55.0	64.9	42.9
dólar and variants	24.6	40.0	28.1	47.9
Other response	6.1	5.0	7.0	10.0
N	114	60	57	71

The *peso* label is characteristic of Traditional Spanish, as map 15-1 makes clear. We noted in chapter 10 concerning map 10-7 and the terms for 'Quarter' that the *peso* was the basic monetary unit from the earliest days of silver mining in Mexico. It seems likely that this Traditional Spanish usage represents an archaism like *dos reales* for 'Quarter.' That assumption is supported by the fact that the use of *peso* for 'Dollar' also occurs in that other isolated U.S. dialect, the Isleño Spanish of Louisiana (Lipski 1990, 78).

Of course, for those with a closer connection to Mexico, *peso* has a very distinct reference. It is the principal Mexican monetary unit. No doubt as a consequence of this semantic conflict, we find 114 preferences for the standard term *dólar*, which includes 16 *dolar* with stress on the second syllable and 10 *dólare*. These standard-based terms are particularly associated with proximity to the Mexican border as well as with other areas of twentieth-century immigration from Mexico. The presence of the term *dólar* in New Mexican Spanish, then, results in part from the influence of modern Mexican Spanish.

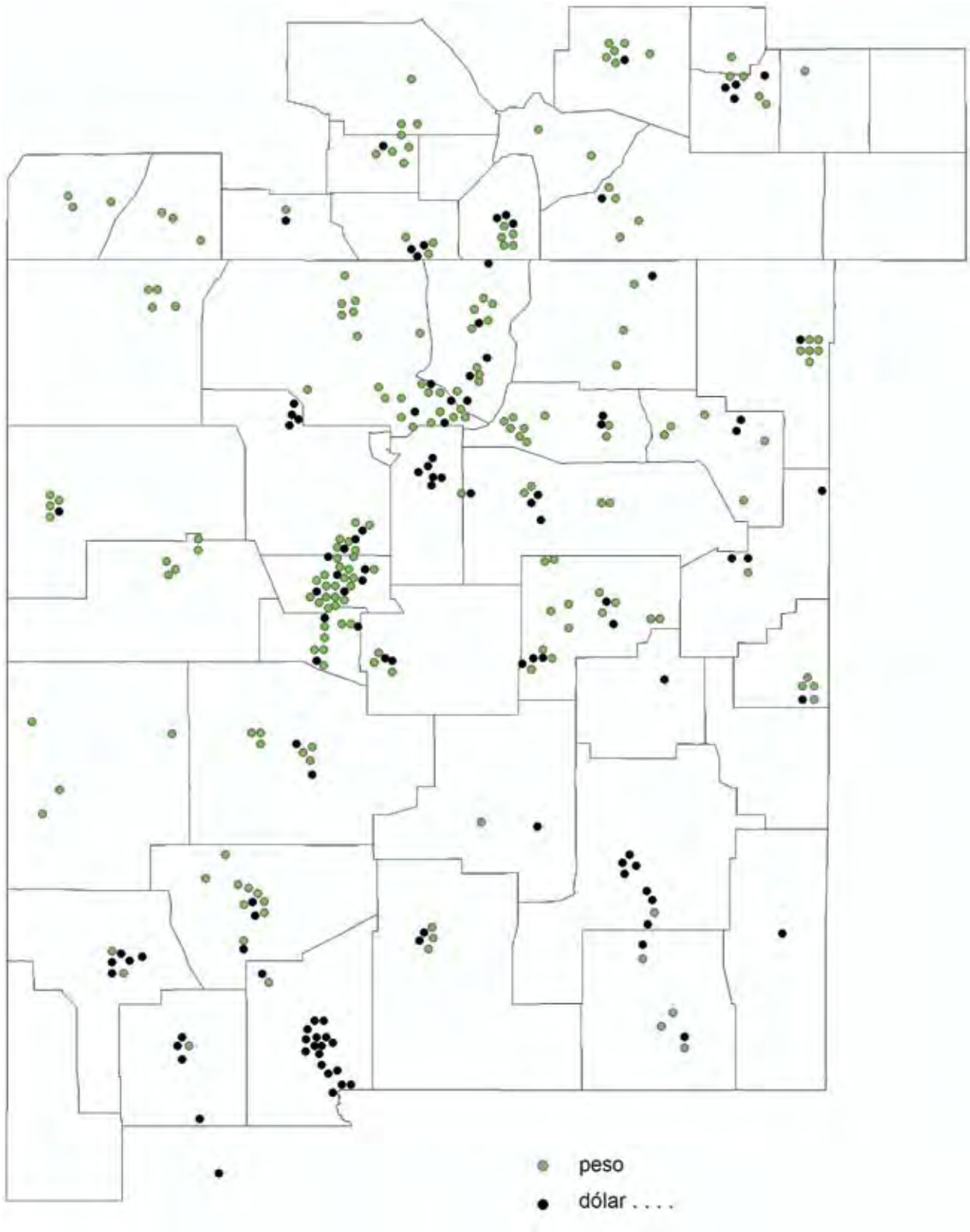
But the *dólar* variants also occur scattered around the Traditional Spanish territory. Therefore, we can expect this term, as the international standard Spanish label for 'Dollar,' to be associated with the educational variables as well. And indeed it is. Table 15-1 indicates that the preference for *dólar* increases from a fourth of those who never formally studied Spanish to half of those who had taken three or more courses. Table 14-17 in the previous chapter shows an equally strong impact of educational attainment. In sum, both education and modern Mexican Spanish play a role in the appearance of *dólar* in the NMCOSS region.

A little bit different is the case of 'Nurse.' Over 80% of our consultants (268 of 329) identified a picture of a typical nurse attending a patient in a hospital room as *nodriza* (although, as mentioned in chapter 13, 44 of these responses were phonologically distorted versions of *nodriza*). Map 15-2 shows that the *nodriza* responses (excluding the distortions) blanket the New Mexican Spanish territory. It is a feature not just of Traditional Spanish but of all New Mexican Spanish. The data collected by Alvar (2000, 236) show the same prominence of *nodriza* here and no cases at all in the other three Southwest states.

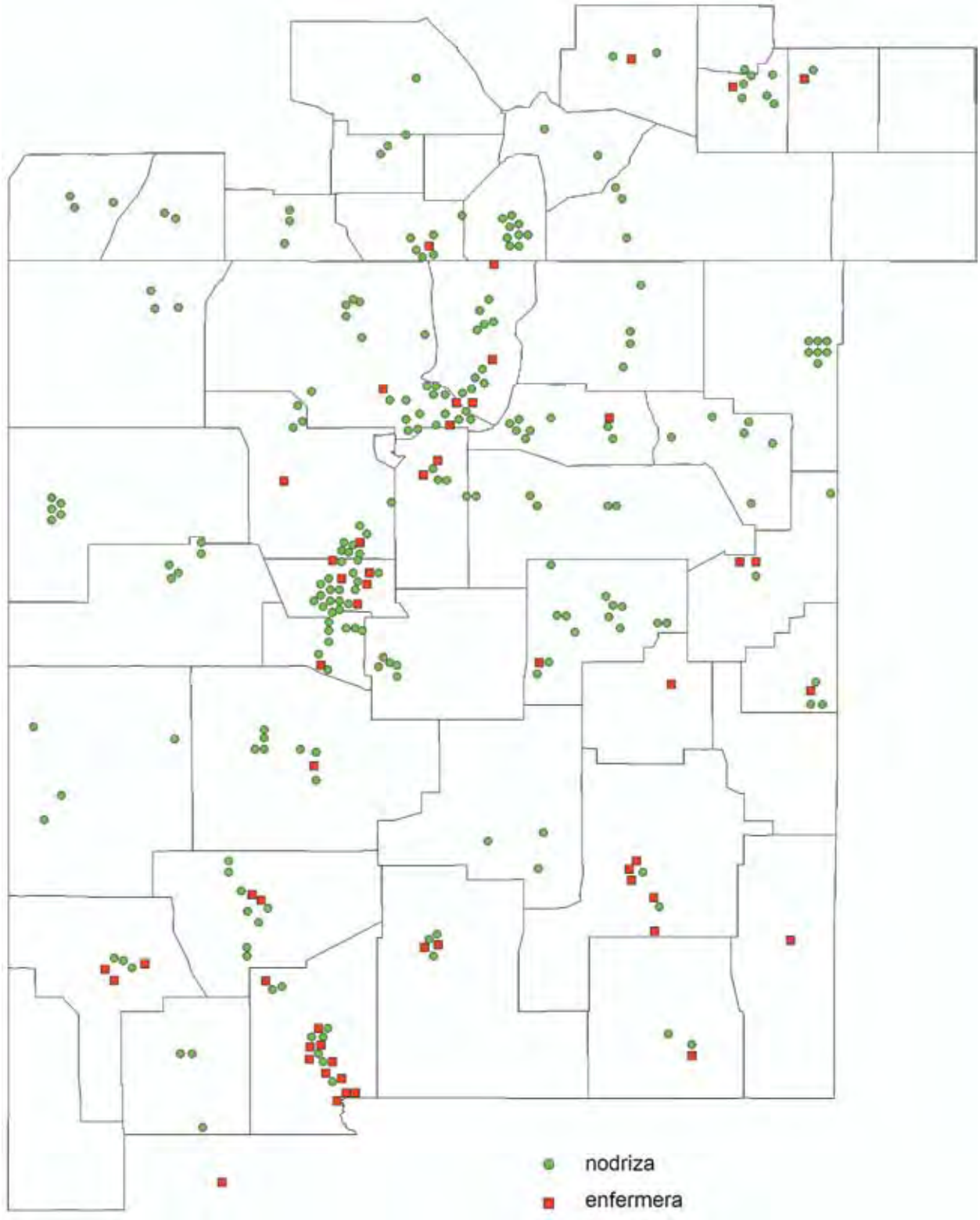
Now, the standard meaning of *nodriza* elsewhere is 'wet nurse,' the woman who suckles another's child. The standard Spanish term for a hospital nurse is *enfermera*, a nominal form related to the adjective *enfermo* 'sick' and the verb *enfermarse* 'to get sick.' We received only 53 preferences (16% of the responses) for this standard label, and as the data for *enfermera* previously reported in tables 14-10 and 14-17 attest, its occurrence is strongly predicted by both the formal Spanish variable and the general education variable. Those responses are distributed haphazardly around the area (see map 15-2), though with a disproportionately high number in the Border Spanish areas, indicating that it is associated in part with twentieth-century immigration.

However, many consultants in the Border Spanish areas prefer *nodriza*, and the showing of *enfermera* near the border is not particularly strong, suggesting that *nodriza* might also be used for 'Nurse' in Mexico. Unfortunately, 'Nurse' was not elicited in the *ALM*. Santamaría's 1959 *Diccionario de mejicanismos* does not contain *nodriza*, and the *DRAE* does not admit the general 'nurse' meaning for this term. In any case, the influence of education appears to exert a greater influence than Mexican Spanish in the appearance of *enfermera* in New Mexican Spanish.

While the standard Spanish and Mexican Spanish forces unite against long-entrenched New Mexican Spanish terms in the cases of 'Dollar' and 'Nurse,' the opponent in the case of 'Balloon' is somewhat different. The standard and Mexican Spanish term is *globo*, the preference of only 66 (20%) of 327 NMCOSS respondents. The Traditional Spanish term for 'Balloon' may once have been *bomba*, as used occasionally elsewhere in the Americas, but that label has been practically eradicated by the Anglicism *balún*, the first choice of 199 of 327 consultants (61%).



15-1. ‘Dollar’



15-2. ‘Nurse’

An additional 39 persons (12%) offered the unassimilated English ***balloon***, differentiated primarily by the schwa vowel of the first syllable. In contrast, there were only 5 responses of *bomba* and 1 of *bombilla*, all reported by speakers representing rural northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

Map 15-3 demonstrates that the integrated Anglicism *balún* occurs everywhere while the standard term *globo* is primarily a feature of Border Spanish. But as the data included in tables 14-5 and 14-17 of the previous chapter indicate, the use of *globo* is also quite strongly tied to both coursework in Spanish and years of education.

Given that the opposition is an Anglicism, it may seem surprising to find only 66 responses of *globo* for 'Balloon' in New Mexican Spanish. It is to be recalled, however, from map 10-6 that *globo* is the preferred label for 'Lightbulb' in the Traditional Spanish area, the choice of 60% of our NMCOSS consultants. Here we have a conflict of dialects that produces an interesting result: 18 of our consultants offered *globo* for both 'Balloon' and 'Lightbulb.' These persons seem to have intimate experience with the contact of Border Spanish and Traditional Spanish. For example, 11 of the 18 represent the San Luis Valley and Arkansas River areas of Colorado and the plains of eastern New Mexico, where twentieth-century immigration of agricultural workers from Mexico was especially important.

Another Anglicism under siege from the two forces is of particular interest because it concerns a technological development that occurred after incorporation into the United States. It is not unexpected, then, that *brecas* should turn out to be the overwhelmingly preferred term in New Mexican Spanish for the 'Brakes' on an automobile. This was the response of 4 out of 5 of our consultants (252 of 314, 80%), and another 6 persons responded with the verb *brequear*, 2 with masculine *breque*, and 4 with English ***brakes***. In contrast, only 35 persons (12%) preferred the standard Spanish word *frenos*, though 3 others gave a verb form, 2 *frenar* and 1 *frenear*.

As we saw in the previous chapter (tables 14-10 and 14-17), the standard *frenos* increases with exposure to the standardizing influences of the two education variables. But it is also linked to modern Mexican Spanish. Map 15-4 indicates that even though *brecas* and its integrated variants dominate mightily even in the Border Spanish areas, *frenos* is manifest mostly in those areas of most recent Mexican immigration.

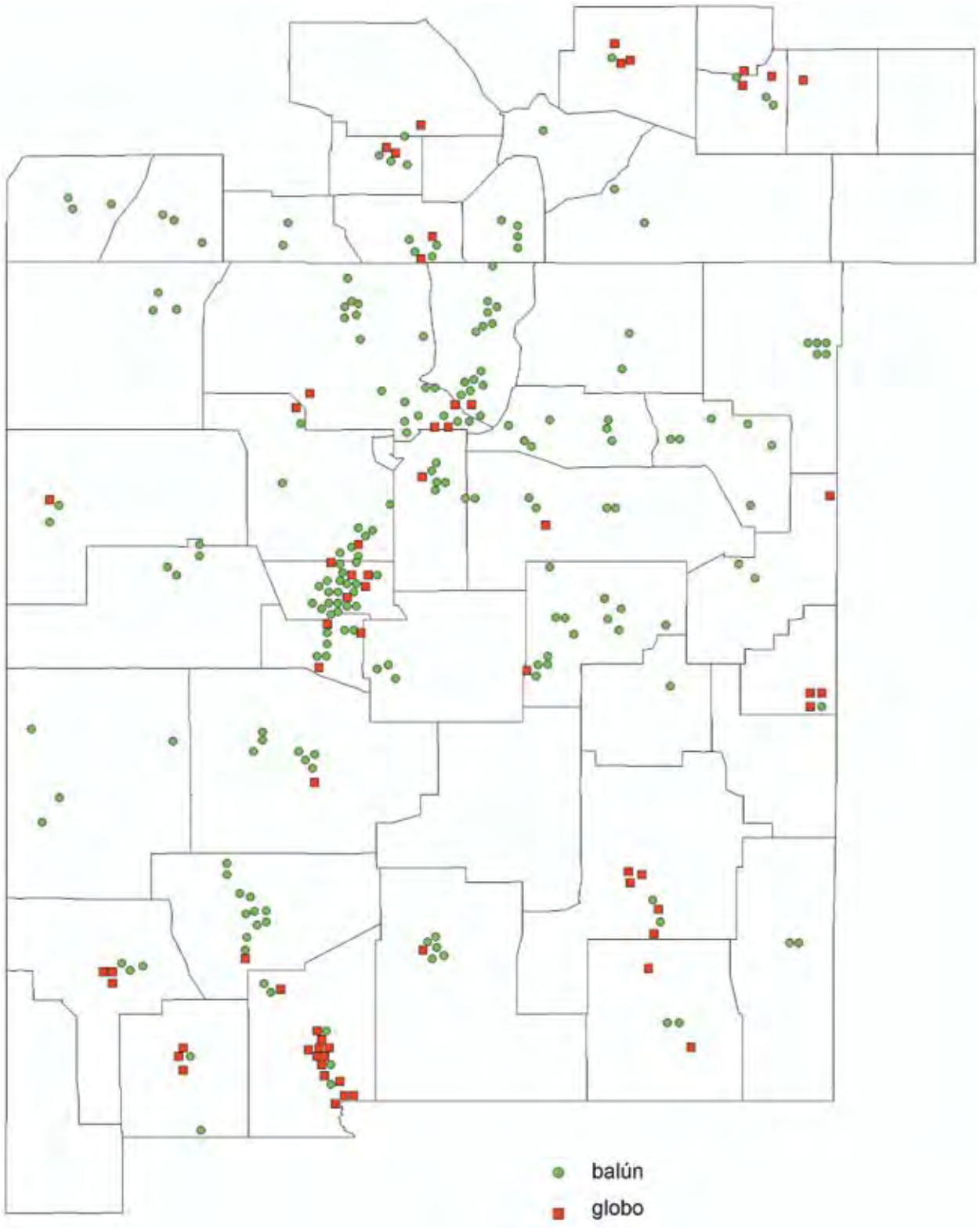
Like so many words for new phenomena, *frenos* for the brakes on a automobile represents an extension of the meaning of an existing word, in this case the *freno* meaning 'bit, bridle,' the device employed to bring to a halt the horse one is riding. The same is true, of course, for the origin of the English label: *brake* once had the meaning 'bridle.'

Map 15-4 includes a third term for 'Brakes,' *maneas*, that shows up only in rural areas of Traditional Spanish. This label is very much a minority variant, offered by just 10 consultants (3%, including twice as the verb *manear*), but it developed in precisely the same way as *frenos* and *brakes*. Some Spanish speakers decided to adopt a distinct braking term from horsemanship, *manea*, the word for 'hobble.' It seems that *maneas*, however, never had a chance against the powerful English *brecas*. It remains to be seen how effective the twin forces of standard Spanish and Mexican Spanish will be in displacing the Anglicism with *frenos*. After all, *brecas* is now known and used in Mexico. (Santamaría 1959 includes only the masculine *breque* with its meaning restricted to the brakes of a train.)

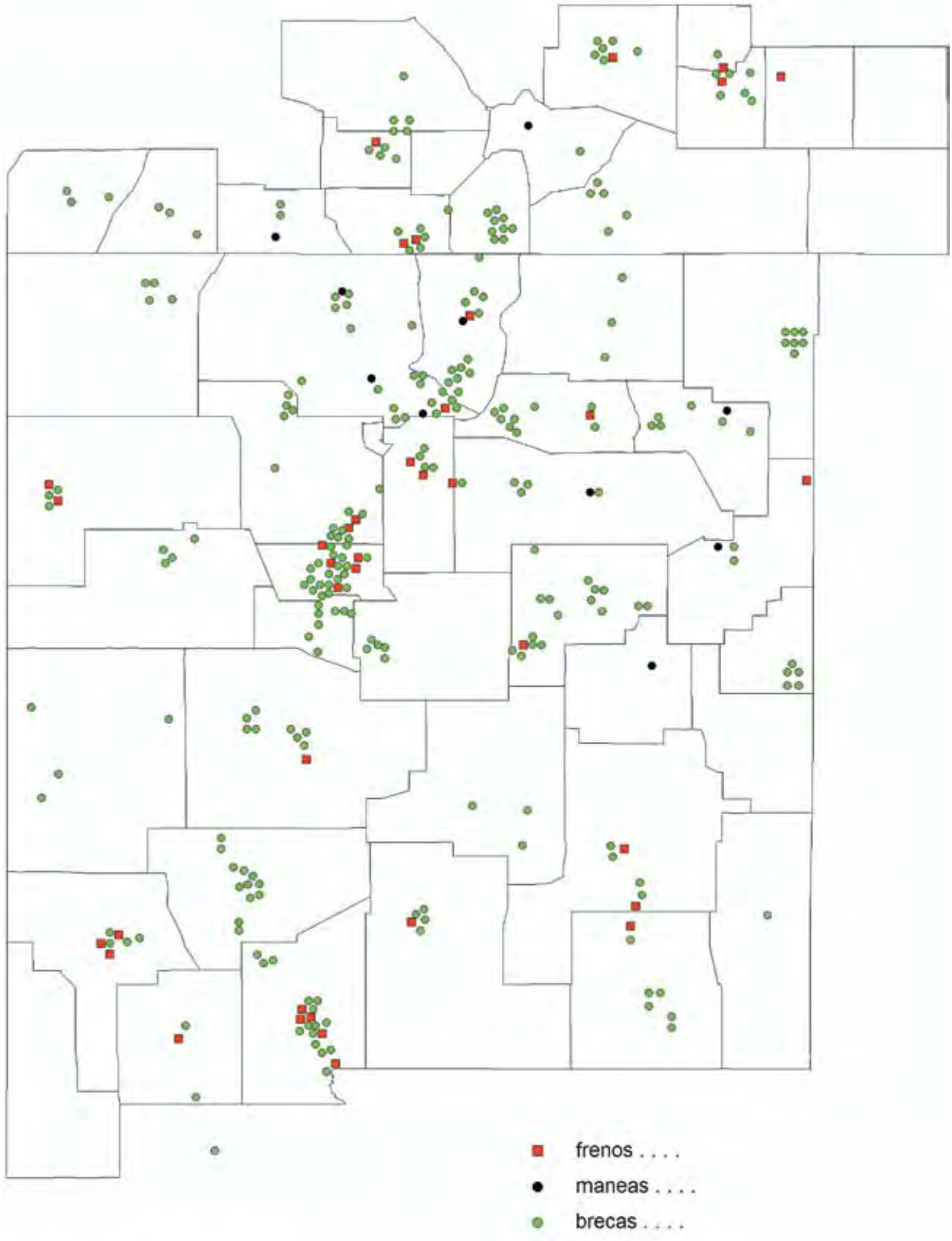
Mexicanisms

So, yes, Mexican Spanish and standard Spanish often find themselves as allies aligned against the idiosyncrasies of New Mexican Spanish. But immigration from modern Mexico exhibits a linguistic influence independent of the educational factors. For example, the use of *peseta* for 'Quarter,' which map 10-7 showed to be strongly characteristic of Border Spanish, displays no relationship to either the number of Spanish courses or years of education. Similarly, *calcetines* for 'Socks' is strongly associated with Border Spanish (see map 5-5) but not at all with the two educational variables.

These modern **Mexicanisms** seem to spread in New Mexican Spanish through everyday oral communication, and they tend to relate to topics of home and family having less connection with education. The geographical distributions of these new forms conform particularly to those areas that have received the bulk of the immigration from Mexico over the last hundred years: the southern third of New Mexico closest to the border, the major cities (particularly Albuquerque and Santa Fe in New Mexico and Pueblo in Colorado), the mining and industry areas of northwestern New Mexico, and agricultural areas of the eastern plains, the San Luis Valley of south-central Colorado, and along the Arkansas River of southeastern Colorado. They tend not to occur in rural areas of New Mexico where Traditional Spanish has long been strong, but we will see evidence that they are in fact beginning to displace some Traditional forms.



15-3. ‘Balloon’



15-4. ‘Brakes’

TABLE 15-2. Responses for 'Cabbage' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
col, *coles*	82.4	71.7	79.3	66.2
repollo	15.1	16.7	17.2	23.9
Other or No response	2.5	11.7	3.4	9.9
N	119	60	58	71

Thus, we saw in our very first data map, map 2-1, that *repollo* for 'Cabbage' is strongly associated with Border Spanish in contrast with the standard *col* so firmly entrenched in Traditional Spanish. Yet the years-of-education variable displays no clear association with the 'Cabbage' labels. Those who had less than a ninth-grade education reported 83% *col* and 16% *repollo* while at the opposite extreme those with a college degree reported just slightly lower proportions of each: 80% *col* and 12% *repollo*. Moreover, the classroom Spanish variable shows a very slight but positive correlation not with the standard *col* but with the Mexican *repollo*, as shown in table 15-2.

There is a good reason for this lack of association with education: 'Cabbage' is much less likely than 'Red' or 'Dollar' or 'Christmas' to show up in the Spanish classroom or in conversations with outsiders.

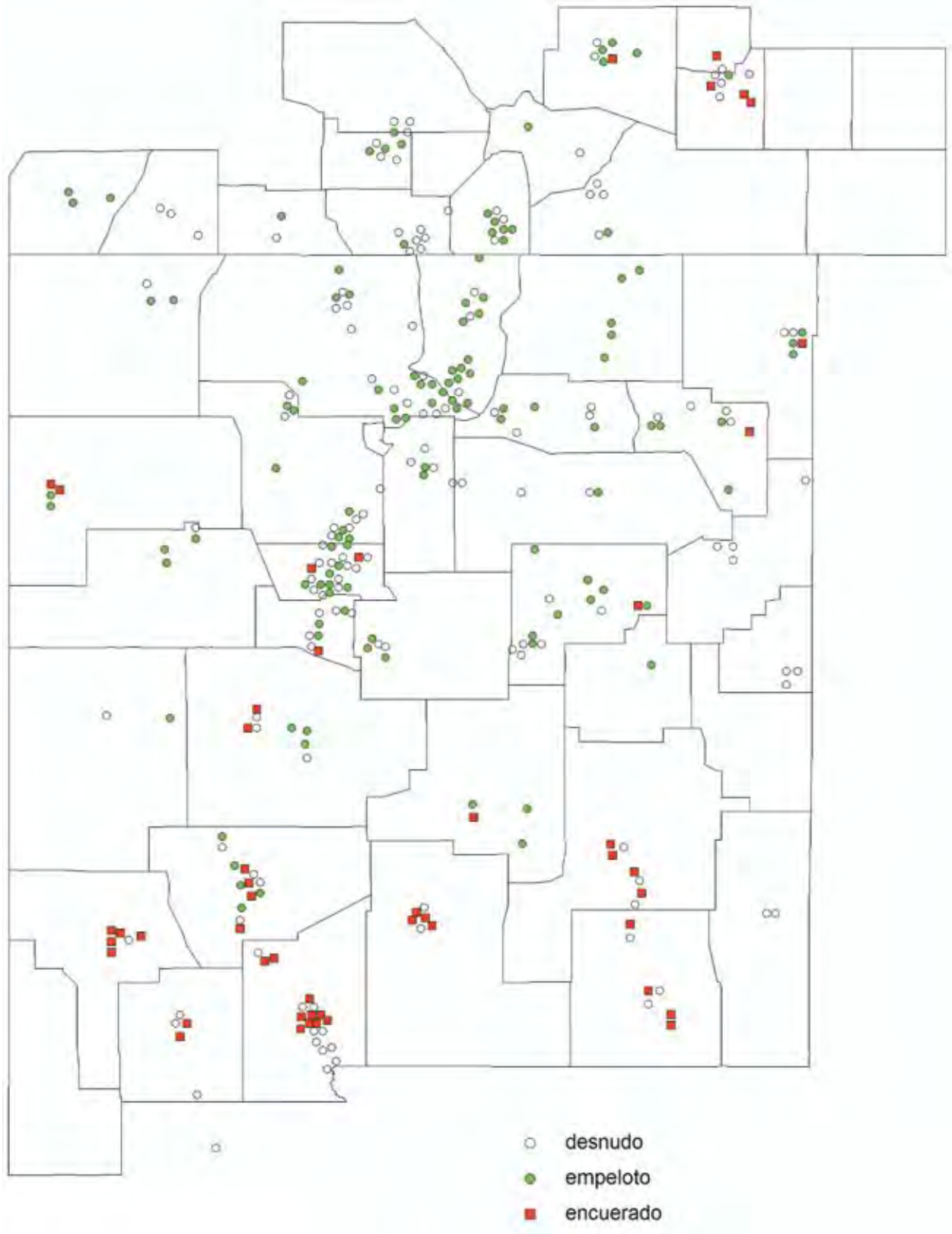
Even less likely to be discussed in those circumstances is 'Naked.' Given the nature of our interview sessions usually involving strangers, it will come as no surprise to learn that references to nakedness turned up rarely in conversational contexts. One example—from a man describing how a circus arrival was advertised in the small town of Wagon Mound, New Mexico—is deliberately (and delightfully) ambiguous:

(15-2) *Llegaban los maromeros allá gritando, "¡Vengan a ver mujeres (en pelotas/empelotas) esta noche!" dicían* 'The acrobats would come there shouting, "Come see the women (on balls/naked) tonight!" they'd say.' (interview 22)

The 3 most common words for 'Naked' in New Mexican Spanish—*desnudo*, *empeloto*, and *encuerado*—are plotted on map 15-5. Spread throughout the region with no particular regional affiliation is the most popular term, the standard *desnudo*, the preference of 139 persons (42%).

Map 15-5 shows that the term *empeloto*, favored by 118 consultants (36%), is characteristic of Traditional Spanish (as are 9 additional cases of *peloto*, not included on the map). This label is an adjective—note the agreement with *mujeres* in example 15-2. Yet it derives from the prepositional phrase given in the *DRAE* as *en pelota* or *en pelotas* for 'naked'; however, this is not the *pelota* meaning 'ball' that makes example 15-2 ambiguous but rather a derived form of *pelo* 'hair' (another term for 'naked' listed in the *DRAE* is *a pelo*). This derived adjective is an Americanismo that occurs broadly in the New World. In Colombia, for example, *empeloto* and *empelota* (which presumably should be *en pelota*) occur as minority labels in the more remote areas across the southern half of the highlands and the eastern Amazon basin states (*ALEC* vol. 4, mapas 2 and 3). Finally, *encuerado*, the choice of 49 persons (15%), is characteristic of Border Spanish. This NMCOSS distribution suggests that *encuerado* for 'Naked' is commonplace in Mexico, and it is indeed listed in Santamaría (1959).

The *ALM* did not include this item. However, it did include a related form, the verb 'Undress,' that is, 'get undressed' (mapa 937). As in our NMCOSS survey, by far the most common *ALM* responses for 'Undress' are *desvestirse* and *desnudarse*. But there are some 3 dozen mentions of the more colloquial *encuerarse* 'strip (to the skin),' whence the resultant state *encuerado* 'stripped (to the skin), naked.' It is also significant that the *ALM* reports only 3 cases of *empelotarse* for 'Undress.' Similarly, for the state of Sinaloa, Mendoza Guerrero reports 12 mentions of *encuerarse* and none of *empelotarse* (2002, 129–33). In contrast, the NMCOSS received 8 preferences of *empelotarse* for 'Undress' plus 5 other mentions and Alvar (2000, 203) lists 3 mentions, all in the Traditional Spanish region. We also received 3 preferences of *encuerarse* plus 3 additional mentions, all in the Border Spanish areas where we find *encuerado* for 'Naked.' (A woman from Anthony, on the southern border with Texas between Las Cruces and El Paso, jokingly admonished interviewer Ysaura Bernal-Enríquez that *enchinarse el cuerito* 'for the skin to crinkle up, to get goose bumps' was very different from *encuerarse el chinito* 'for the curly-haired [or Chinese] boy to get naked.') Pedrero (2002, 63–64) reports 1 case of *encuerarse* in Texas, but Alvar fails to include it in his list.



15-5. ‘Naked’

TABLE 15-3. Responses for 'Naked' by Years of education (percentages)

	0–8	9–11	12	13–15	16 OR MORE
desnudo	32.3	47.1	50.6	33.3	44.8
empeloto	50.0	35.3	22.8	31.7	43.3
encuerado	14.5	9.8	16.5	21.7	9.0
Other or No response	3.2	7.8	10.1	13.3	3.0
N	62	51	79	60	67

TABLE 15-4. Responses for 'Bucket' by Formal study of Spanish (percentages)

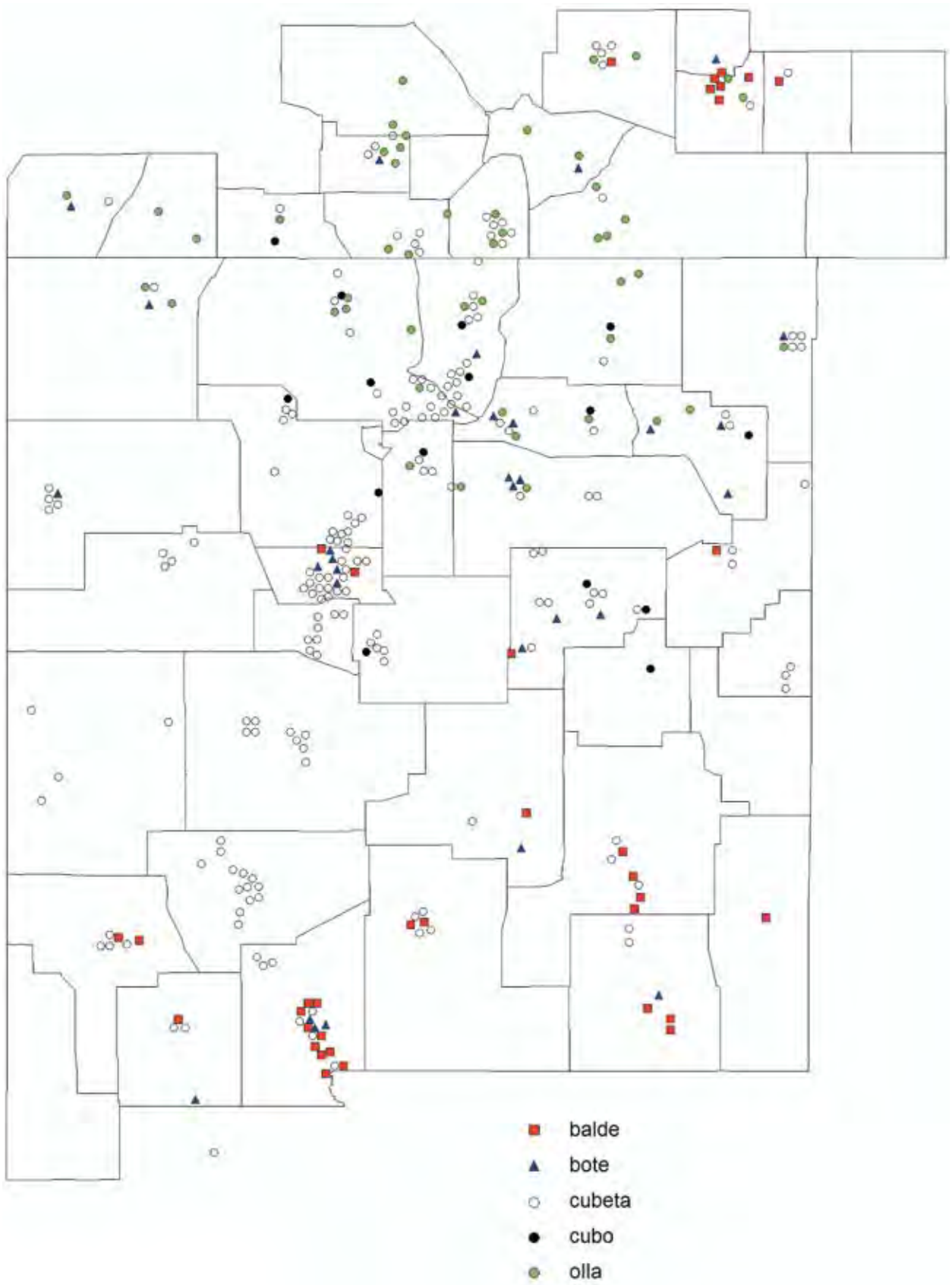
	NO COURSES	1 COURSE	2 COURSES	3 OR MORE COURSES
balde	9.4	8.1	13.3	11.6
bote	9.4	12.9	5.0	10.1
cubeta	53.0	53.2	63.3	53.6
cubo	7.7	3.2	0.0	4.3
olla	17.9	14.5	13.3	10.1
Other response	2.6	8.1	5.0	10.1
N	117	62	60	69

Thus, the use of *empeloto* for 'Naked' and *empelotarse* for 'Undress' identify one as a speaker of Traditional Spanish. It is equally apparent that *encuerado* for 'Naked' and *encuerarse* for 'Undress' have entered New Mexican Spanish via immigration from Mexico. But these Border Spanish labels too, like *repollo*, have no significant connection to the educational variables. More unexpectedly, neither does *desnudo*. Table 15-3, for example, provides the cross-tabulation for education in general, revealing that none of the 3 variants exhibits a trend to increase or decrease with more years of education. The cross-tabulation for coursework in Spanish is equally nonsignificant, showing no linear slope of interest. (With regard to the 'Undress' variable, the numbers of colloquial *encuerarse* and *empelotarse* responses are too small for cross-tabulation with the education variables.)

Another item that is apt to appear infrequently if at all in the Spanish classroom or in interactions with outsiders is 'Bucket' (or 'pail' for some English speakers). We received from 337 consultants 5 principal responses for this humble implement: *balde* (36 preferences, 11%), *bote* (31, 9%), *cubeta* (187, 55%), *olla* (47, 14%), and *cubo* (15, 4%). Table 15-4 indicates the choice of these terms by persons at the four levels of Spanish coursework. The use of *olla* drops slightly (from 18% to 10%) with more exposure to classroom Spanish. But there is no other even vague trend in this table.

But map 15-6 demonstrates that there are clear geographical tendencies for 4 of the 5 'Bucket' variants (*bote* is distributed widely and unsystematically and displays no regional patterning). In numbers as well as in breadth of distribution, the label that characterizes New Mexican Spanish from top to bottom is *cubeta*, a widely used standard term for 'Bucket' that is derived as an old diminutive of *cuba* 'cask, barrel.' Example 8-16 illustrates the use of *cubeta* in conversation. A related term, *cubo*, which is also widely considered standard, is a feature of the Spanish of the rural northern third of the NMCOSS territory, as is the label *olla*, which in the NMCOSS region and elsewhere generally has the meaning 'pot, pan,' but it is noteworthy that the more isolated southern and eastern areas of Colombia also commonly use *olla* for 'Bucket' (*ALEC* vol. 2, mapa 51). These 2 Traditional Spanish terms seem destined for the dustbin, *cubo* in particular because of its low frequency, but also *olla* because of its other more widespread meaning. The findings of Lope Blanch (1990a, 91) for the town of Mora in the Traditional Spanish heartland mirror our findings; the 4 people he interviewed offered 2 *olla*, 1 *cubeta*, and 1 *cubo*.

Finally, map 15-6 shows that another standard Spanish label, *balde*, is definitively a feature of Border Spanish, though it too shows no association with the educational variables. It has been brought in, not by the standardizing influences of education but by immigration



15-6. 'Bucket'

from Mexico. Consistent with these findings is the fact that *balde* and *cubeta* are the 2 dominant labels across Mexico, according to the *ALM* (mapa 861). *Cubeta* was clearly brought into New Mexican Spanish a long time ago while *balde* is a quite recent import.

The 2 New Mexican Spanish labels for the homely 'Water hose' for watering the lawn and garden also show absolutely no association with the two educational variables. The 2 terms are the standard *manguera* (125 responses, 39%) and the colloquial *tripa* (186 responses, 57%). *Tripa* was the choice of 58% of those who reported no formal study of Spanish and a barely different 54% of those who had taken three or more courses. In similar fashion, it was the preference of 59% of those with no more than an eighth-grade education and of 62% of those holding a college degree.

On the other hand, map 15-7 shows that both terms are widely distributed in the NMCOSS region, but with *manguera* somewhat more characteristic of Border Spanish and *tripa* somewhat more characteristic of Traditional Spanish. Once again it seems clear that it is modern immigration from Mexico, not educational exposure to standard Spanish, that has driven the spread of the standard variant so deeply into New Mexican Spanish. No doubt also driving this spread is the fact that *tripa* happens to have another meaning. It is the word for 'tripe' or 'intestine.' Well, that's what a hose looks like. And it has a very similar function. Our own gut-level reaction is that the use of *tripa* for 'Water hose' is very reasonable.

A Century of Increasing Influence

What we are calling "modern Mexican" influence has been taking place for over a hundred years, from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century when our data were collected (though the influence clearly continues its conqueror's march in the twenty-first century). It is possible to estimate, based on the extent of its spread, when a modern Mexicanism made its entrance into New Mexican Spanish. To illustrate, we will try to differentiate, in a *very* rough and ready way, three general periods: Early, Later, and Recent (we use initial capital letters with these terms to emphasize their ad hoc nature).

Some modern Mexicanisms came quite early. Consider, for example, the terms selected to name a 'Kitchen chair' of the most stereotypically plain, wooden kind placed at a kitchen table (see map 15-8). Characteristic of Traditional Spanish is the label *silleta*, a special diminutive form of the standard word for 'Kitchen chair,' *silla*. The *DRAE* lists *silleta* as an Americanism (it is widely used in Colombia, for example, according to *ALEC* vol. 4, mapa 244), and we can assume that it has been a part of Traditional Spanish for centuries.

Silla, on the other hand, is a demonstrably Border Spanish term. It's the unanimous choice of southern New Mexico and it dominates powerfully in the other Border Spanish centers such as Albuquerque and the Arkansas River area. Furthermore, it has spread strongly throughout the Traditional Spanish area and has in fact become the majority preference in New Mexican Spanish. A total of 52% of the NMCOSS consultants (172 of 333) chose *silla* while 47% (158 consultants) chose *silleta*. The ninety-six-year-old weaver from the center of the Traditional Spanish area of northern New Mexico reported,

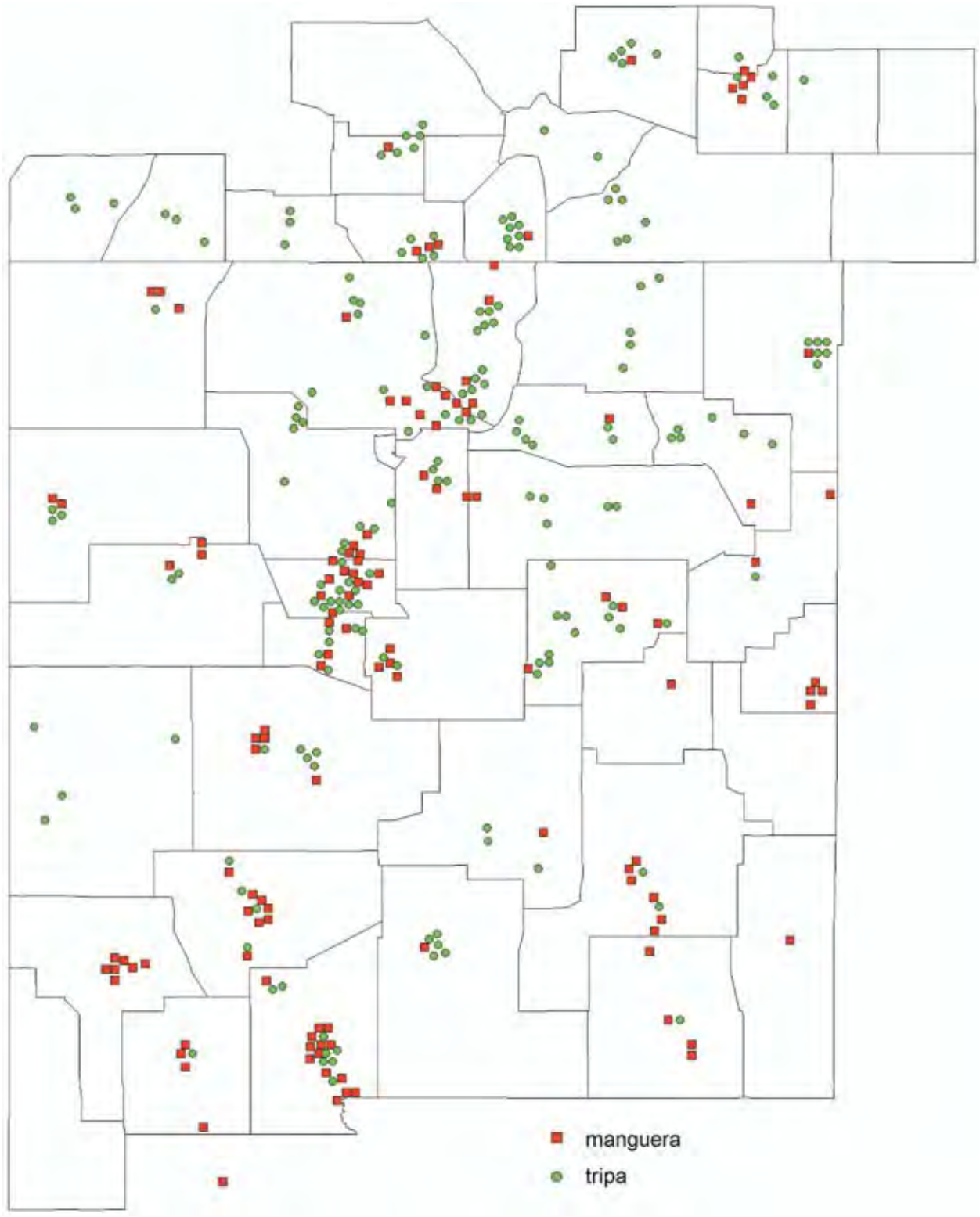
> (15-3) *Ha oido dicir yo silla, pero nojotros dicemos silleta*. 'I've heard it called *silla*, but we call it *silleta*.' (interview 219)

The remaining 3 respondents offered *banco* 'bench,' the usual sitting place in a traditional Hispanic kitchen where the bench was an extrusion from the adobe wall.

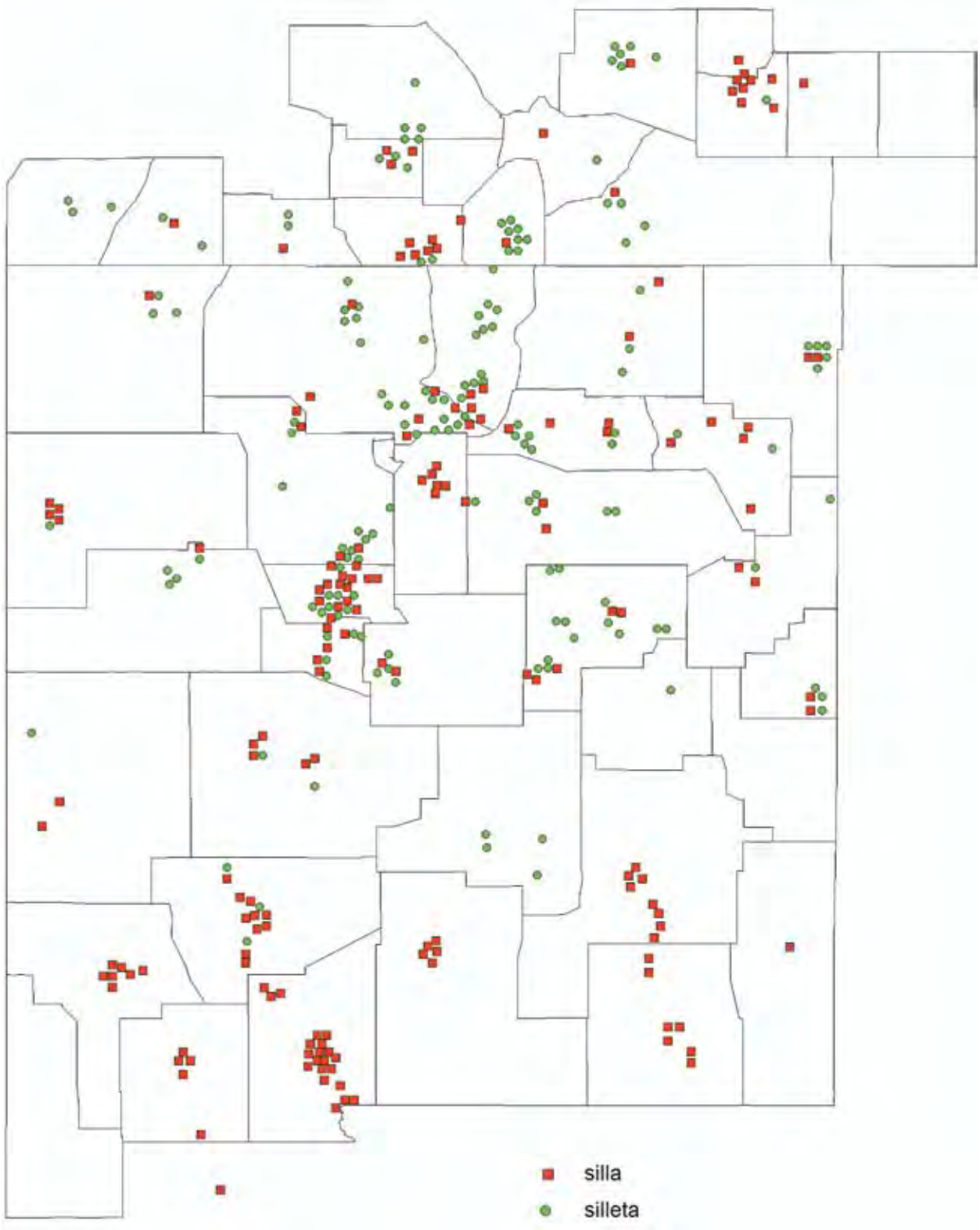
We interpret these findings to mean that *silla* was among the first in the Early period of modern Mexicanisms to enter New Mexican Spanish. The use of *pescado* for 'Fish' and *blusa* for 'Blouse' are 2 other Early intruders that have substantially displaced the Traditional *trucha* and *cuerpo* labels (see maps 8-6 and 5-2). Appearing to be similarly early in their introduction to New Mexican Spanish, but not yet quite so extensively entrenched, are *sien* for 'Temple' (see map 11-12) and *calcetines* for 'Socks' (see map 5-5). In neither case, however, has the modern Mexicanism become the choice of the majority, though *sien* received more preferences than its 2 competitors, and *calcetines* comes in a fairly close second to the popular *medias*.

Making a Later period entrance is the use of *canica* for the 'Marble' of childhood gaming. We see on map 15-9 that this standard Spanish label, the preference of 109 of the 334 consultants (33%), is firmly implanted in the two core areas of modern immigration from Mexico: southern New Mexico and the Arkansas River area of southeastern Colorado. However unlike the broader spread of the exemplars of the Early period, *canica* is barely manifest in the core Traditional Spanish area outside of Albuquerque.

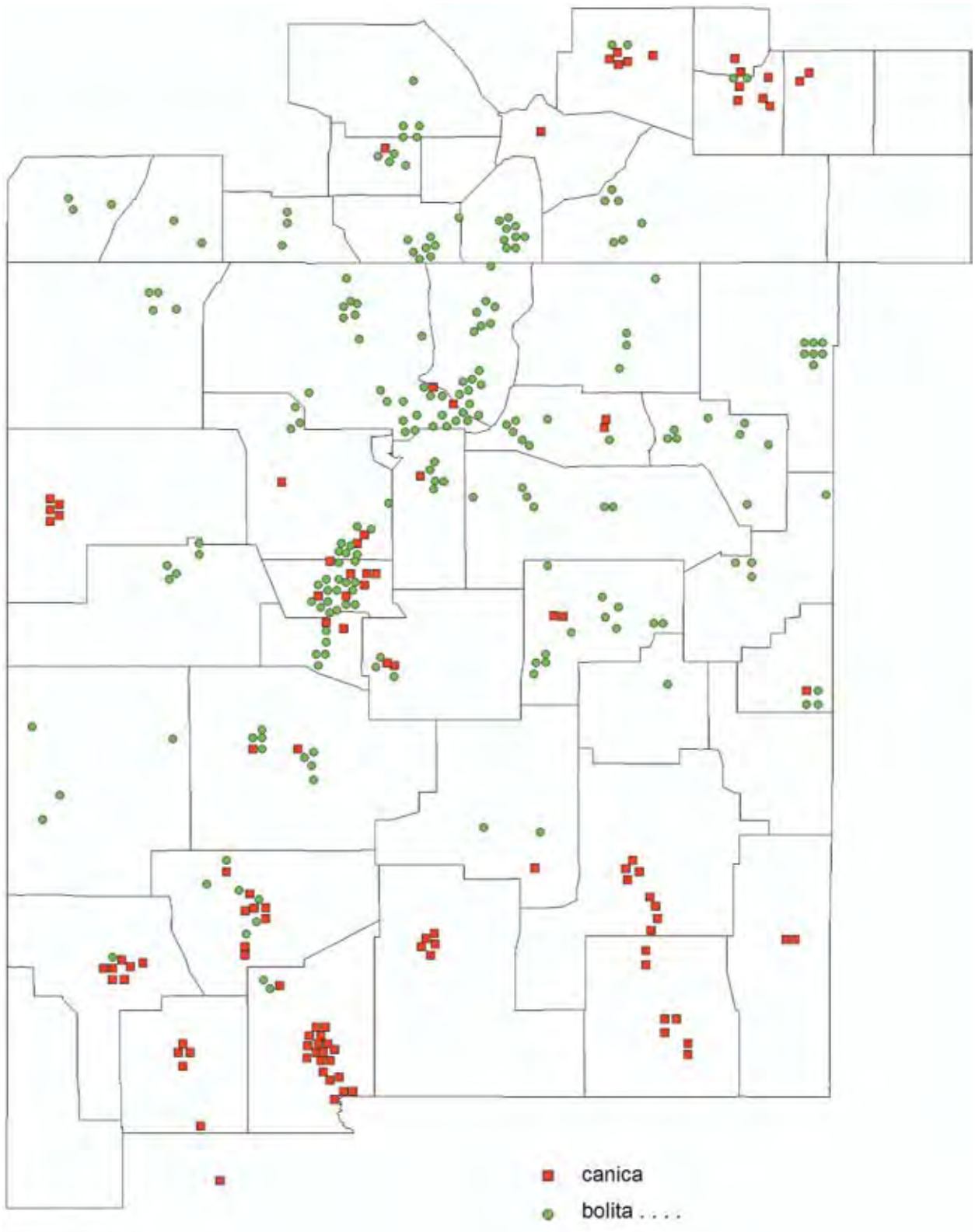
The Traditional Spanish term is *bolita*, reported by 197 consultants (59%), a word that is inexplicably absent from Cobos (2003) though it was present in the 1983 version. Lope Blanch (1990a, 88) reports that *bolita* was used for 'Marble' by all 4 of his Mora subjects but by no



15-7. 'Water hose'



15-8. 'Kitchen chair'



15-9. ‘Marble’

one in the other three Southwest states. In addition, 12 of our consultants offered the nondiminutive *bola*, which is also distinctive of Traditional Spanish and is included with *bolita* on map 15-9.

Now, the *Atlas lingüístico de México* (mapa 804) reports not a single instance of either *bolita* or *bola*. It does find in the northwest coast state of Sinaloa 3 cases of a plausibly related *boliche*, but that form is now the general Spanish term for the game of 'bowling.' Strongly confirming the *ALM* finding, Mendoza Guerrero reports that 22 of his 60 Sinaloan consultants utilize this *boliche* label. He characterizes it as *habla inculta* 'uncultured speech' (2002, 107). It seems that *bolita* and *boliche* ought to have a historical relationship, but the directness of that connection with 'Marble' remains a mystery to us.

The *ALEC* (vol. 3, mapa 276) demonstrates that *bola* is the usual term for 'Marble' throughout Colombia, a country known for linguistic conservatism. (There are also a number of *boliche* there and only 3 mentions of *canica*.) The *DRAE* acknowledges the use of *bolita* for 'Marble' in Argentina, so its occurrence in Colombia and at opposite ends of Spanish America suggests that it is an older Americanism that is dying out. That appears to have been its fate in Mexico. Santamaría (1959), who typically is documenting Mexican Spanish of the nineteenth century, reports the use of *bolita* for 'Marble.' We may surmise, therefore, that the apparent demise of *bolita* in Mexican Spanish was fairly recent, perhaps as late as the twentieth century. That supposition ties in neatly with the NMCOSS findings of the uniformity of *canica* in the areas of Mexican immigration during the past century.

Other terms closely associated with Border Spanish and seemingly representative of the Later period are *vestido* for 'Dress' competing against the Traditional *túnico*, *falda* for 'Skirt' competing against *naguas*, and *sartén* for 'Skillet' competing against *puela*. Our earlier maps 5-3, 6-9, and 9-4 show that the distributions of *vestido*, *falda*, and *sartén* are very similar to that of *canica*.

In contrast to Early entering forms like *silla* and Later entering forms like *canica*, we find in the NMCOSS data evidence of Recent entrances of modern Mexican forms. Previous maps show the more limited distributions of, for example, *chabacán(o)* for 'Apricot' (map 5-6), *moyote* for 'Mosquito' (map 6-6) and *murciélago* for 'Bat' (map 8-11). Still more limited, and therefore representing very Recent incursions from Mexico, are the distributions of *perrilla* for 'Sty' (map 8-12) and *plomo* for 'Gray' (map 14-5).

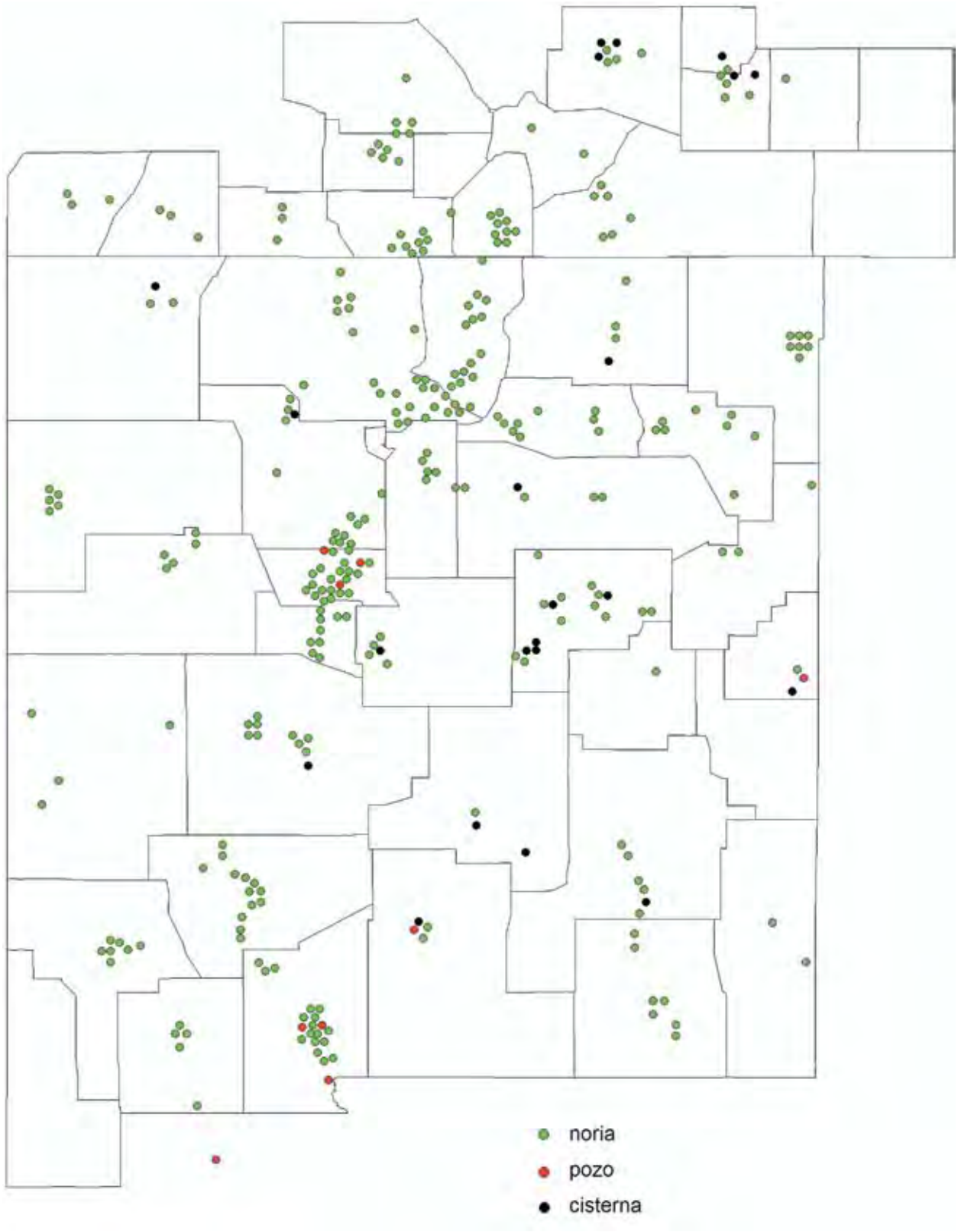
Another very Recent example is the labeling of a 'Well' used to draw up subsurface water by means of a bucket, rope, and pulley. Here we have one of the very few cases where we know that the NMCOSS and the *ALM* elicited a response in exactly the same way. For our survey we adopted the same line drawing of a typical well that appears in Lope Blanch's *Cuestionario* (1970a, 83). (This drawing is one of only sixty pictorial representations employed in securing responses to the thousand items in the *ALM* questionnaire, and many of those pictures represent distinctively Mexican objects generally absent from New Mexican Spanish culture.)

Map 15-10 displays the distributions of just 3 of the 'Well' labels. *Noria* is the overwhelmingly preferred term in New Mexican Spanish, proposed by 279 of the 336 respondents (83%)—and by all 4 of Lope Blanch's Mora subjects (1990a, 91). In contrast, the heavily dominant term in Mexico (*ALM* mapa 858) is *pozo*, though *noria* makes a strong if still minority showing across northern Mexico. In the conservative state of Sinaloa greater balance appears; of 60 persons surveyed, 43 cited *noria* and 35 *pozo* (Mendoza Guerrero 2002, 116–17). In contrast, *pozo* barely shows up in our New Mexican Spanish results, just 9 cases (and 1 of those cases is the woman born in Mexico). Moreover, those few cases show up only in areas of modern immigration. *Pozo* is clearly one of those New Mexican Spanish words of very Recent vintage, brought in probably by the wave of immigrants subsequent to World War II.

The third term for 'Well' included on map 15-10 is *cisterna* 'cistern,' the label preferred by 22 consultants. This label always seemed to be clearly understood as a storage place for water, not as a well that taps into water below ground. Some speakers commented on the difficulty of successfully reaching water by digging a well in their areas and the necessity of hauling in water, often from great distances, for storage in a *cisterna*. In appearance and in function, a cistern was the most well-like entity in the experience of some of our consultants.

Out with the Old, in with the New

The continuous and constantly increasing immigration from Mexico brings continuous and constantly increasing linguistic change. Although New Mexican Spanish has always been a variety of Mexican Spanish, it is a variety that became more and more distinct through three hundred years of less than intimate contact. The last century, however, has begun to close that once-widening chasm. The result of the Mexicanization process is the replacement of Traditional Spanish forms by those that have become more emblematic of modern Mexico.



15-10. 'Well'

The 2 New Mexican Spanish words for 'Pea' are displayed on map 15-11, which shows clearly that the Traditional Spanish term is *alverjón*, the choice of the majority of our consultants (193 persons, 59%). Equally clear is that the Border Spanish preference is *chícharo*, reported by 99 persons (29%). There were an additional 13 distortions of *alverjón* (e.g., *alverijón*, *arvejón*, *verjón*) and 8 distortions of *chícharo* (e.g., *chícaro*, *chícharro*, *chicharra*), but these are excluded from the map.

Both of these terms have a lengthy and legitimate Spanish ancestry and are included in the American archaisms listing of Lerner (1974, 61, 122). *Chícharo* comes originally from the Latin *cicĕra* but actually entered mainstream Spanish, according to the *DRAE*, from *čičar* in the Mozarabic dialect spoken in the Muslim areas of southern Spain. *Alverjón*, on the other hand, derives directly from the Latin *ervilĭa*, which is realized today in parts of Spain as *alverja* or *arvejo* and generally in the Americas as *alverja*. Why the New Mexican Spanish variant developed with the "augmentative" suffix *-ón* is not known. Perhaps peas grow bigger in this region? The penetration of *chícharo* into the Traditional Spanish territory is not as substantial as the advance of *silla*. Its geographical patterning is almost identical to that of *canica*. We may conclude from its distribution, then, that the introduction of *chícharo* likely occurred in the Later period.

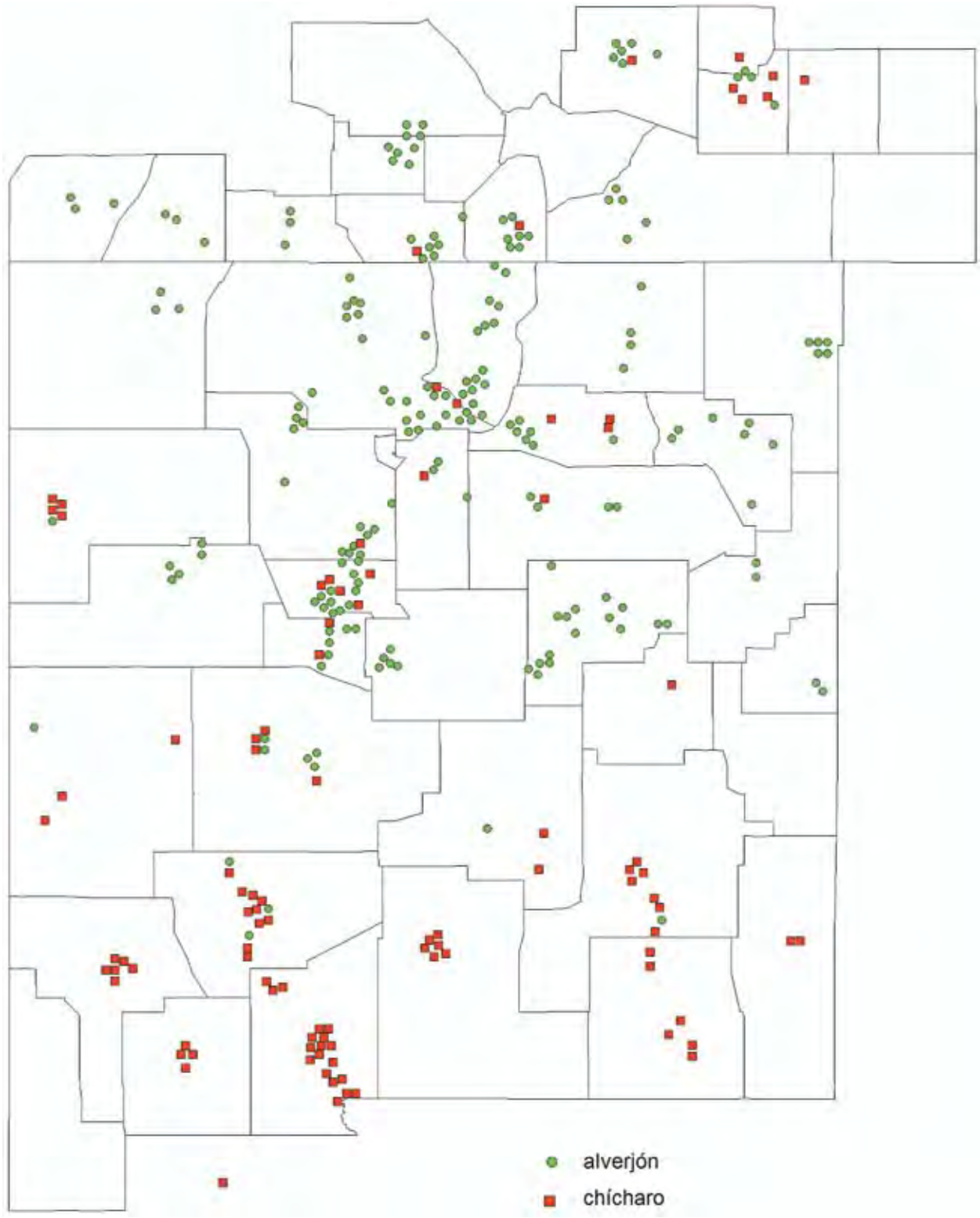
Map 15-12 shows the distributions of the 3 most frequently used labels to identify an ordinary leather 'Belt' used by men. The widely preferred label is *faja*, the response of 238 of 326 consultants (73%). *Faja*, which more widely in Spanish typically refers to a 'sash' or 'girdle,' dominates overwhelmingly in the Traditional Spanish region. Although *faja* occurs significantly in the Border Spanish areas, those areas are also the domain of *cinto*, which overall in our survey comes in a distant second with 59 preferences (18%). Generally in Spanish, *cinto*, refers to a sash-like waist wrap and not the kind of belt illustrated in our picture. Finally, the standard Spanish term for 'Belt,' *cinturón*, was preferred by only 11 consultants. There is no pattern to its geographical distribution, but it does show some correlation with the educational variables, which makes sense even though the number is too small to take this association as gospel. In addition to the 3 principal labels included on map 15-12, there were 10 choices of *vaqueta*, the general word for 'leather'; it occurs scattered loosely across the northern half of the NMCOSS region.

The distribution of *cinto* on map 15-12 suggests a Recent period import from Mexico, one that is making substantial inroads into a region that must once have been solidly *faja* territory. The fact that its use reveals no association with the two educational variables implies a strictly immigration origin. Moreover, mapa 917 of the *ALM* shows that, although standard *cinturón* may be the most cited term across Mexico, *cinto* is almost equally prominent overall and dominates across northern Mexico, the origin of most recent immigrants to New Mexico. *Faja*, on the other hand, is very much a minority form in Mexico, with only a small number of cases occurring in the Yucatán Peninsula, the northeast, and the central-west coast, regions that like New Mexico have long been on the margins of Mexican linguistic fashion.

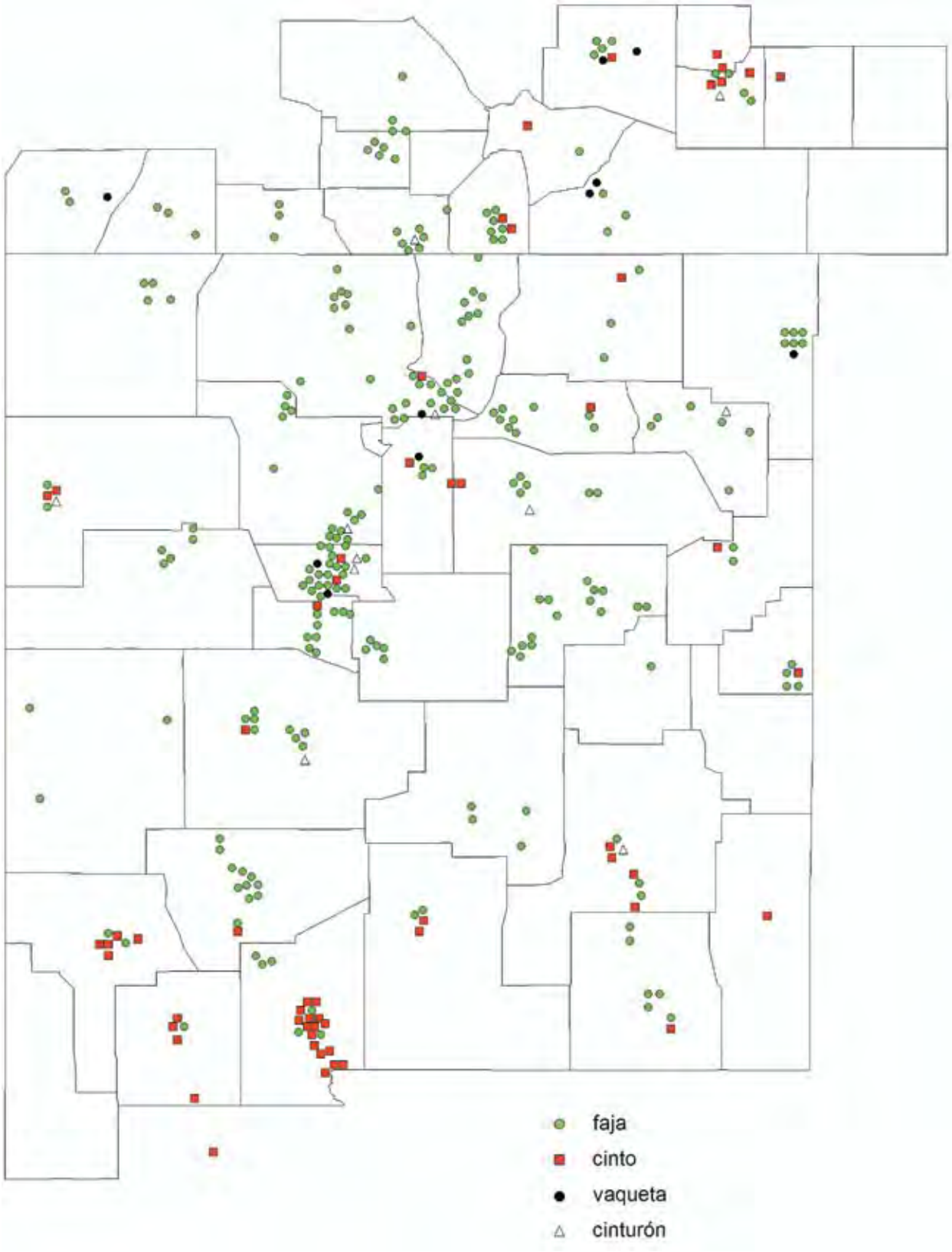
An even more recent import from Mexico is the use of *azadón* for 'Hoe.' *Azadón* is the preferred term everywhere in Mexico according to the *ALM* (mapa 883). However, map 15-13 indicates that this label has barely made an entrance into the NMCOSS region, being the preferred label for only 44 of 336 consultants (13%). It shows up primarily along the Río Grande in Doña Ana County, along the Pecos River in southeastern New Mexico, and along the Arkansas River of southeastern Colorado. That is, it appears mostly in those agricultural areas that have attracted the most migrant workers from Mexico, a perfectly reasonable distribution for a quintessential farm implement.

By way of contrast, the overwhelmingly preferred label for 'Hoe' everywhere else in New Mexican Spanish is *cavador*, the preference of 268 persons. The prominence of this label, beating out *azadón* even in Doña Ana County, and the restricted distribution of *azadón*, implies that *cavador* was until fairly recently the term universally used from one end of New Mexican Spanish to the other. It is quite mysterious, then, that not a single case of *cavador* is reported for the *ALM* survey. And the disjunction between our two surveys does not result from a difference in elicitation procedure. The pictures employed in the two surveys depict almost identical instruments.

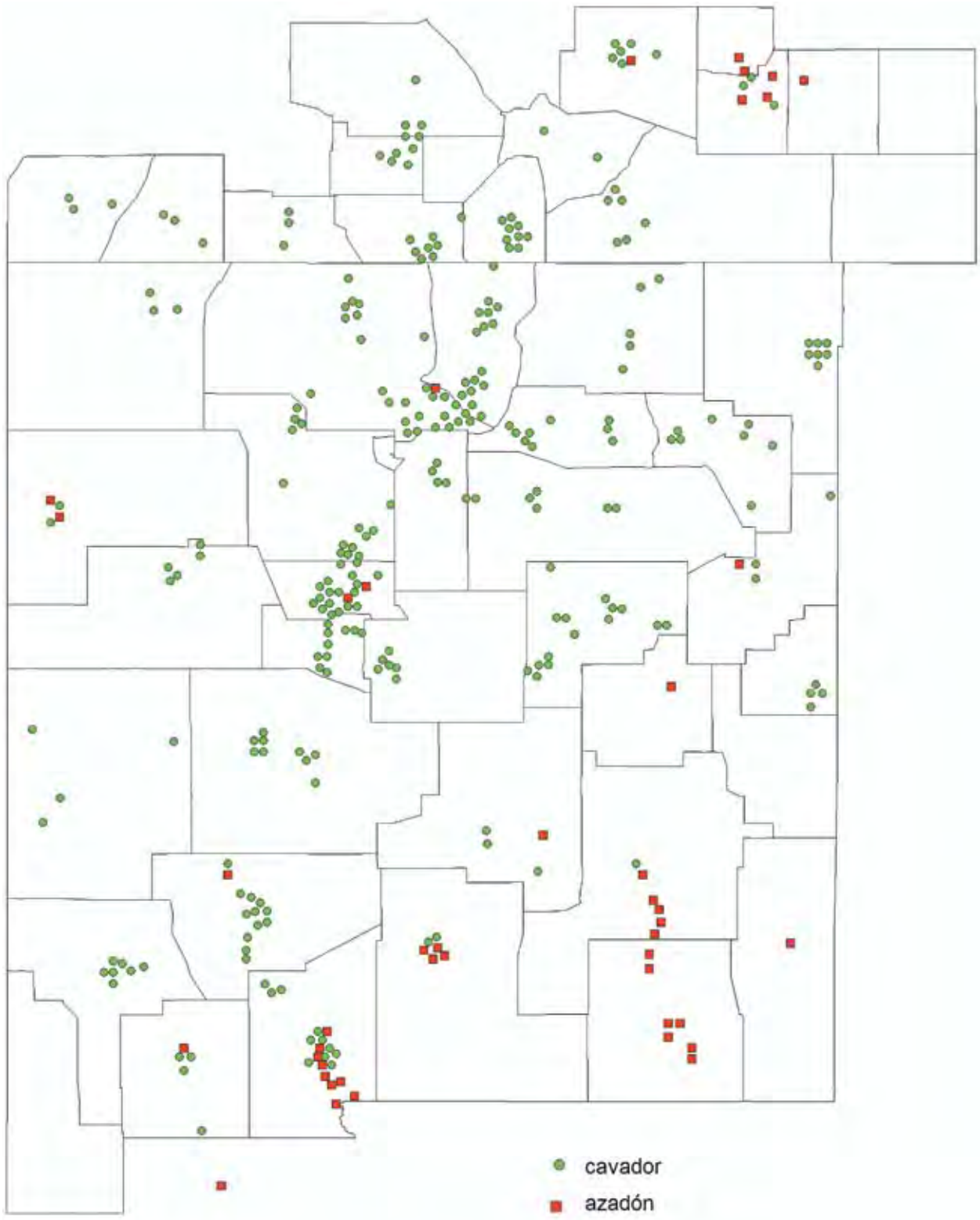
Azadón, an augmentative form of *azada*, the term for 'Hoe' apparently preferred in Spain, has a legitimate ancestry as a noun from Latin. *Cavador* also has a legitimate Latin ancestry, but as a verb not a noun. It is a derived from the verb *cavar* 'to dig (with a tool)' by the addition of the suffix *-dor* to create an agent or (in this case) instrument for digging. The absence of this variant in the *ALM*, the *ALEC* (also where *azadón* reigns supreme), and the *DRAE* indicates that *cavador* was an independent development in New Mexican Spanish, probably from colonial days. This special characteristic associated with Traditional Spanish is holding on strongly at present, but the *azadón* camel has its nose under the edge of the tent, and experience tells us that it's only a matter of time before it takes over the tent.



15-11. ‘Pea’



15-12. 'Belt'



15-13. ‘Hoe’

A modern Mexican intrusion that must date from the Early period shows up as the word for 'Tin can,' pictured in our survey as a can of peas. The most frequently reported term in our survey is *bote*, the preference of 164 of the 330 respondents (50%). Following closely behind in frequency is *jarro*, the choice of 131 persons (40%). The third term, *lata*, is very much a minority variant, being favored by only 33 consultants (10%).

The geographical distributions of these 3 labels appear on map 15-14. *Lata* is the standard Spanish term for 'Tin can.' It can be seen to be slightly associated with Border Spanish, but it has the wide dispersion characteristic of labels associated with education. And indeed it is, as previously demonstrated in table 14-10 for Spanish classroom experience and table 14-17 for years of education in general.

Map 15-14 shows that *bote* is a Border Spanish variant that has thrust deeply into Traditional Spanish territory. *Jarro*, on the other hand, is clearly the Traditional Spanish variant, but it has retreated into the hinterlands of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Elsewhere in Spanish *jarro* usually refers to a 'pitcher' or similar container for liquids. Coincidentally, *pichel*, the term for 'Pitcher' preferred by 83% of our consultants, also is restricted to the hinterlands of Mexico, according to Santamaría (1959). But the evidence of this chapter makes clear that New Mexican Spanish, like the other dialects of the Mexican hinterlands, is not impermeable to the influence of modern Mexican Spanish.

New Nahuatlisms

Some of the forms leaking into New Mexican Spanish as a result of modern immigration are not just Mexicanisms, but Nahuatlisms, borrowings from the Aztec language that seem not to have been present previously in Traditional Spanish or that must have become established in Mexico only after the formation of New Mexican Spanish in the colonial period. An unusual representative of the Early period is the term for 'Avocado.' The 2 most frequently reported labels are about equally represented (see map 15-15); 45% (150 preferences among 335 respondents) said *avocado* and 41% (139 respondents) said *aguacate*. The former is pretty much confined to Traditional Spanish areas while the latter dominates in Border Spanish and is strongly represented in the Traditional Spanish region as well.

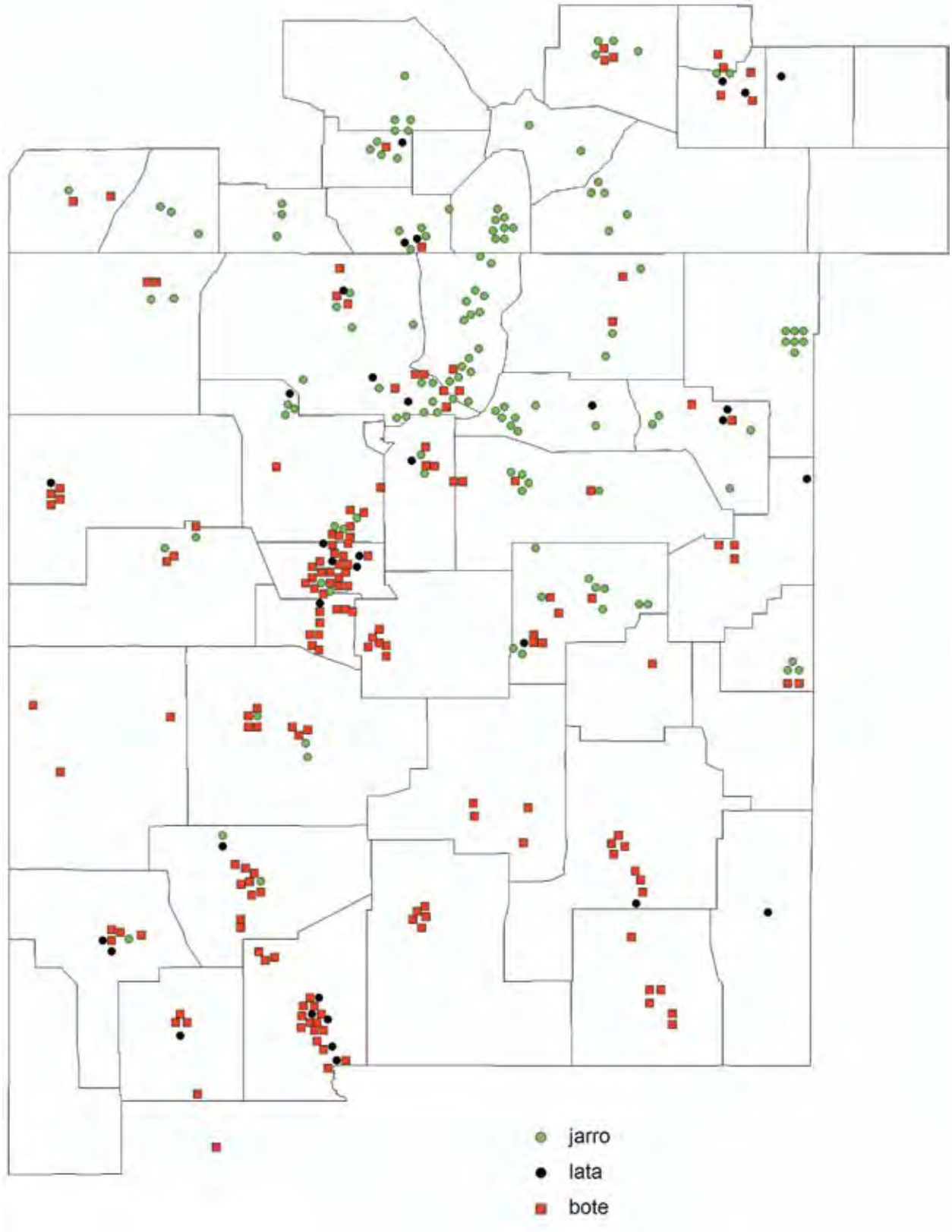
The avocado plant is native to Mexico and Central America. It comes as no surprise, then, that the *aguacate* form derives from Nahuatl *ahuaca-tl* and is the label employed almost everywhere in the Spanish-speaking world. The *avocado* label is, of course, the integrated borrowing of the English form (there were also 5 reports of nonintegrated ***avocado***). This tropical, fragile fruit does not grow in the NMCOSS region and was no doubt first introduced into the territory in its English guise and only after avocado culture became a viable commercial enterprise in the United States around 1900 (Root 1980, 18). Of special interest is the fact that this contact of the 2 variants produced 2 other mixed variants: 17 persons offered *avocate*, with the English-based beginning and the Nahuatl-based ending, and 9 persons offered the mixture in reverse, *aguacado.*

An example of a new Nahuatlism that probably entered New Mexican Spanish in the Later period is the adjective for 'Spoiled' as used to refer to an overindulged child. As can be imagined, the labels for 'Spoiled' are varied. We received 36 distinct words for this item even though it was skipped over in a number of interviews, yielding only 285 responses. Only the 3 most frequent responses are included on map 15-16.

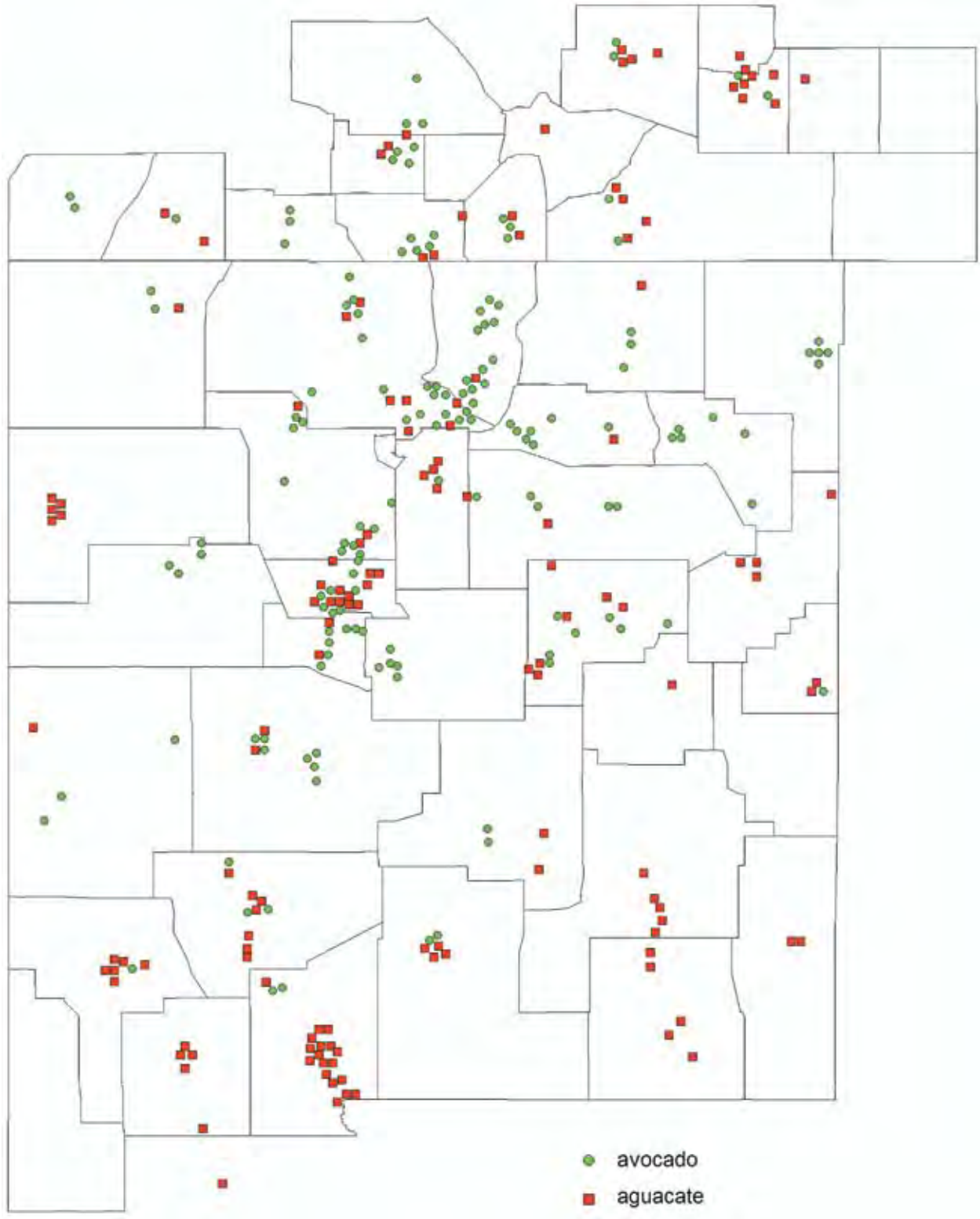
The word *chiple* for 'Spoiled' derives from the Nahuatl *tzipi-tl*, meaning "the child who is youngest when a new sibling is born" (Karttunen 1983). A total of 77 consultants (27%) volunteered this term, and several others offered closely related forms such as *chipleado* and *chipileado*. Map 15-16 shows that *chiple* is most strongly represented in the southern part of New Mexico, with scattered occurrences elsewhere, particularly in Albuquerque and the Arkansas River areas. This borrowing is conspicuously rare in the rural north, where the most common term for that concept is *echado a perder*, which like the English refers to both literal and figurative spoilage. Ninety persons (32%) preferred this label.

Lagging far behind with only 19 preferences is the perhaps most standard term, *consentido*. We find it only in the Traditional Spanish area and it exhibits no relationship to classroom Spanish or level of education. Also scattered around the Traditional Spanish region but not included on map 15-16 are 10 responses of *chiqueado*, which seems to mean 'Spoiled' for some speakers but simply 'childish' for others. A number of the other terms offered were off the mark as characterizations of the 'Spoiled' notion. For example, 11 persons suggested *malcriado*, which might best be translated as 'brat.'

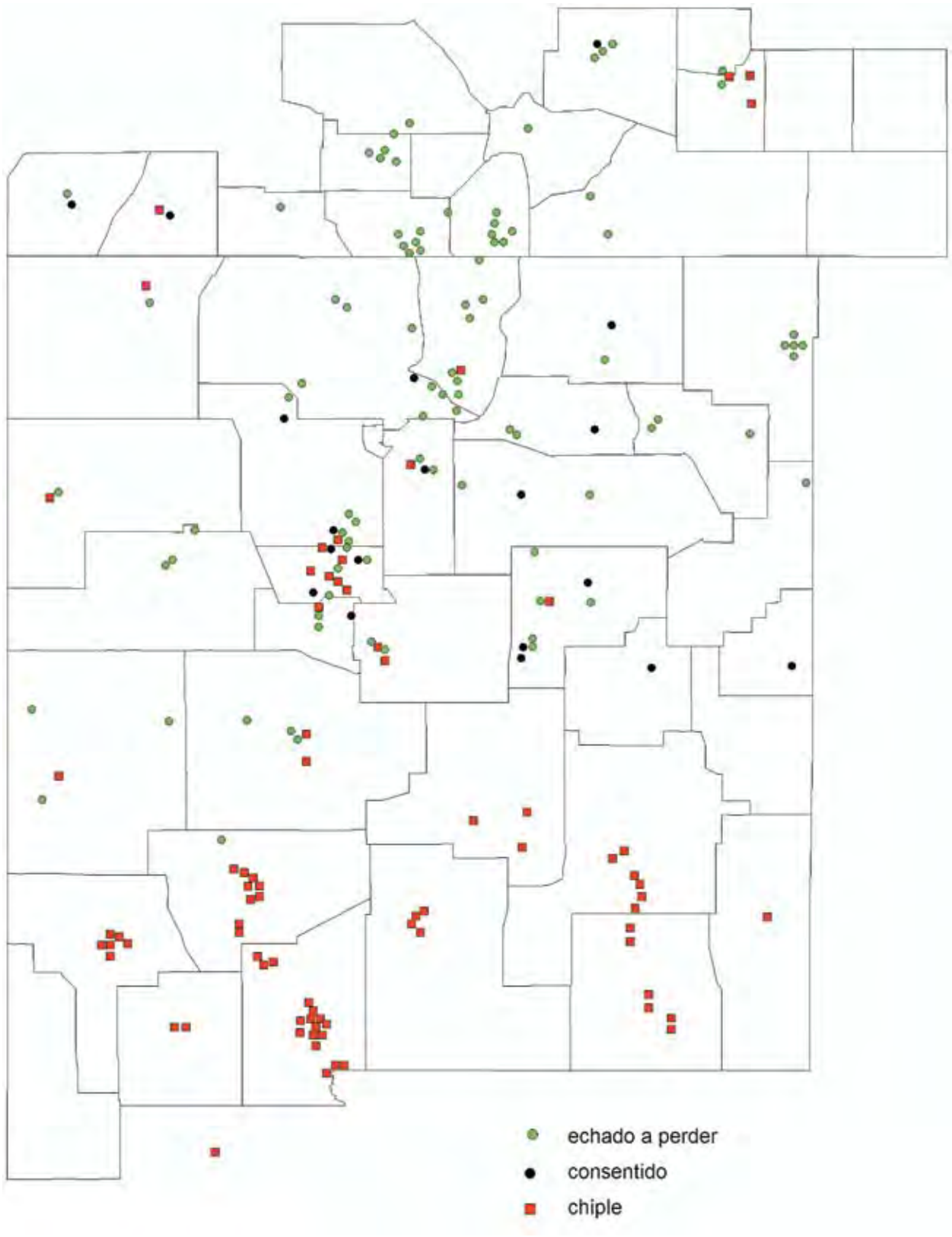
Another Nahuatlism that has entered New Mexican Spanish probably in the Later period or perhaps the Recent period is *ejote* (from Nahuatl *exo-tl*) for 'Green bean' (also called *string bean* and *snap bean* in English), illustrated in



15-14. 'Tin can'



15-15. ‘Avocado’



15-16. 'Spoiled'

map 15-17. This term has a distribution pattern very similar to that for *chiple* in map 15-16, but its representation numerically and percentage-wise is slightly lower. There are 59 cases of *ejote* (18% of 333 respondents), but there are also another 10 responses of the close variant *ijote*. As the map demonstrates, the consultants who cited the 2 forms of this Nahuatlism are largely representative of the Border Spanish areas. Those who offered the *ijote* form show a more tight restriction to southwestern New Mexico, but they are intermixed with *ejote* users and the numbers are too small to read any significance into this distribution, especially since the *ALM* did not include this lexical item and the *ijote* variant is not mentioned in Santamaría (1959).

On the other hand, the label that characterizes Traditional Spanish and shows some presence in Border Spanish is *frijol* or *frijol verde*, simply utilizing the existing word for 'bean' and in 3 out of 4 instances adding the color adjective *verde* 'green' for clarification, just as many English speakers have done. In all, 239 NMCOSS consultants (72%) preferred the *frijol verde* and *frijol* variants. Although 58 of these responses are the bare *frijol* without the adjective, no geographical or social differences between the 2 variants emerge in our data. Consequently the 2 are combined for display on map 15-17.

We find Nahuatlisms of still more recent entry, as maps 6-6 for 'Mosquito' and 12-6 for 'Popcorn' demonstrated. The geographical distribution of *moyote* (from Nahuatl *moyo-tl*) for 'Mosquito,' the choice of 58 persons, is more limited than those of *chiple* and *ejote*. The distribution of *esquite* (from Nahuatl *izqui-tl*) for 'Popcorn,' the choice of only 32 persons, is more limited still.

A supposed Nahuatlism showing restricted Border Spanish distribution is *piocha* for 'Chin.' This item is interesting in three ways. First is the nature of its status as a Nahuatlism. Santamaría (1959) proposes an origin of *piocha* in the Nahuatl *piochtli*. Karttunen does not list this word, but Molina (1571) gives its meaning as

> (15-4) *cabellos que dejã en el cogote a los muchachos, quando los tresquilan* 'the hair that they leave on the nape of the neck of the boys when they cut off their hair.'

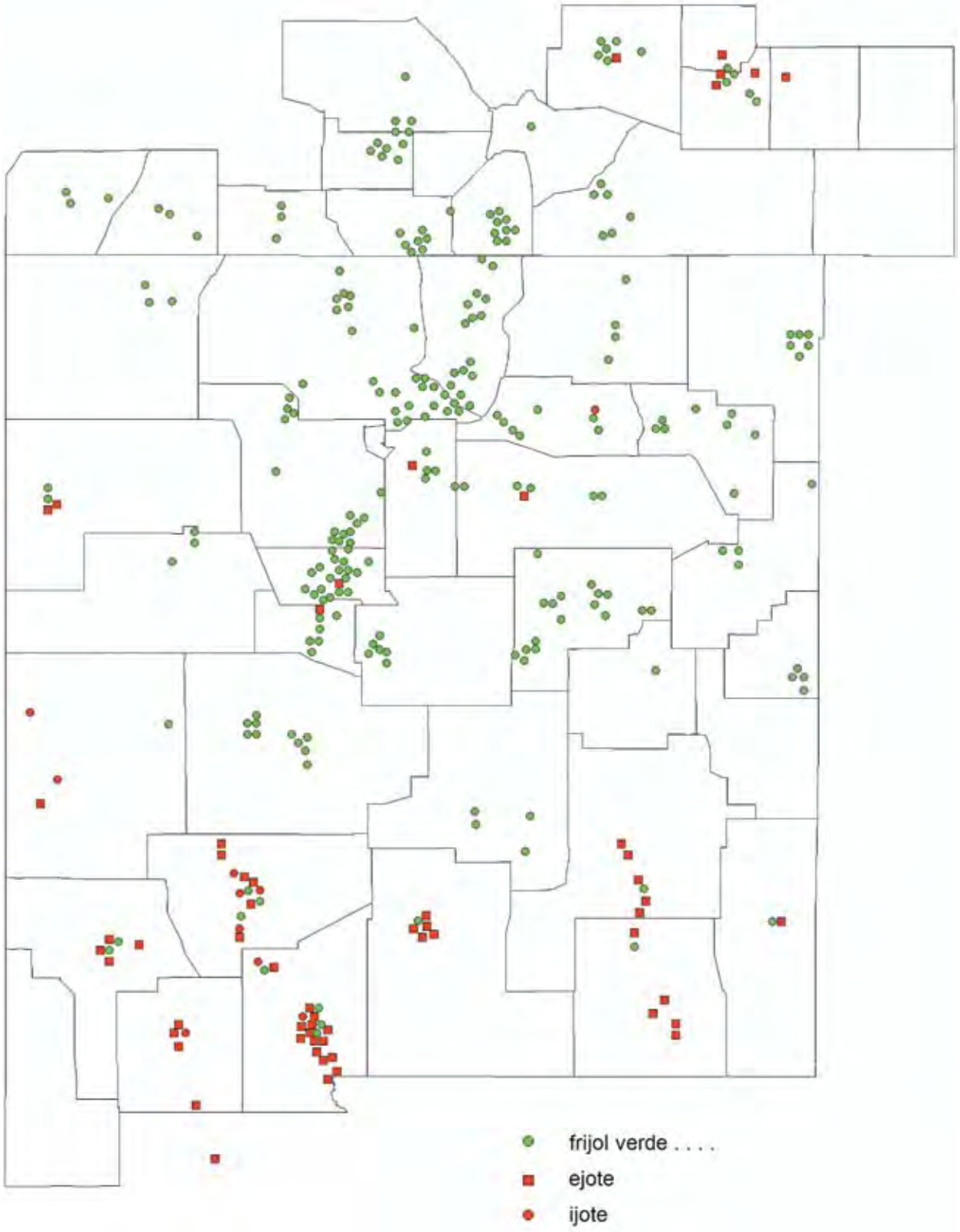
Indeed, Santamaría reports that the meaning of the term is a small goatee, and he cites another's proposal of how the meaning of a tail of hair on the back of the head was extended to one in the front. And *piocha* for 'goatee' is commonly used in Mexico today; Lope Blanch (1979, 35–36) lists this form with this meaning (not the meaning 'Chin' as Pedrero 2002, 21 erroneously reports) in his second group of Indian loanwords, those widely but not universally known to his sample of Mexico City speakers.

And this leads to the second aspect of interest: the relationship of chin and beard in Spanish. *Barba* refers to both in standard varieties of Spanish. And, in fact, *barba* was the most frequently cited term for 'Chin' in our survey. However, it was offered by only a fourth of the respondents (75 of the 311 persons queried, 24%). It seems that for many speakers of New Mexican Spanish *barba* refers exclusively to 'beard.' As reported in table 13-6, over half of our consultants could provide no native Spanish word for 'Chin'; 21% resorted to the English word (though often pronounced as if Spanish, with the tense Spanish value for the vowel) and 31% elected to provide no term at all. English speakers may be surprised at such an alarming lexical gap. We *have* to have a word for chin. But then, New Mexican Spanish speakers may find it surprising that English speakers manage to get by without a specific word for the 'Back of knee'; the earlier map 13-2 demonstrates the broad awareness here of the very useful term *corva*.

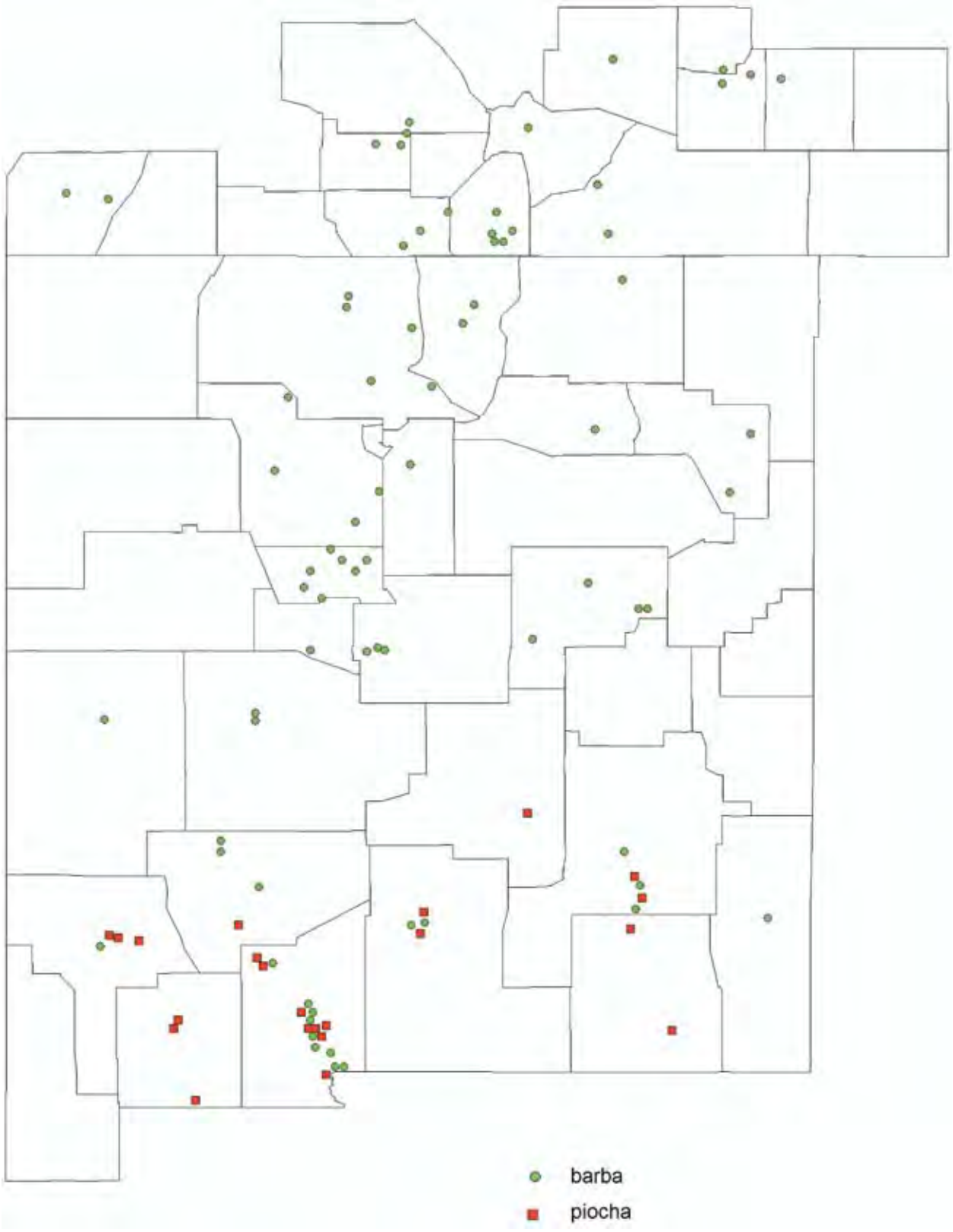
Finally, map 15-18 includes only the 2 most common Spanish words for 'Chin' in our survey. Yes, *piocha*, with just 22 first choices (8%), is indeed the second most common term after *barba* if we exclude English ***chin***. Notice that this Nahuatlism occurs exclusively in the extreme south of New Mexico while *barba* occurs everywhere. Confirming our findings, Alvar (2000, 187) and Pedrero (2002, 20–21) report 2 variants for 'Chin' occurring only in New Mexico: 2 cases of *piocha* in the two southernmost localities and 4 cases of ***chin*** in the northern part of the state.

In Mexico, the most frequently cited form is *barba*, but there are also lots of mentions of *barbilla* as well as of the usual word for 'jaw,' *quijada*, which appears prominently in southern Mexico. In the NMCOSS, we tallied 15 cases of *quijada* and 11 of *barbilla*. *Piocha* turns up healthily in fourth place in Mexico with just under 50 mentions but has a restricted, indeed marginalized, distribution. It is employed prominently along the central west coast in the states of Nayarit and Jalisco and sporadically on the northwest coast and in Baja California. This distribution in Mexico may account for its third-place finish with 15% after *barba* and *barbilla* in the Los Angeles study by Domínguez (1983). However, 3 of the Mexico mentions came from the state of Chihuahua, just to our south. Thus, though the Mexico pattern for *piocha* does not seem to tie in tightly with the idea of modern immigration, the distribution in New Mexico makes it pretty clear that this lexical item made its entrance in the Recent period.

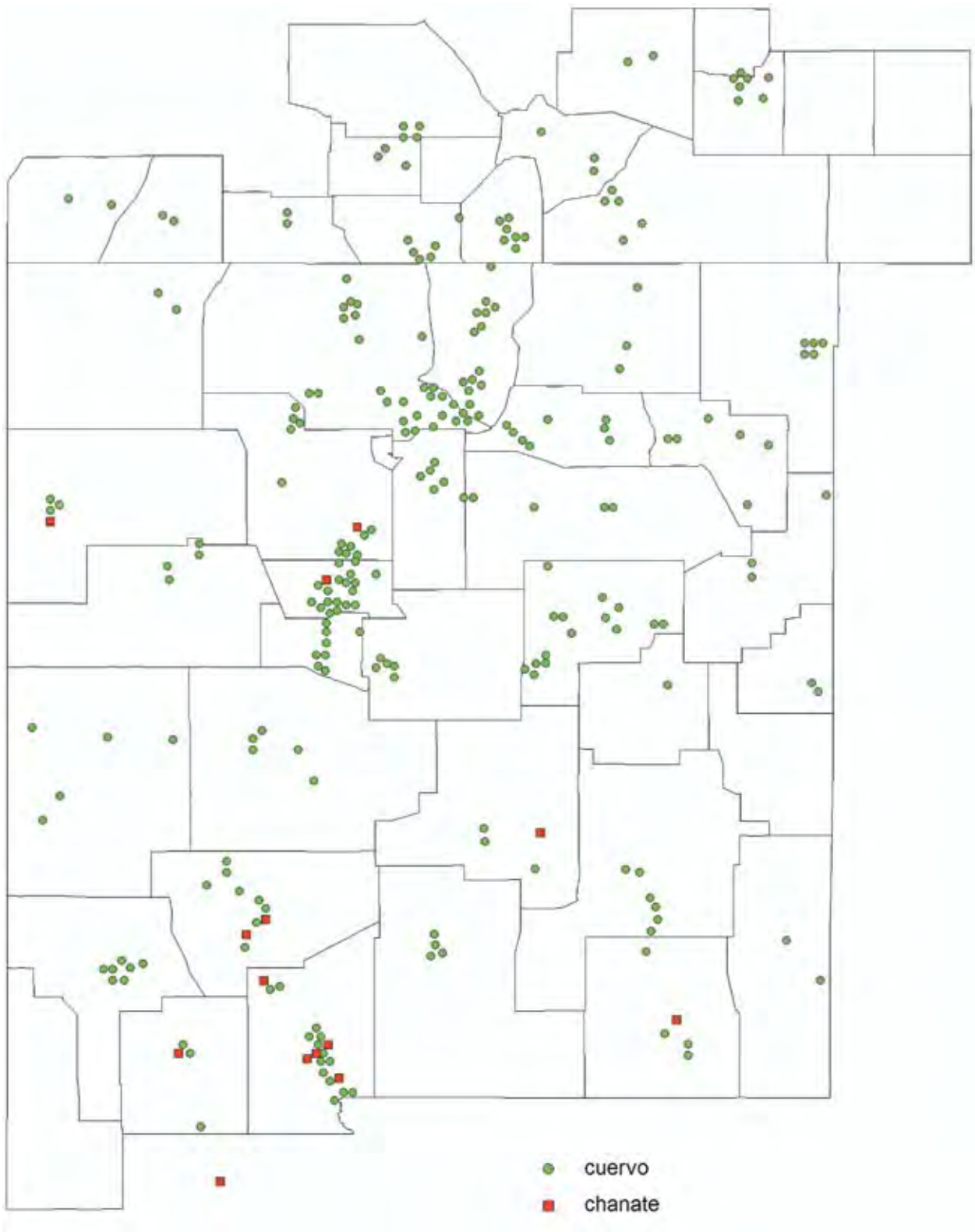
And, finally, an example of a Nahuatlism comes from the very Recent period. Map 15-19 shows that the standard



15-17. 'Green bean'



15-18. ‘Chin’



15-19. 'Crow'

term *cuervo* is far and away the usual term for 'Crow' everywhere in the NMCOSS region, favored by 74% of the consultants. But an upstart Nahuatlism from modern Mexico, *chanate*, makes a very limited appearance in Border Spanish, having been cited by just 14 persons. Nahuatl *tzana-tl* gave rise to both *zanate*, the more widespread form in Mexico according to Santamaría (1959), and *chanate*, the variant favored in northern Mexico (this item was not a part of the *ALM*).

However, both Karttunen (1983) and Santamaría (1959) identify the bird as a grackle (*Quiscalus macrourus*), not a crow. Perhaps the *chanate* responses for 'Crow' simply represent mistaken identity. After all, the NMCOSS consultants as a group were not particularly strong in bird identification; 22 persons simply offered the nonspecific descriptive phrase *un pájaro negro* 'a black bird' (unlike the specific English compound *blackbird*). Another case of mistaken identity using a specific label is that 5 persons in the San Luis Valley of the central Colorado area identified our picture as *urraca* 'magpie,' an omnipresent large black bird in that region. So perhaps the word *chanate* is more widely known in New Mexican Spanish as the term for 'grackle.' We don't know. (But we do know that this term is more widely used pejoratively to refer to an African American, a usage documented also for Texas by Galván and Teschner 1975.)

While this later immigration from Mexico has brought in a variety of new Nahuatlisms, it has also introduced other lexical items that wind up in competition with the Nahuatlisms of earlier entry. One example of this external pressure on the maintenance of traditional Nahuatlisms is the third variant for 'Buzzard.' As shown before in map 7-9, the standard form *aura* has the distribution pattern of a very Recent entry from Mexico. It will now be competing with the early Nahuatlism *zopilote* and its alternative form *chupilote*.

From all these bits of evidence, we conclude that the principal agent in designing the future of New Mexican Spanish is the Mexican immigrant. Hear the words of a thirty-seven-year-old woman from Antoñito, Colorado, when she was asked if young people there were maintaining Spanish:

> (15-5) *No. Ya—aquí no. Ya, los jóvenes que aprenden español ahora, ah, son gente que se casan con obreros que vienen de California o de Texas, o de Arizona o de México. Y ya es otro dailéctico de, de lo que era aquí. So, está cambiando. Porque está entrando eso. Pus, ya los jóvenes de aquí ya no tienen la idioma de nuestros viejitos. Ya, ya, se está acabando.* 'No. Now—not here. Now, the young people who learn Spanish now, uh, are people who get married to workers who come from California or Texas, or Arizona or Mexico. And it's already a different dialectic from, from what was here. So, it's changing. Because that's coming in. Well, now the young people here no longer have the language of our old folks. Now, now, it's disappearing.' (interview 212)

Immigrants and their children already make up a substantial portion of the Spanish speakers in the NMCOSS region. Equally significant, the Mexican Spanish of these immigrants often represents what is broadly considered standard Spanish, creating an irresistible force aligned against Traditional New Mexican Spanish. Thus, the special linguistic fabric that we call Traditional Spanish, pieced together over four hundred years, is rapidly unraveling, due not only to the influx of Mexican immigrants but also to exposure to "educated Spanish" via formal Spanish instruction, international travel, and other opportunities to communicate with a broader range of Spanish speakers.

CHAPTER 16

Conclusions

The Dialects and Subdialects of New Mexican Spanish

We humans use clothing, hairstyle, body modifications, jewelry, and other external features to distinguish members of our group from members of other groups. But one of the clearest and least readily changed characteristics by which we identify people as belonging to a different group is how they speak, their dialect. They sound different, they use distinct vocabulary, they use the language in unique ways. Why should this be? How does it happen that people speak the same language in different ways?

People who regularly communicate with each other tend to speak essentially the same dialect. But if a community of speakers splits up into distinct groups and there is little communication across the new group boundaries, differences in speech are likely to ensue eventually. The development of dialect differences takes place any time there arises an enduring barrier to communication, whether that barrier is an ocean or a mountain range separating the groups or more easily surmountable obstacles such as different regions of a country or different parts of a city, or even different social groups delineated on the basis of age, education, occupation, ethnicity, and so forth.

Variation arises for internal reasons of linguistic drift, changes specific to the particular language system that are induced by such processes as simplification and analogy. All languages change in this way over time. Variation also arises for external reasons such as use of language in social interaction and contact with other languages or other dialects of the same language. These internal and external motivations result in changes that can be so great over time that dialects can evolve to be considered separate languages. Thus, the different regional dialects of Latin eventually became Spanish and French and Italian and different regional dialects of Germanic became English and Dutch and Norwegian.

There is, of course, infinite gradation in the speech of a single community of speakers—the "idiolects" that we mention in chapter 1. We may speak of dialect only when we are able to identify specific features that differentiate the individuals of one group from the individuals of another group. Moreover, it is not just one feature that distinguishes one dialect from another but an accumulation of features.

The Spanish language, as one of the world's major languages, is used as the primary language for communication over a vast area. Within this greater Spanish-speaking world, a Spaniard is easily differentiated from an

Argentine or a Cuban by the way he or she speaks Spanish. Even within nations there are markers that identify specific regions where a person was raised. A Colombian can readily distinguish on the basis of speech a native of the coast from a native of the interior, just as a North American can distinguish a native of Boston from a speaker from Dallas. Of course, the ability to distinguish such speakers diminishes to the extent that those individuals have modified their dialect in the direction of the standard dialect as a result of education or for other reasons.

As we have pointed out several times, New Mexican Spanish is "Spanish" because it shares with all other varieties of Spanish many features of lexicon, syntax, morphology, and phonology. And it can be considered a part of the Mexican Spanish "macro-dialect" since it shares many features (such as numerous Nahuatlisms) with other varieties of Mexican Spanish. But Traditional New Mexican Spanish is itself a separate dialect within Mexican Spanish because of many features, mostly lexical, that distinguish it from those other Mexican dialects. Traditional Spanish was born of the developing Mexican Spanish four centuries ago, but the barrier to communication created by distance permitted both independent innovations and the retention of features that became less common or disappeared elsewhere. Contact with other languages, especially English, contributed further to the accumulation of a set of features defining a unique dialect.

But we have noted repeatedly in the preceding chapters that there is also considerable variation within New Mexican Spanish itself. The focus of this chapter is to draw together those different observations about internal variation and attempt to identify with some specificity two distinct dialects and several subdialects within New Mexican Spanish.

Two Principal Dialects

Already in chapter 1 we demonstrated the important distinction between Traditional Spanish and Border Spanish, two dialects within the larger New Mexican Spanish dialect, and at every turn throughout this book the difference between these two varieties have been reaffirmed. Consider now map 16-1, which displays the preferred terms to label the 'Stamps' used for postage. Again we see that 1 variant characterizes Border Spanish and another characterizes Traditional Spanish. *Estampillas*, the preference of 88 of 331 respondents (27%), occurs prominently across the southern border shared in its western extension with Mexico and its eastern with Texas. It occurs also in the western town of Gallup, New Mexico, along the Arkansas River of southeastern Colorado, and in major cities, especially Albuquerque. *Estampillas* is an Americanism brought into the NMCOSS area primarily through twentieth-century immigration from Mexico. It is significant that no one offered the peninsular Spanish standard, *sello*, though 2 persons chose another common Americanism, *timbre*.

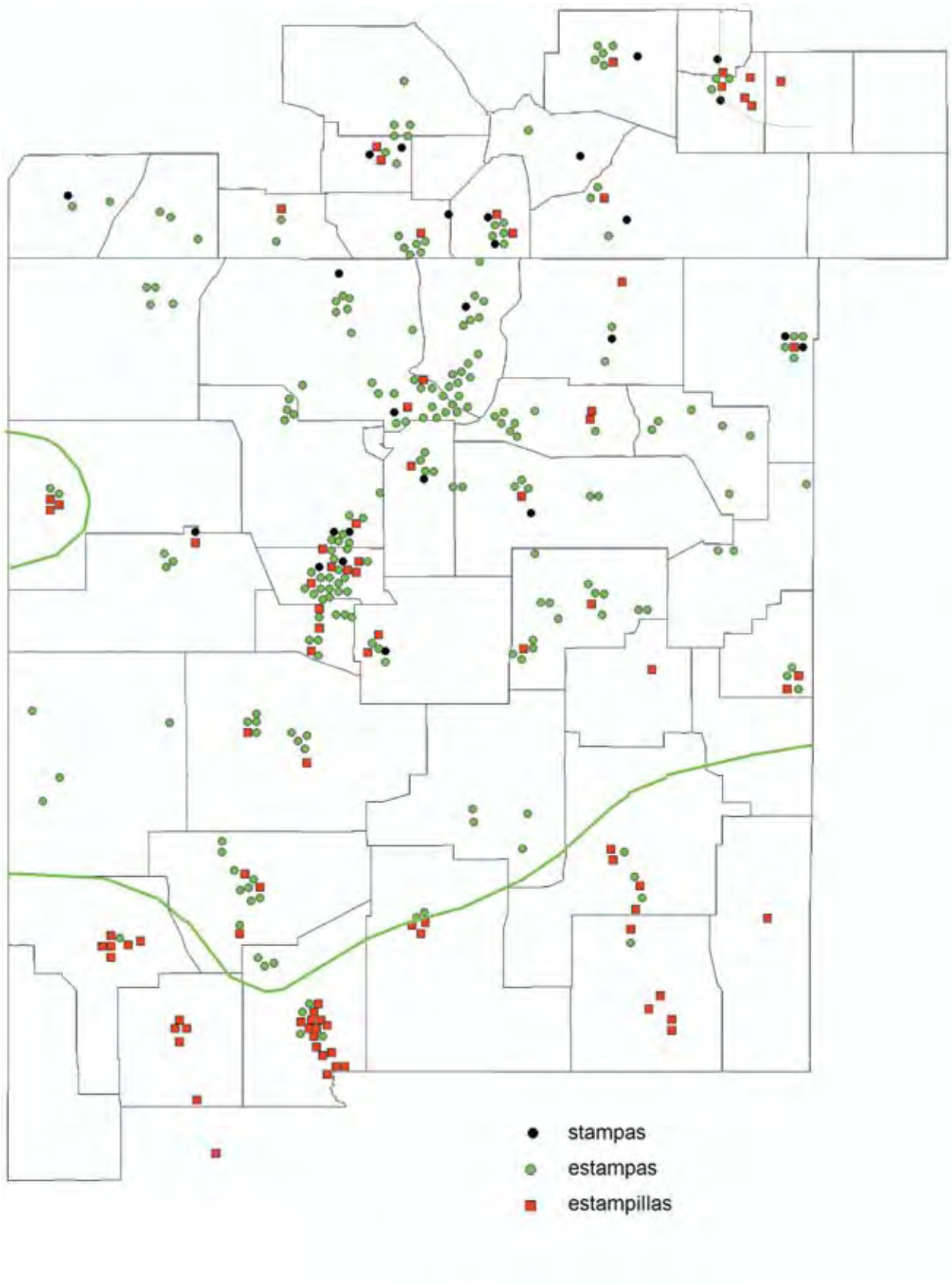
In contrast to the Border Spanish preference, the preferred label throughout the Traditional Spanish region is *estampas*, the choice of 213 consultants (64%), or *stampas*, the choice of 25 consultants (8%). *Estampa* is a standard Spanish word meaning 'print, imprint, image,' and seems not to occur elsewhere with the meaning 'postage stamp.' It would appear, then, that *estampas* for 'Stamps' is due to influence of the English word. The responses of *stampas* without the initial /e/ also suggests English influence. However, we would expect the direct borrowing of the English word to be *estampes* with /e/ not /a/ in the final syllable, like *estrape* for 'strap' in example 16-1 or *espiche* for 'speech' in example 16-2:

(16-1) *Em papá siempre tenía junto a la puerta uno de esos estrapes que usaban pa' amarrar las navajas de la barba*. 'My father always kept next to the door one of those straps that they used to use to sharpen the blades for shaving.' (interview 41)

(16-2) *Siempre tienen que meter los políticos a hacer un espiche*. 'They always have to bring in a politician to make a speech.' (interview 240)

Yet only 4 persons proposed the more expected Anglicism *estampes*. As for the absence of the initial /e/, the dropping of this vowel before a consonant cluster like /st/ is quite common in colloquial speech (e.g., *'stá aquí* for *está aquí*). Therefore, the English influence in this case seems indirect, a kind of calque in which English contributes to a change in the meaning of a native Spanish word.

The demarcation between the two dialects with regard to 'Stamps' is sharp. To map 16-1 we have added dividing lines that set off those areas that show majority use of the Border Spanish variant. The boundary line separating dialect variants—called an **isogloss**—is fairly clear in this case, but it is never neat and clean. A fact apparent to all linguists is "the seamlessness of language variation." As Penny observes, "Each variety merges imperceptibly with those that are adjacent to it" (2000, ix). More data in sparsely represented areas might alter the 'Stamps' isogloss slightly, or one could quibble over precisely where we decided to draw this line, but such



16-1. ‘Stamps’

changes would be minor. In spite of a certain level of indeterminacy, isoglosses represent a useful abstraction from the linguistic reality, and we will employ it in this chapter to sharpen our understanding of dialect variation within New Mexican Spanish.

Consider now map 16-2 for 'Baking soda.' A quick glance at the distribution of the 2 major variants makes clear again the need to distinguish the two dialects, Traditional Spanish and Border Spanish. However, the isogloss we've placed on this map is a bit different from that of map 16-1. The line is farther north on the west side, and the Arkansas River community lines up with Traditional Spanish instead of Border Spanish.

A total of 55 consultants (17% of the 330 respondents) preferred the Border Spanish variant, which was actually reported in 2 ways: *soda de martillo* (25 preferences) and *soda del martillo* (30 preferences). The 2 are combined for presentation on the map because their distributions are overlapping and virtually identical. The source for this label, which may be translated as 'hammer soda,' is undeniable. It comes from the illustration on the Arm & Hammer product whose logo was created in 1867 with "the now familiar hammer-wielding arm of Vulcan, god of fire" (www.armhammer.com). It is of interest to note that 6 other persons offered variations on this theme—***arm and hammer***, ***arm-hammer soda***, *espauda del martillo*, *martillo de soda*, *polvo de martillo*, and *soda del brazo* ('arm soda'!)—and all 6 represent Border Spanish areas. The density with which this label is found in the Border Spanish areas leads one to suspect that it is used also in Mexico, at least in northern Mexico, but unfortunately this item was not included in the *ALM* questionnaire.

The Traditional Spanish variant is a more mysterious form that apparently enjoys long standing in the region. Already in 1906, E. C. Hills includes *salarata* in his list of New Mexican Spanish words that are not part of the speech of central Spain (1929, 44). The use of *salarata* (198 tokens, 60%, plus 10 additional cases of *salarate*) is illustrated in the following description of how to alleviate a fever:

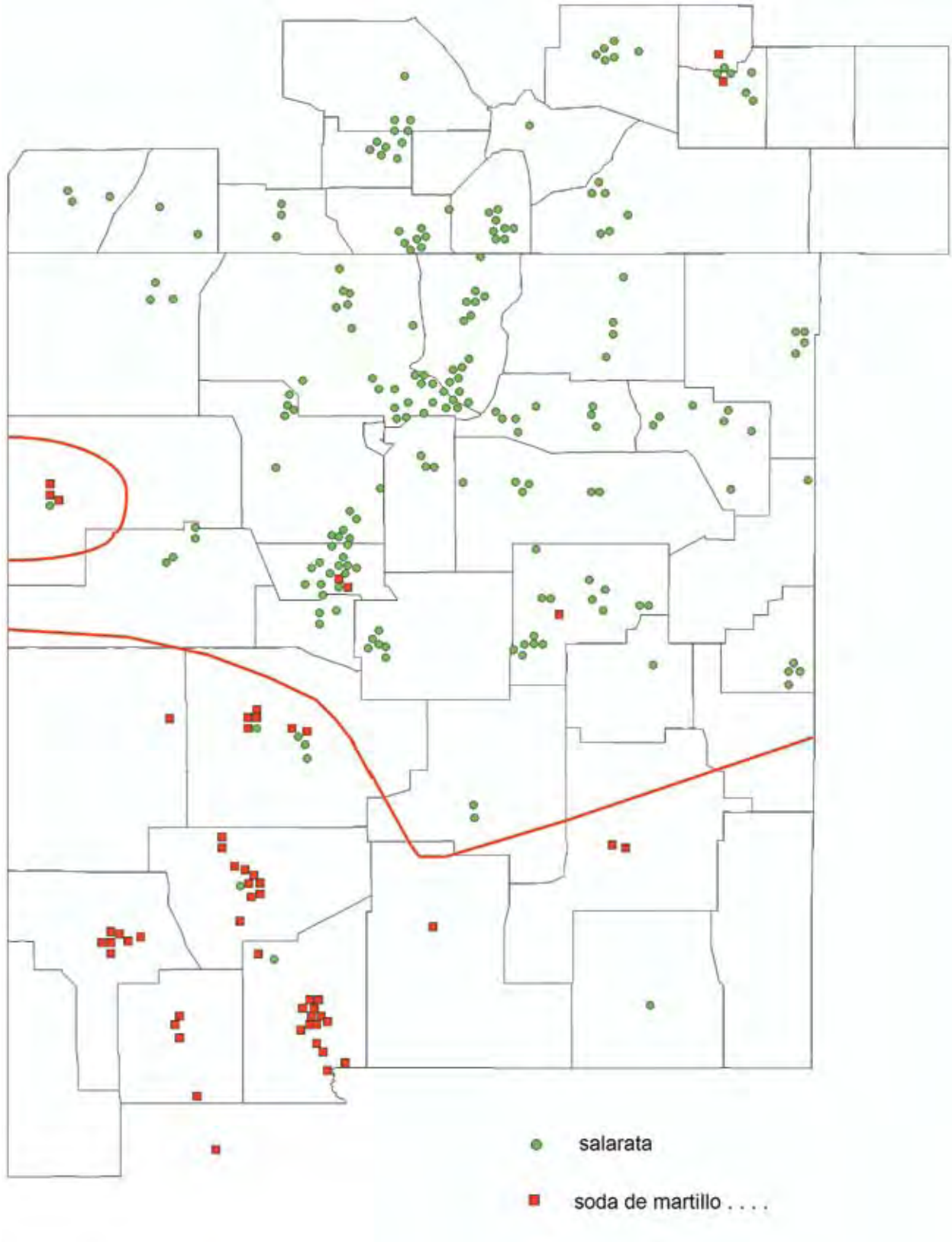
(16-3) *Ponían agua en un vaso y le echaban vinagre y lo'o le ponían una poquita (de) salarata y cuando hacía fis, cuando se revolvía, se la daban a beber y ya se quitaba la calentura*. 'They'd put some water in a glass and add some vinegar and then they'd put a little baking soda in it and when it would fizz, when it was stirred up, they'd give it to you to drink and it would cure the fever.' (interview 142)

Where does this word come from? Cobos (2003) states simply that it derives from Latin *sal aeratus* 'aerated salt,' implying that it is some kind of archaism. But no such word or close approximation occurs in the *DRAE*, the *CORDE*, or the *CREA*, nor in Corominas nor in Santamaría. We perceive two possible sources. A first hypothesis is that there might have been an original compound *salbicarbonata* (*sal* 'salt, sodium' plus the standard word for 'Baking soda,' *bicarbonato* 'bicarbonate'). Rapid speech could progressively reduce this six-syllable form to the more manageable length of four syllables.

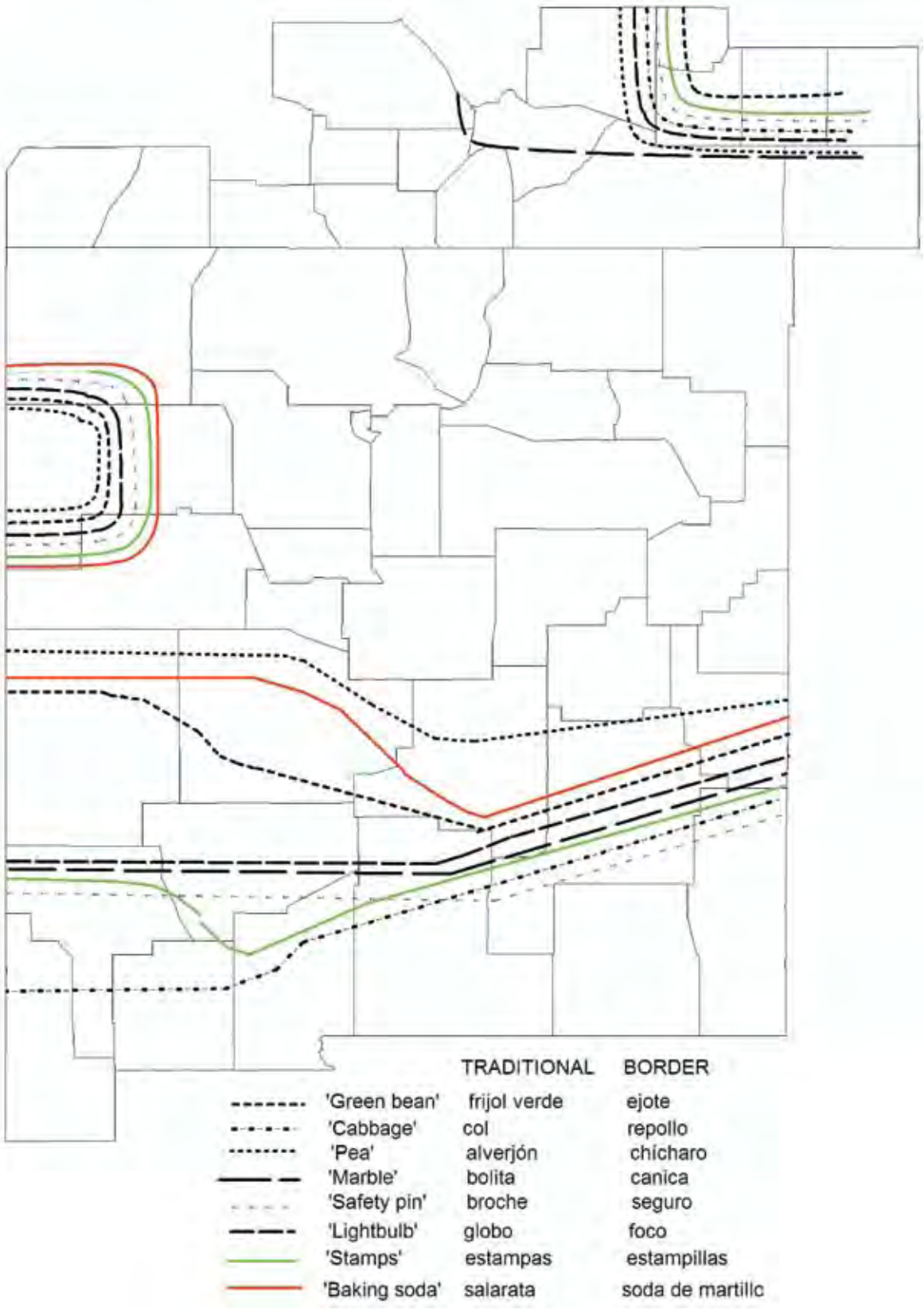
However, a more likely hypothesis is that Cobos was right about the ultimate source, Latin *sal aeratus*, but surprising as it may seem, the immediate source appears to be English. The *Oxford English Dictionary* online lists *saleratus* (with the alternative spelling of *salaeratus*) as a U.S. term for 'Baking soda' with the earliest citation from 1837 and all citations only from the nineteenth century. The *Dictionary of American regional English* lists the same word with the same earliest citation but with regional dialect documentation through the twentieth century. Old recipes calling for *saleratus* and comments on its use are found in McLean (2006, 43) and Luchetti (1993, 27, 57, 141). Luchetti notes, for example, that the list of staples for a wagon train trip included "saleratus or yeast powders for making bread" (42). This quote is especially significant because it cites the English source of *two* innovations for baking: *saleratus* became New Mexican Spanish *salarata* 'Baking soda' and *yeast powder* became New Mexican Spanish *espauda* 'Baking powder' (previously mentioned in chapter 10).

So, *salarata* is almost certainly an Anglicism borrowed from English during the territorial period. The phonological adaptation seems fairly reasonable even though both the OED and one of the *DARE* informants indicate an English pronunciation with /ei/ in the third syllable, for which an adaptation as *salareta* would be more direct, but not one of our consultants offered that variant. The loss of the final /s/ may be due to interpreting it as the plural suffix.

Now, to tie down more potently the notion that Traditional Spanish and Border Spanish are separate dialects, consider map 16-3. We have placed on this map the isoglosses just discussed for 'Stamps' and 'Baking soda' and have added isoglosses for a sample of variables that were mapped and discussed in earlier chapters. These variables (which have the contrasting Traditional and Border variants in the map legend) are 'Green bean' (map 15-17), 'Cabbage' (map 2-1), 'Pea' (map 15-11), 'Marble' (map 15-9), 'Safety pin' (map 8-8), and 'Lightbulb' (map 10-6). You may



16-2. ‘Baking soda’



16-3. Traditional-Border Bundle

wish to review each of those maps to compare our isogloss interpretation with your own visualization of the data.

Note that the isoglosses for these 8 variables are close together. In the south they are exactly parallel on the eastern side but show some separation in the west. It can be anticipated that dialect boundaries will be fuzzy at the point of contact, unless the barrier to communication makes it practically impossible for people on separate sides to communicate with each other. But away from that boundary—say, Las Cruces versus Socorro—the dialect differences are crisp for all 8 variables.

The important thing is that these individual isoglosses form a fairly consistent and quite coherent **bundle of isoglosses**. Such a bundle of isoglosses that fit pretty neatly together is indicative of a dialect boundary. The thicker the bundle the greater the differences between the dialects. And this Traditional-Border boundary forms a very thick bundle if we include the isoglosses for all the other maps we've treated that show this separation. The exploration of isoglosses, then, is a useful heuristic device and we will use this means of isolating dialects to assess the existence of further dialect divisions within New Mexican Spanish.

Subdialects within Traditional Spanish

RÍO ARRIBA DIALECT

Aurelio Espinosa points out that, within the region that we call Traditional Spanish, the linguistic variations he encountered were few and unimportant. However, in his typically meticulous way he notes (1909, 151) that the New Mexico region can be divided into two "local dialects": (1) Santa Fe and the rest of the north, and (2) the middle Río Grande Valley from just north of Albuquerque to near Socorro. This division reflects the historical separation in colonial days of the *río arriba*, the upper river (whence the name of Río Arriba county in northern New Mexico), and the *río abajo*, the lower river, roughly displayed as sectors 4 and 5 of map 3-1 versus sector 6. That historical distinction remains evident today as the major dialect division within the Traditional Spanish area.

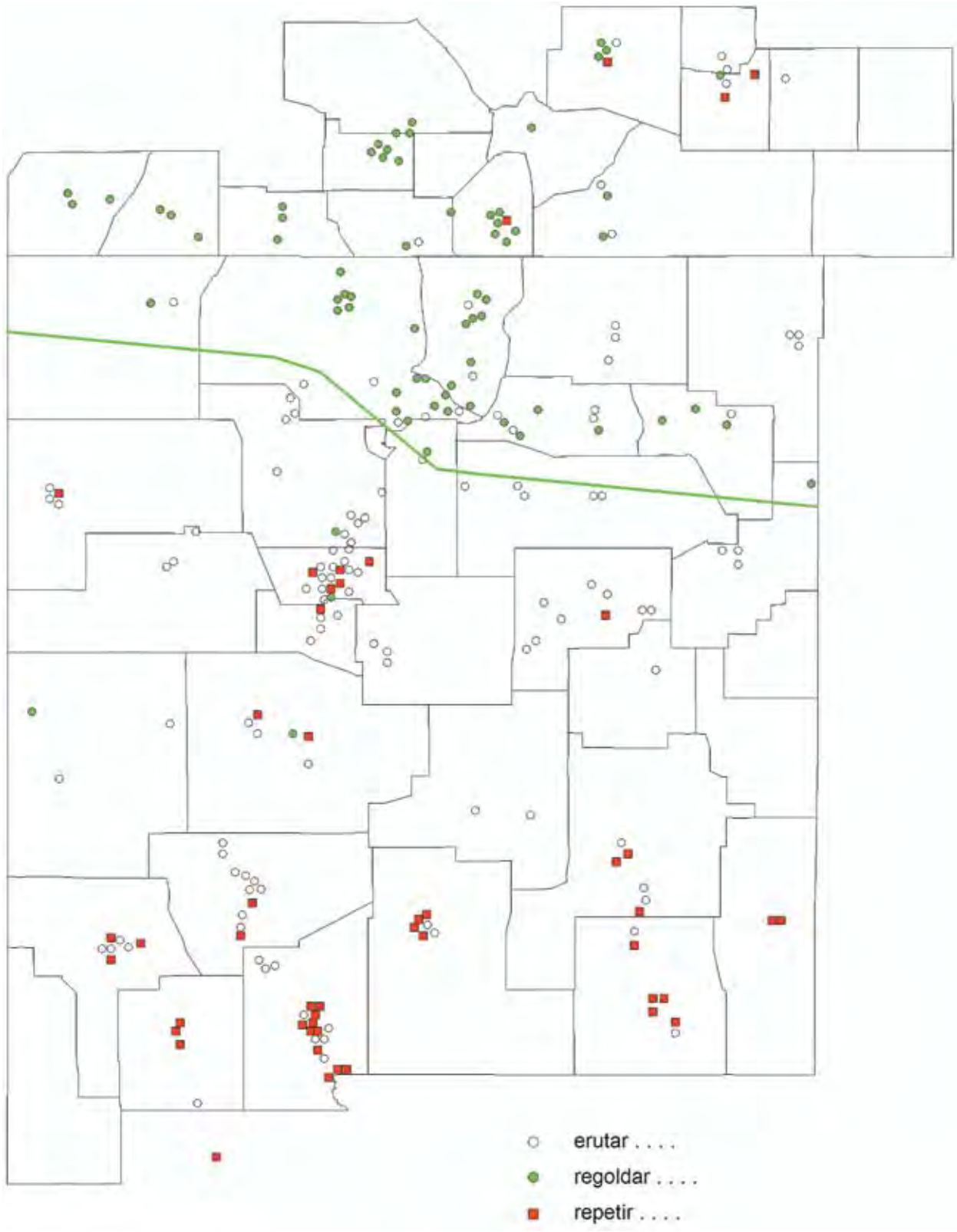
For example, map 16-4 displays the distribution of the 3 principal labels for 'Belch' used in New Mexican Spanish. The most widely used label, representing 117 of the 312 responses (38%), is some form of the standard Spanish *eructar*, though not one of our consultants pronounced the word in that classical form. The most common variant in the NMCOSS region is *erutar* (59 cases), but there are also 24 preferences of *urutar*, 19 of *orutar*, 11 of *irutar*, and 4 of *eruptar*. These 5 variants are combined for representation on map 16-4. In addition, there are 8 other more deviant responses (not mapped) that seem aimed at this general target (e.g., *arutar*, *edutar*, *grutar*, *urupar*). Concerning these variations in pronunciation, it is of interest to note that in Mexico and Colombia too, the dominant variant is *erutar* and a number of other variants (such as *irutar*, *arutar*, *orutar*, *urutar*, and *eructar*) are recorded (*ALM* mapa 779; *ALEC* vol. 5, mapa 50).

In the usual Border Spanish areas we find strong representation of another variant *repetir*, the preference of 48 consultants (15%). As we might expect, this is a feature of Mexican Spanish. Although variants of *eructar* represent the dominant form in our neighbor nation to the south, *repetir* runs a close second across the northern half of Mexico. The *ALM* cites no other variant of this *repetir* form. And though this is the version of the variant that we've chosen to place in the legend of map 16-4, our impression is that the regularized variant *repitir*, with /i/ in the second syllable, is the more common form of the infinitive in New Mexico Spanish. Since our elicitation yielded many conjugated forms (e.g., *repito* 'I belch,' *repitió* 'he belched'), it is not possible for us to provide a quantitative assessment of the preferred infinitival form.

Finally, in far northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, the third variant, *regoldar*, shows up clearly as the preference of a large majority (excluding, of course, the Border Spanish area of the Arkansas River). This term, including 3 cases of *resgoldar* and 2 cases of *regolgar*, accounts for 69 NMCOSS responses (22%). Although the *DRAE* treats both *eructar* and *regoldar* as standard labels for 'Belch,' Corominas considers the latter to be an archaism, at least in urban areas (1954, 1067). In her analysis of Southwest data, Pedrero (2002, 16) finds *regoldar* only in the NMCOSS region and in the conservative Isleño dialect of Louisiana. The *ALM* reports no cases of this label but does acknowledge 1 case of *echar un regüeldo* 'to emit a belch' in remote Quintana Roo. The *ALEC* records a few cases of *regoldar* scattered around the country.

The isogloss drawn on map 16-4 separates the *regoldar*-preferring Río Arriba region from the Río Abajo region that prefers the *eructar* variants, providing one bit of evidence for the existence of these two subdialects of Traditional Spanish. The data provided by Alvar for 'Belch' (2000, 189) generally support this division although he found a case of *regoldar* in the remote community of Monticello in Sierra County of southern New Mexico.

Displaying a similar division in Traditional Spanish are the words for a man's 'Wallet' (see map 16-5). The



16-4. ‘Belch’

4 most common Spanish terms offered by the 324 consultants are *bolsa* (81 responses, 25%), *maleta* (76 responses, 23%), *cartera* (58 responses, 18%), and several variants of *portamoneda* (26 responses, 8%). We have not included on the map for *bolsa* and *maleta* a few cases of diminutives (e.g., *bolsita*) and compounds (e.g., *maleta de dinero*). There were also 29 responses of English ***wallet***, 10 of ***billfold***, 9 *bolsillo*, 6 of *billetera*, 11 failures to respond, and a few bizarre contributions.

Standard *portamonedas* 'coin purse' is a compound composed of the verb *portar* 'carry' and the noun *monedas* 'coins, money.' The form of the word varies greatly in our data since neither element is commonly used with those meanings in New Mexican Spanish and especially since this is a long, five-syllable word. In fact, only 7 of the 26 cases are *portamoneda*. Another 9 cases are *partamonera* and another 5 are *portamonera*. In addition, we received single responses of *portamanera*, *portemoneda*, *portemonera*, *portomanera*, and *portomonera*. Map 16-5 indicates that the distribution of these combined variants is fairly haphazard although having a modest association with Border Spanish. Far more typical of Border Spanish is the use of *cartera* for 'Wallet.'

Bolsa for 'Wallet' is used widely in the Traditional Spanish region. But the form preferred in the far northern area is *maleta*, which is the general term for 'Suitcase' in standard Spanish. The isogloss imposed on map 16-5 again separates the Río Arriba region of Traditional Spanish where *maleta* is favored. Notice that this isogloss is just slightly north of that displayed on map 16-4 for 'Belch.'

This subdivision of Traditional Spanish is strengthened by adding the isoglosses for several other variables previously treated. Map 16-6 adds to the isoglosses for 'Belch' and 'Wallet' those for 'Apricot' (map 5-6) that generally have *albarcoque* forms with the second syllable /a/ preferred north of the isogloss; 'Mosquito' (map 6-6) with *jején* to the north; 'Shoelace' (map 7-13) with *mecate* and *cintilla* to the north; 'Fish' (map 8-6) with *trucha* to the north; and 'Temple' (map 11-12) with *sentido* to the north. These 7 variables comprise a tight bundle of isoglosses. For the 'Shoelace' variable, *mecate* is also the preferred label in Guadalupe County, which lies south of San Miguel County above which we have drawn the isogloss. It may be noted that Guadalupe County also has the Río Arriba variant represented strongly, though in minority fashion, for 'Apricot' and 'Mosquito.'

The strong bundling displayed in map 16-6 suggests the existence of a significant subdialect boundary. This boundary is not nearly as strong as the Traditional-Border boundary, but it seems significant nonetheless.

NORTH CENTRAL DIALECT

The far northern and central part of the NMCOSS region—the central portion of the Río Arriba dialect—is an area where some speakers use terminology that is confined to that zone. While the isoglosses corresponding to these variants are not as extensive as those that identify the previously discussed dialects, they are common enough to classify the zone as a subdialect.

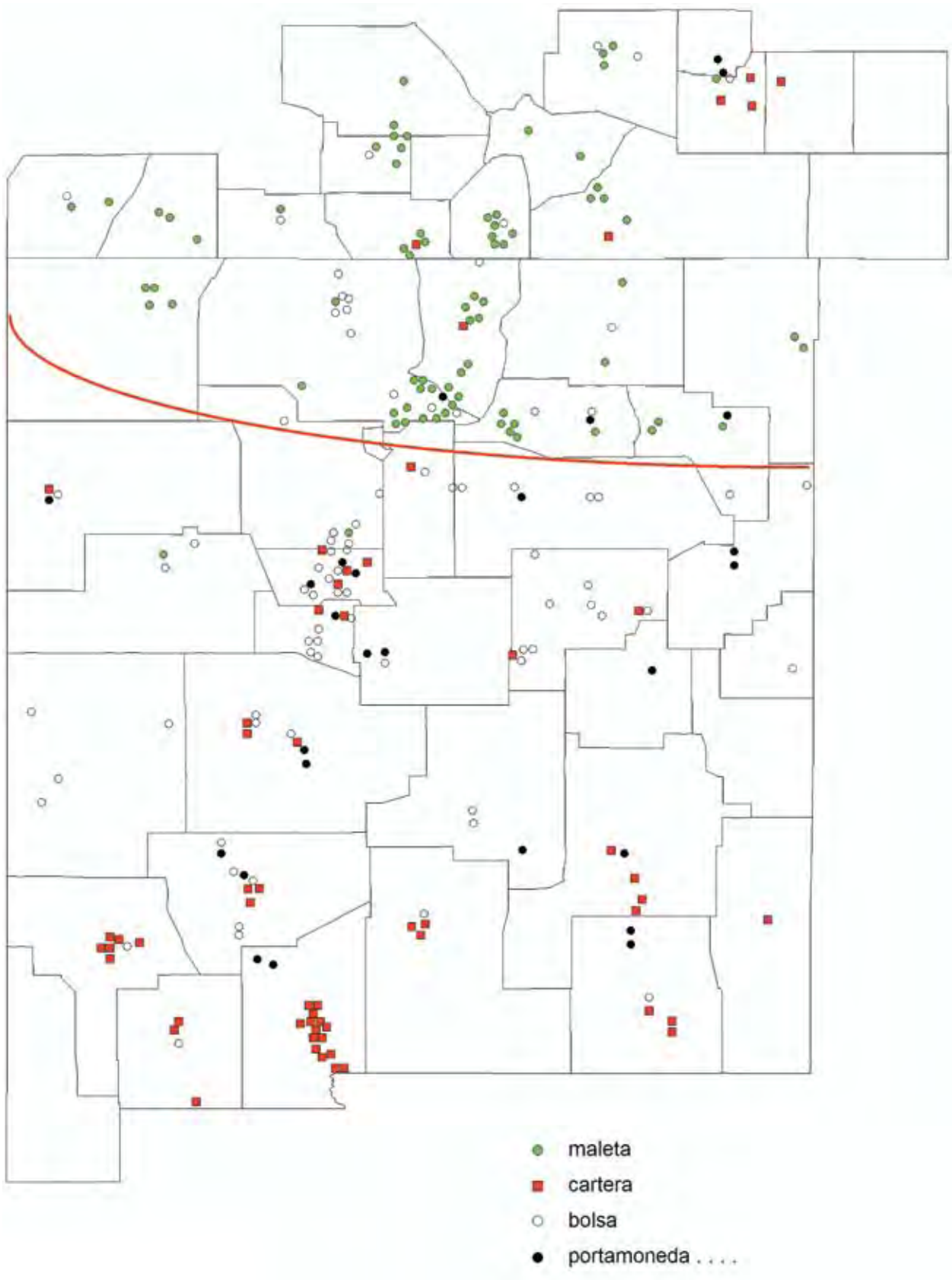
Map 16-7 for 'Attic' provides a first exemplification of this dialect. In a country of traditionally flat-roof homes, an attic is not a concept of long standing having a well-established conventional label. Nearly a quarter of the 324 persons queried (78 consultants, 24%) offered no response and another 39 persons settled for the English ***attic***. As for the responses in Spanish, we received 32 distinct labels, over half of which were offered by just 1 person and the majority of which relate to words for 'roof.' Map 16-7 displays only the 5 most common Spanish terms employed.

The most frequently cited term for 'Attic' (with 57 responses, 18%) is *tejaván*, realized in 6 cases as *tajaván* (and there were 2 cases of metathesized *tevaján*, not mapped). Map 16-7 indicates that this label is distributed widely across the region, occurring most frequently in the southern and western areas of Traditional Spanish. *Teja* is the general Spanish word for 'roof tile.' Cobos (2003) derives the word *tejaván* from the standard Spanish expression *a teja vana*, which he translates as "with no more roof than the tiles." The *DRAE* does not list *tejaván*. But the word occurs in two works of fiction in the *CREA* and two twentieth-century works in the *CORDE*; all are from Mexico and all seem to refer to a roofed shed (like the feminine variant *tejavana* in the *DRAE*). Cobos gives only the 'Attic' meaning, but L. Trujillo (1983) appears to indicate that it means 'roof' and 'shed.' We have also found *tejaván* used with the general meaning of 'roof' as in example 16-4 and specifically a pitched roof for some speakers as in example 16-5:

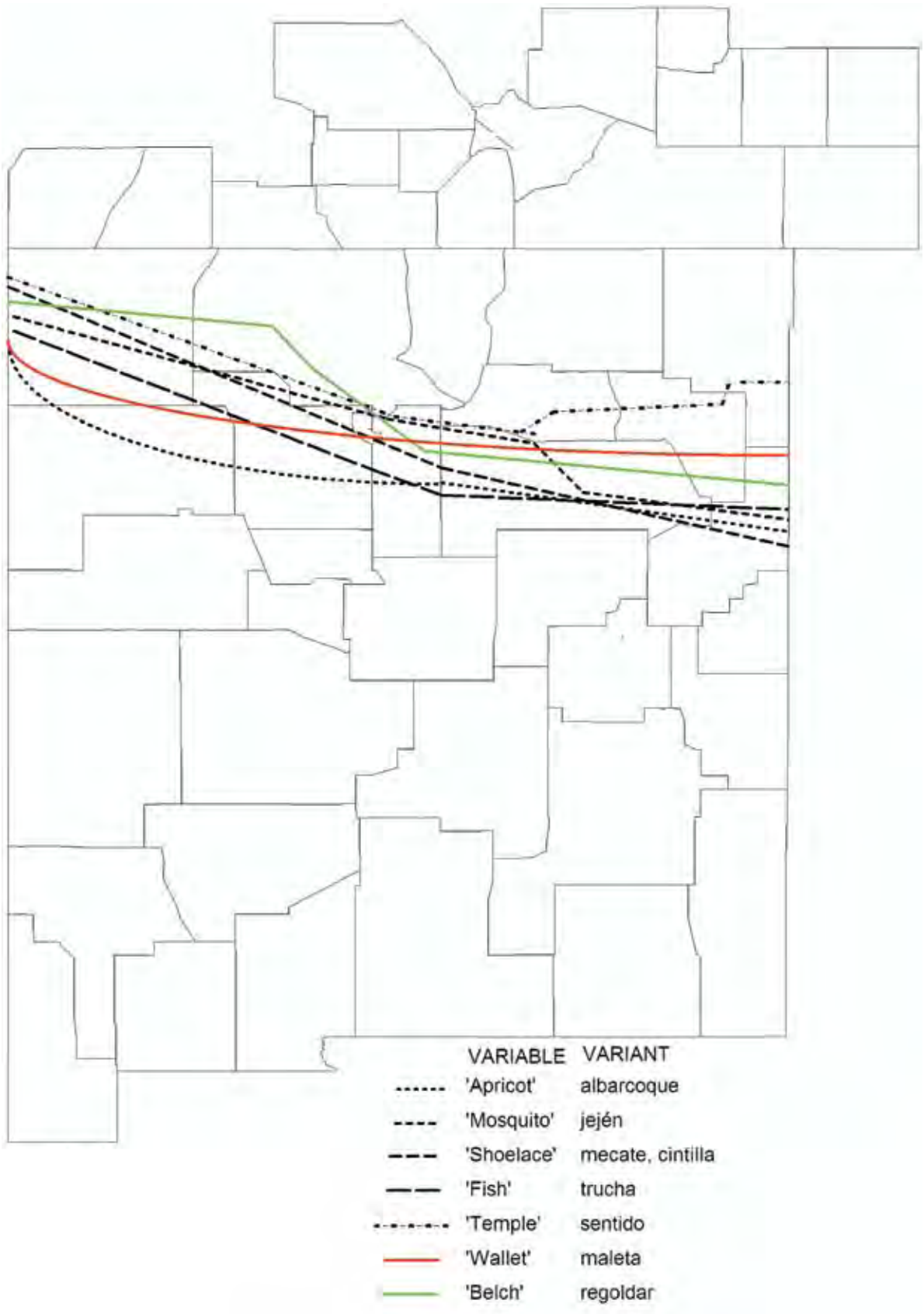
(16-4) ***We would get a***—*la pelota y la tirábanos arriba del tejaván de un lado pa' el otro.*
'We would get a ball and throw it over the roof from one side to the other.' (interview 116)

(16-5) *La casa era de terrón y no tenía tejaván, no más* ***flat roof***. 'The house was made of mud blocks and didn't have a pitched roof, just a flat roof.' (interview 2)

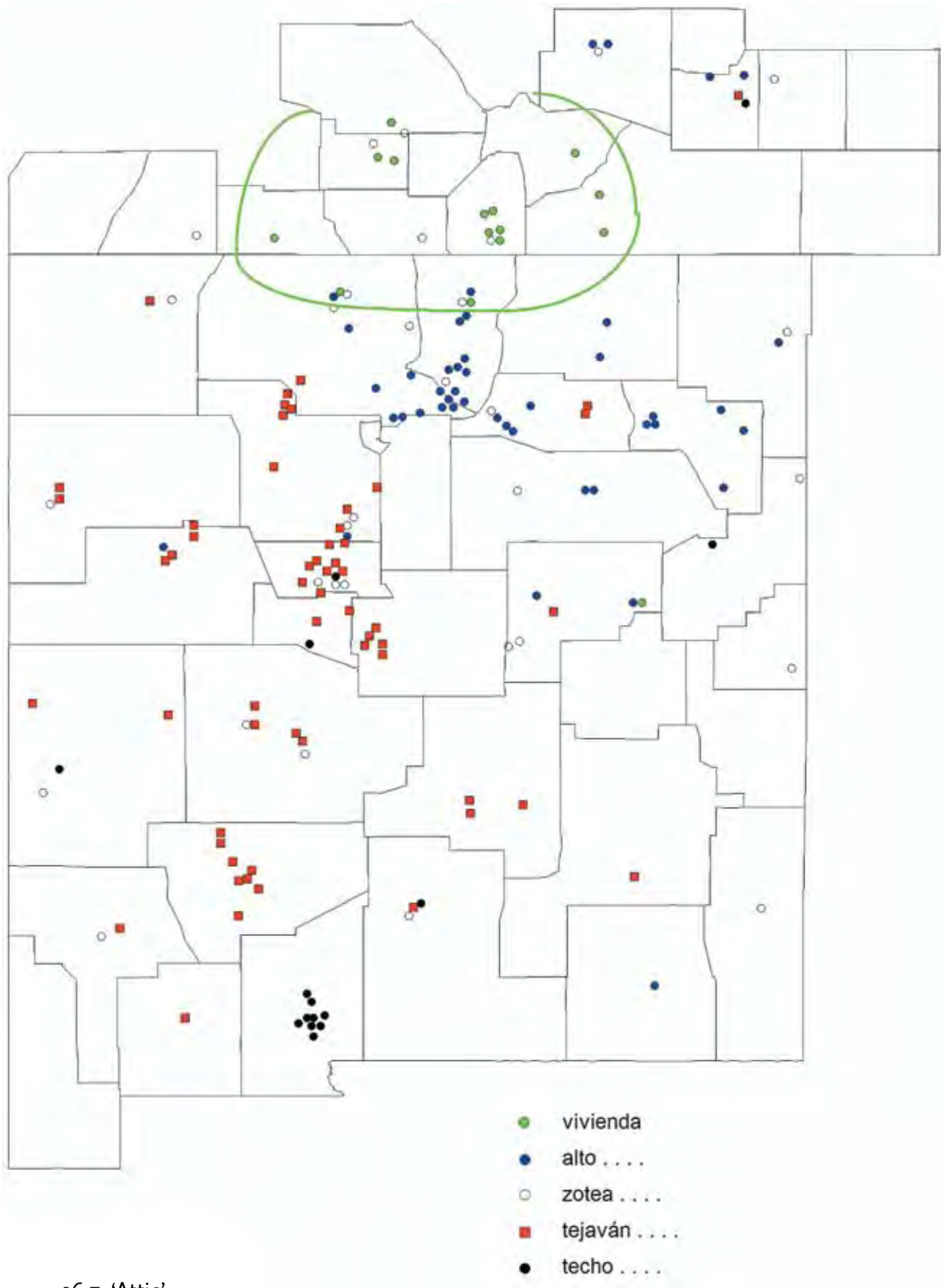
The second most frequently cited form for 'Attic' is *alto*, from the Spanish adjective for 'high,' thus referring



16-5. 'Wallet'



16-6. Río Arriba Bundle



16-7. 'Attic'

to the 'high place' or the 'heights.' A total of 44 consultants (14%) preferred this label for 'Attic,' which includes 12 responses of *arriba del alto*. This alternative occurs predominantly in the southern and eastern parts of the Río Arriba dialect area.

In third place with 32 preferences (10%) is the form *azotea*, usually occurring in abbreviated form as *zotea* (a reanalysis in which the *a* is absorbed into the article, *la azotea* > *la zotea*). This label, cited only as *zotea* in Cobos (2003) and only as *azotea* in L. Trujillo, usually refers to the roof of a house, and for some speakers it is strictly a flat roof, though the usage in earlier example 6-9 designates quite clearly a pitched roof. Thus, the use of this form may reflect simply a misguided attempt to come up with a Spanish word for 'Attic,' and its scattered distribution on map 16-7 lends support to such an assumption. We note, however, that L. Trujillo cites "attic" as a second meaning of *azotea*.

Techo is the general Spanish term for 'roof,' but 15 consultants offered this variant in responding to the 'Attic' stimulus. We might presume with even greater conviction than in the case of *azotea* that these speakers responded erroneously. In this case, however, most of these consultants represent a confined little area in and around the city of Las Cruces. The possibility that *techo* really is a label for 'Attic' in that area leads us to include this variant on the map.

Finally, we come to the label that seems to occur almost solely in what we are calling a North Central subdialect. The isogloss drawn on map 16-7 encloses 14 of the 15 responses of *vivienda* for 'Attic.' Although not cited in either Cobos or L. Trujillo, *vivienda* in Traditional Spanish seems to be the term for 'floor, story, level' (or perhaps simply 'living quarters') of a house, as we can appreciate in examples 16-6 and 16-7 from 2 speakers who prefer *alto* for 'Attic':

(16-6) *Sobre el soterrano hizo una vivienda, de cocina y tenían una tiendita mediana . . . y lo'o tenían otra vivienda más arriba, y le dicían el alto, y ahi tenían los cuartos de dormir.* 'Above the basement he built one floor, a kitchen and they had a small shop . . . and then they had another floor above, and it was called the attic, and there they had the bedrooms.' (interview 142)

(16-7) *Teníamos casa de dos viviendas y la vivienda de arriba le dicíamos el alto.* 'We had a two-story house and we called the upper floor the attic.' (interview 144)

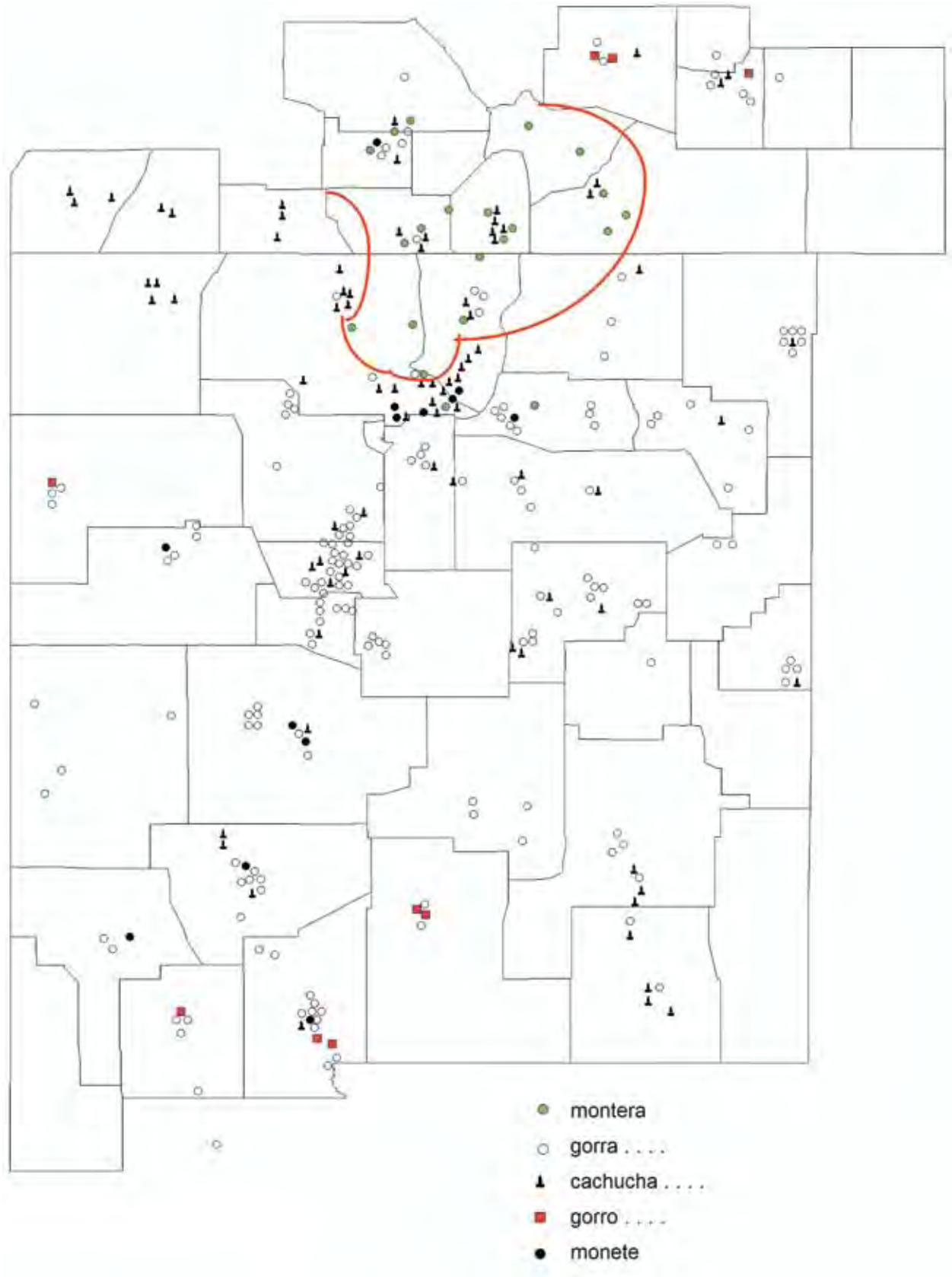
Nevertheless, 14 persons representing the tightly constrained geographical region shown on map 16-7 apparently use *vivienda* with the meaning 'Attic.'

A second variable that helps identify this North Central dialect is 'Winter cap,' the knitted, typically woolen head covering without brim or visor. A total of 81 of 326 respondents (25%) resorted to the label *cachucha*. This word usually refers to the baseball-type cap with a visor, which was labeled *cachucha* by fully 87% of the NMCOSS consultants. Thus, it seems that for those who could not access a specific word for 'Winter cap,' *cachucha* has become a default nonspecific term to label any head covering that lacks a brim. Such a manifestation of lexical loss typically displays no geographical patterning, and map 16-8 shows that these persons are in fact distributed broadly across the region.

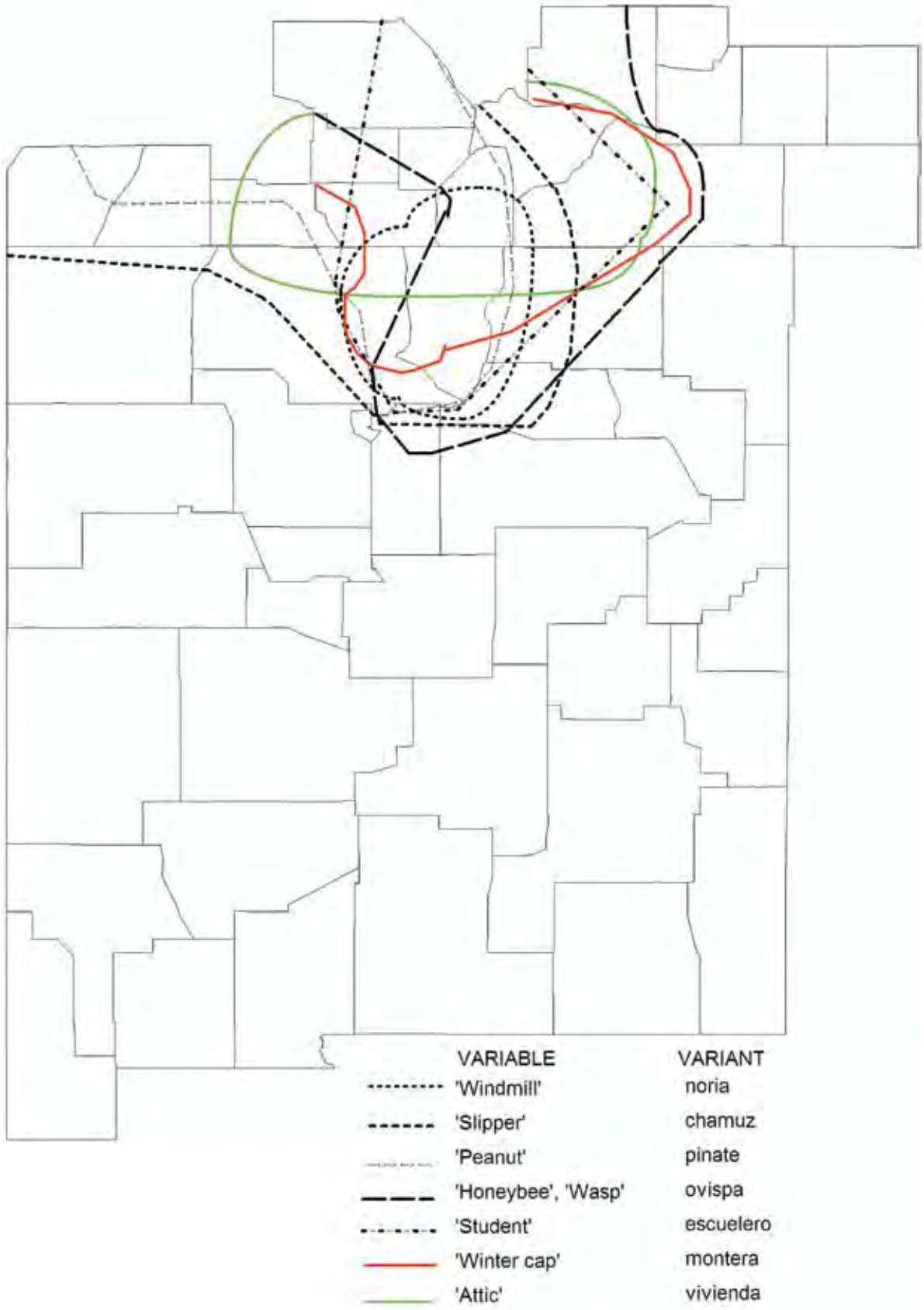
The preferred term for 'Winter cap' in New Mexican Spanish is *gorra*, the choice of 168 consultants (52%). These persons too are distributed throughout the NMCOSS territory, though curiously absent from the far northwest. By way of contrast, the standard masculine variant *gorro* was the choice of only 9 persons, but these 9 cases appear exclusively in the Border Spanish area.

The third most frequent variant is *montera*, which map 16-8 shows to occur only in the north-central part of the NMCOSS region. The isogloss we've drawn encloses 19 of the 21 preferences for this term, and the other 2 cases lie close outside the isogloss. *Montera* referring to a head covering is documented in the *CORDE* from at least the sixteenth century and seems to be used today primarily for the bullfighter's cap. Cobos (2003) gives two head-covering meanings for the term: 'kind of nightcap' and 'cloth sunbonnet.' L. Trujillo (1983), however, whose basis is the Spanish of the San Luis Valley, identifies *montera* as 'cap, stocking cap.' The use of *montera* for 'Winter cap' appears to be restricted to this North Central subdialect.

Once again, let us provide a broader range of evidence to support the existence of this North Central subdialect. Map 16-9 combines the isoglosses for the *vivienda* variant of 'Attic' and the *montera* variant for 'Winter cap' with those isoglosses abstracted from several other maps presented previously. The new isoglosses mark off the North Central use of *noria* for 'Windmill' (map 7-8), *chamuz* for 'Slipper' (map 9-5), *pinate* for 'Peanut' (map 10-8), *ovispa* for both 'Honeybee' and 'Wasp' (map 11-9), and *escuelero* for 'Student' (map 12-5). The bundle of isoglosses formed here is much looser than the two bundles already discussed, but it seems clear that a person from the center of this zone—say, Questa, New Mexico, or San Luis, Colorado—speaks a slightly different variety than someone from the western or eastern sectors of the Río Arriba dialect.



16-8. 'Winter cap'



16-9. North Central Bundle

NORTHEAST DIALECT

What we have called the Río Arriba dialect seems to have yet another subdialectal division toward the east. Consider the terms preferred for 'Clothesline,' as pictured with clothes flapping in the breeze and attached to the line with clothespins. Some consultants offered nonspecific terms such as *alambre* 'wire' (10 responses), *cabresto* 'rope' (6), *cordón* 'string, cord' (4), *cuerda* 'cord' (3), and *línea* 'line' (28). A few proposed unique creative forms like *secadora solar* 'solar dryer' and *tenderropas* 'clothes-hanger.' Another 5 labels for 'Clothesline,' however, show geographical distributions of interest to us. The favorite of the 326 NMCOSS consultants who responded to this stimulus is *percha*, the choice of 160 persons (49%). These persons are spread broadly across the Traditional Spanish territory except for the northeastern quarter (see map 16-10).

Another variant, *cordel*, was the choice of those persons representing the Northeast (excepting of course the Border Spanish region along the Arkansas River) as reflected in a conversational example from one of those consultants, a seventy-five-year-old woman from Roy:

(16-8) *Elisa tenía la maña de colgar ropa en el cordel los domingos*. 'Elisa had the habit of hanging out clothes on her clothesline on Sundays.' (interview 114)

The isogloss presented on the map sets off 44 of the 45 consultants (14% of the total responses) who preferred the *cordel* label. These persons represent the upper Río Grande drainage area and regions to the east, presumably representing migrations from Taos County into Colorado as well as into the eastern plains.

The 3 other terms depicted on map 16-10 have lower frequencies of occurrence. *Tendedero*, the standard label, is definitely a feature of Border Spanish. It was the preference of 27 consultants (8%), though another 4 offered *tendedor* and 2 proposed *tendedoro*. The final 2 variants are of extremely low frequency but reveal suggestive distributions. The 8 consultants who preferred *hilo*, the universal label for 'Thread,' are confined to the Border Spanish area of southern New Mexico. The 7 who preferred *cuenda* are rural residents of the eastern Traditional Spanish region.

The second previously undiscussed variable that we use to illustrate the Northeast dialect area is 'Syrup,' illustrated as topping and flowing down the sides of a tall stack of pancakes. Not 1 of the 336 respondents offered *jarabe* or *almíbar*, 2 forms considered standard. The vast majority (269, 80%) of the 336 NMCOSS respondents for this item report a preference for the label *miel*. *Miel* is the term for 'Honey' in standard Spanish, but it is also widely used for 'Syrup,' even though some may consider it nonstandard.

Only 1 significant minority variant shows up in our results: 44 consultants (13%) preferred the label *melaz*, as used in the conversational example 16-9:

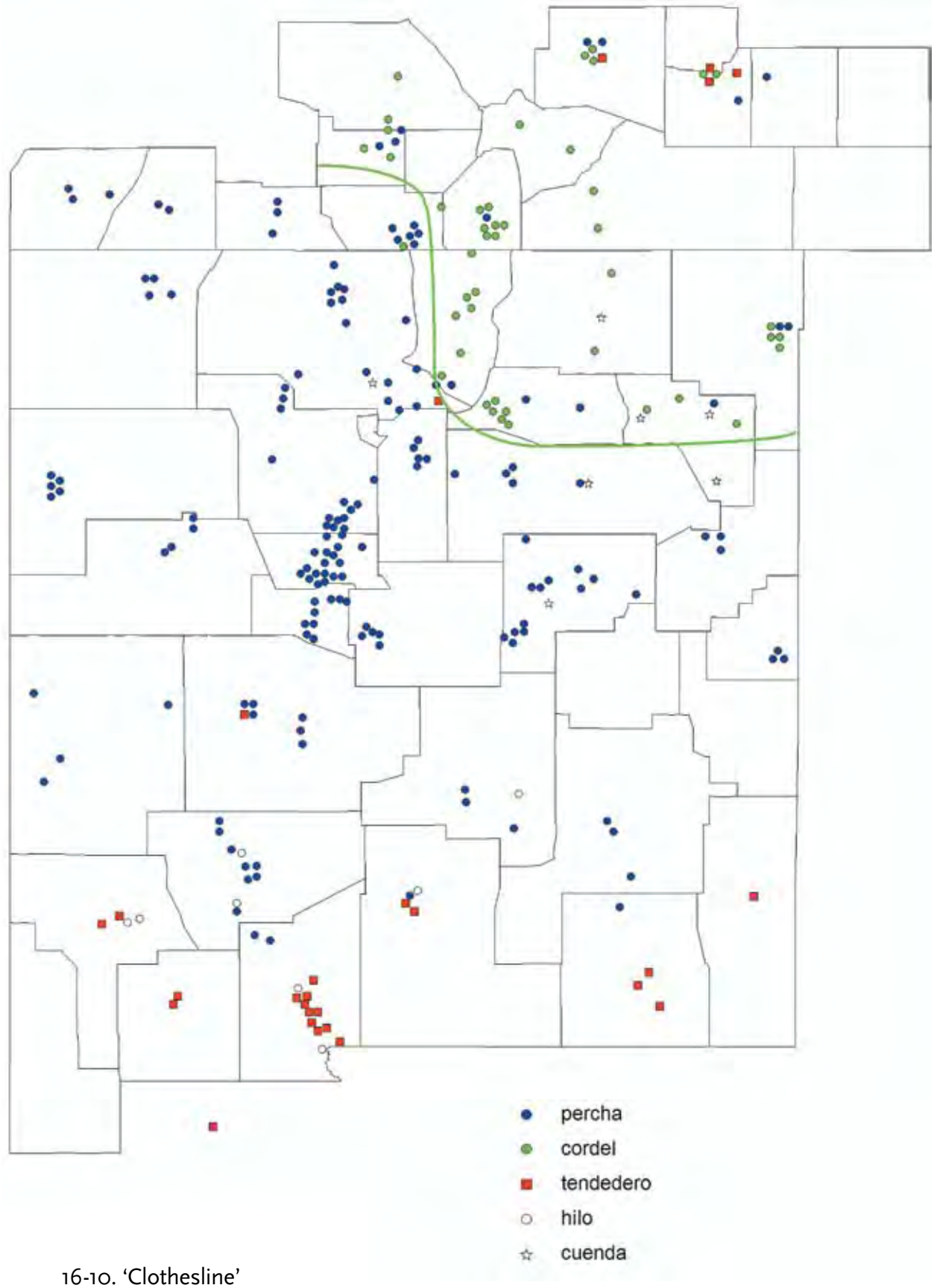
(16-9) *Cuando no tenían melaz de la tienda, mi mamá lo hacía con azúcar*. 'When they didn't have syrup from the store, my mother would make it with sugar.' (interview 244)

Map 16-11 shows that these speakers tend to cluster in the northeastern part of the NMCOSS region. The isogloss displayed on this map encloses all but 4 of those who gave this term as their preferred label. Moreover, another 4 persons who offered *melaz* as a coequal choice after *miel* are also representatives of this Northeast region.

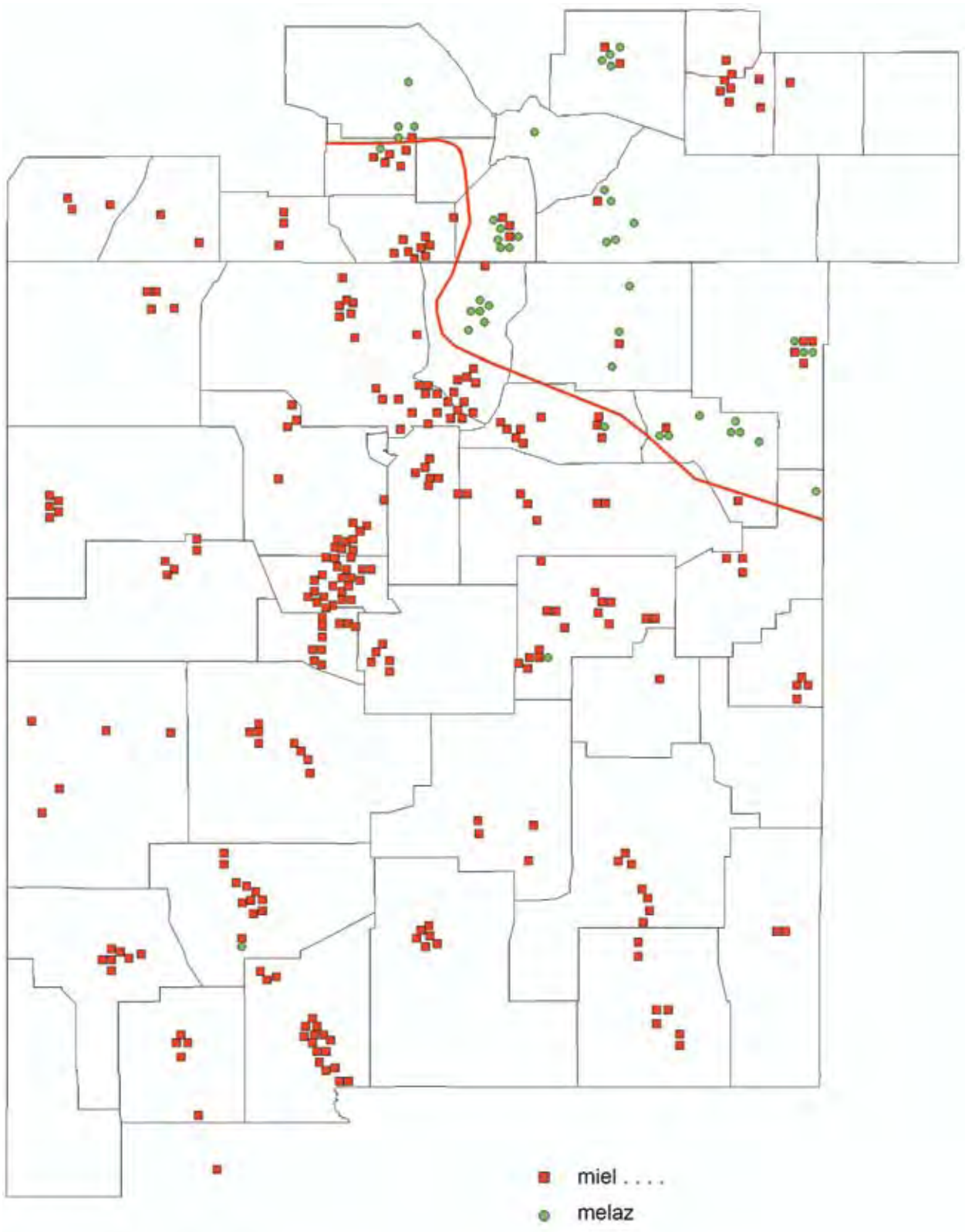
Melaz is transparently a shortened form of *melaza*, the general Spanish word for 'molasses.' Perhaps less transparent is the fact that *melaza* is an augmentative form of *miel*. This augmentative was once employed disparagingly to refer to a less desirable type of syrup. One can imagine that northern New Mexicans in colonial days may have had some difficulty in making syrup and that the resulting concoction might well have led to use of the augmentative form as an appropriate label.

On the other hand, we should consider the fact that *miel* happens to be the preferred word not only for 'Syrup' but also for 'Honey' in New Mexican Spanish. Perhaps because of this ambiguity, over a third of our consultants—almost all in the Traditional Spanish area—preferred the compound *miel virgen* as the label for 'Honey.' Could this ambiguity have played a role in the adoption of *melaz* for 'Syrup'? If speakers of Traditional Spanish adopted *melaz* for 'Syrup' to avoid confusion with *miel* for 'Honey,' we would expect the *melaz* users to have no need to resort to expanding the label for 'Honey.' But that supposition doesn't help explain the current situation. In fact, the *melaz* users are *more* likely to prefer the expanded *miel virgen*. While 37% overall report *miel virgen* for 'Honey,' 52% of the *melaz* users do.

So *melaz* for 'Syrup' is just another one of those curious lexical features that characterize Traditional Spanish—or more appropriately, the Northeast subdialect of the Río Arriba subdialect of the Traditional Spanish dialect of New Mexican Spanish.



16-10. 'Clothesline'



16-11. ‘Syrup’

A number of other variables have variants that behave geographically like the 'Clothesline' and 'Syrup' variants. The isoglosses for 5 are added to map 16-12 to yield a bundle that suggests the existence of a Northeast dialect of Traditional Spanish. These variables are 'Turkey' (map 4-2), with *ganso* now largely reduced to the Northeast area; 'Goose' (map 5-4), with *ánsara* focused in the Northeast; 'Mop' (map 10-3), with the writing inspired Anglicisms *mope* and *mopa* characterizing the Northeast; 'Quarter' (map 10-7), with another Anglicism, *cuara*, appearing mostly in the Northeast; and 'Earrings' (map 13-3), with *zarcillos* pretty much limited to the Northeast. As we noted previously in connection with map 7-8, the use of *molino* for 'Windmill' also is found in this dialect area. This subdialect is essentially the eastern half of the Río Arriba dialect, but notice that here the isoglosses for 'Mop' and 'Quarter' dip more strongly south to include Guadalupe County just as several isoglosses diagnostic of the Río Arriba dialect did.

The boundary for this Northeast subdialect is not clear-cut, as the looseness of the bundle of isoglosses indicates. Moreover, drawing the individual isoglosses was much less straightforward than for the Traditional-Border, Río Arriba, and North Central dialect identifiers. You can appreciate the difficulty if you try your own hand at depicting the isogloss on each map. Nevertheless, the results demonstrate that a typical person from the Northeast (from, say, Trinidad in Las Animas County, Colorado) speaks a different dialect than a typical person from the western or southern regions of Traditional Spanish (for example, a person from Bloomfield in San Juan County, New Mexico, or from Socorro in Socorro County, New Mexico).

WEST CENTRAL DIALECT

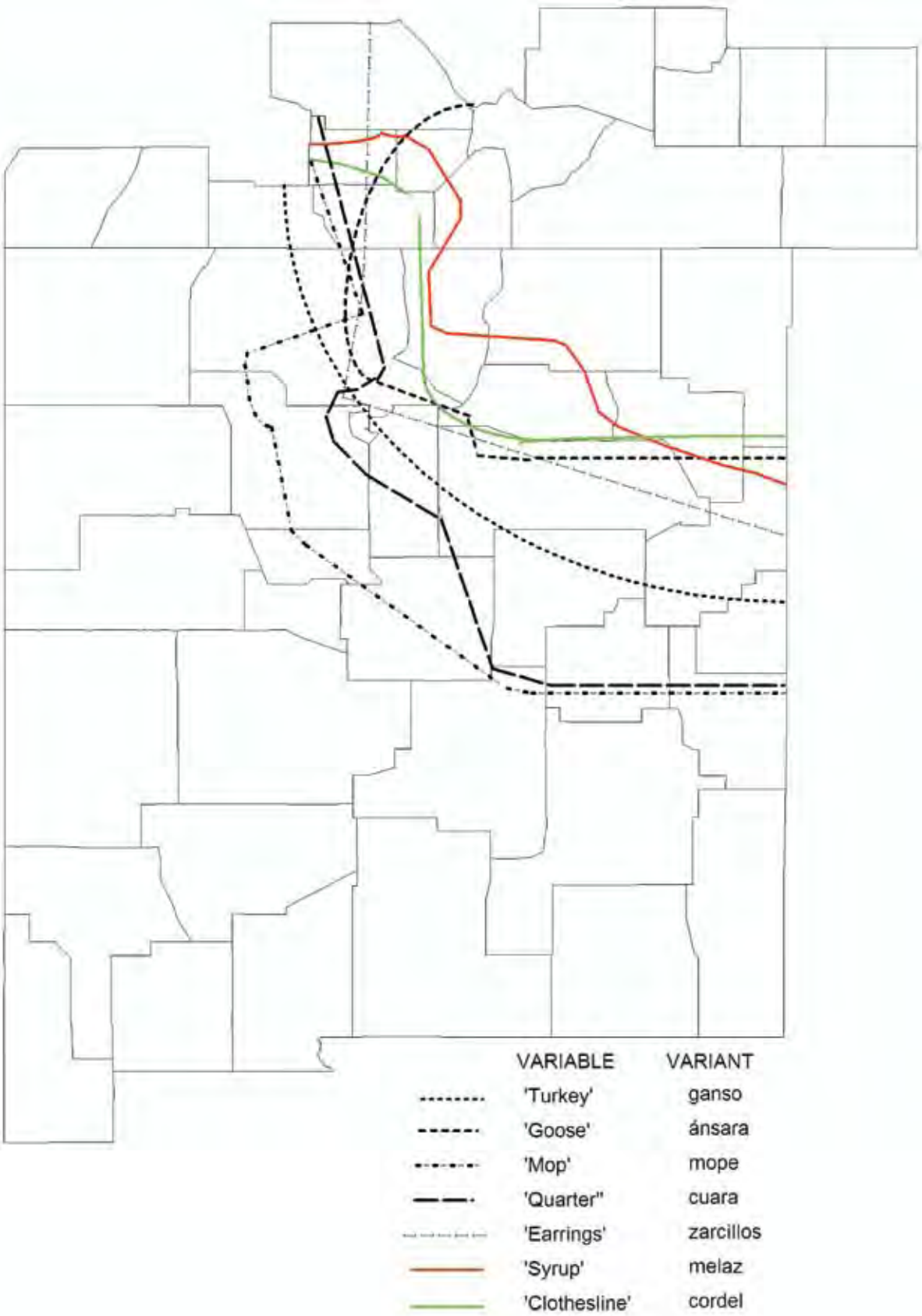
Still less clear-cut but highly suggestive is evidence of a subdialect area centered to the southwest of Albuquerque. The 'Earthworm' variable provides one such piece of evidence. Map 16-13 plots the distributions of 5 variants. We note in chapter 13 (in connection with table 13-16) that the choice of *gusano* for 'Earthworm' is a nonspecific response indicative of the attrition of Spanish skills. The map shows that these consultants (84 of 335 respondents, 25%) represent all areas of the NMCOSS landscape, though there seems to be some association with Border Spanish as well as with growing up in an urban area.

The more appropriate responses using a specific label relate to the standard form *lombriz*. However, only 13 persons responded with exactly this form, and they too display no geographical patterning. By far the most widely preferred label in New Mexican Spanish is a slightly different variant with /u/ in the first syllable, *lumbriz*: 198 consultants (59%) offered this variant.

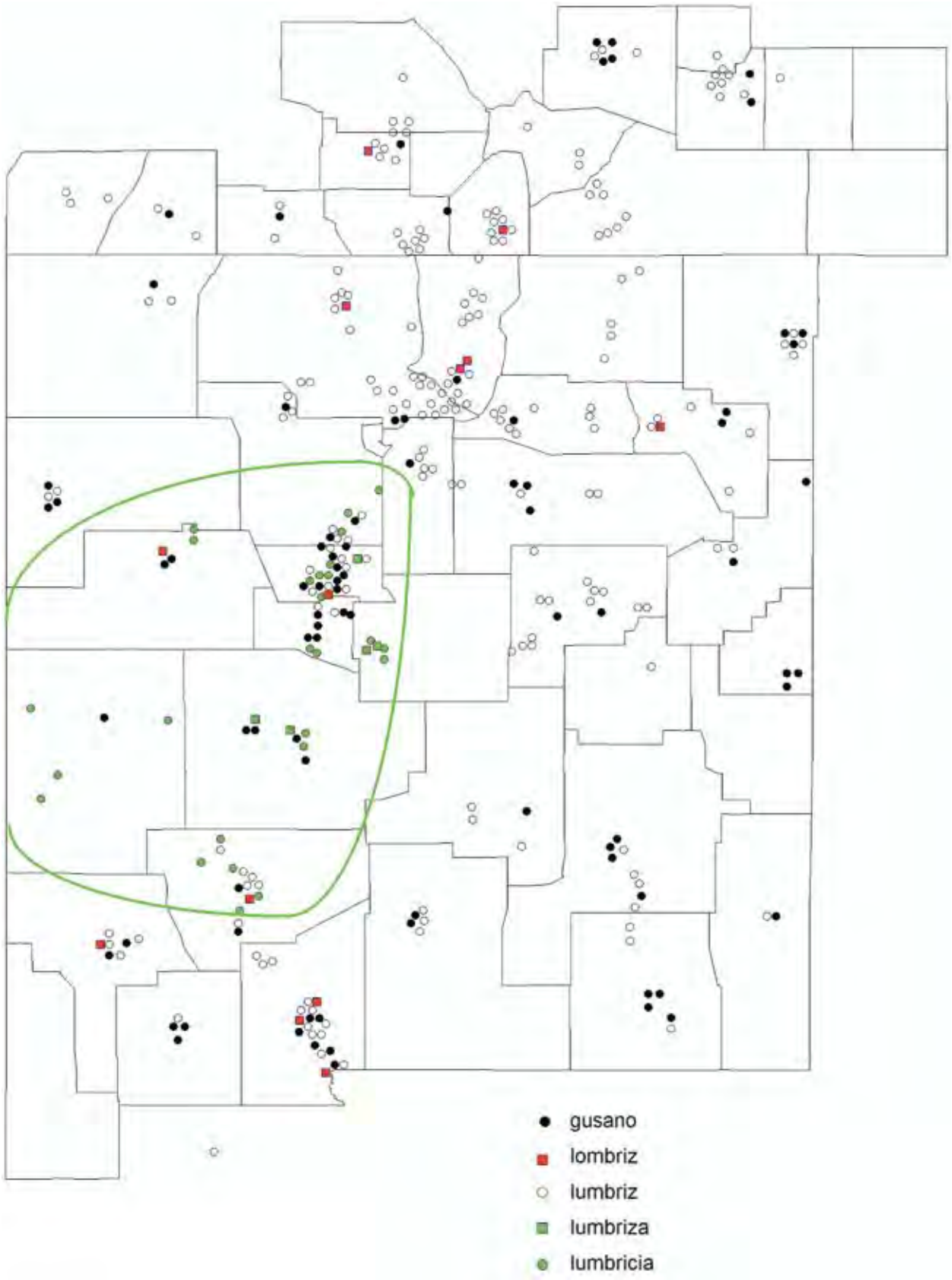
Finally, 9% of the respondents reported a label with the vowel of the nonstandard variant but with an added third syllable, *lumbricia* (26 responses) and *lumbriza* (5 responses). The consultants who offered a three-syllable variant are only a small minority but their geographical distribution is quite constrained. They represent much of the western half of the Río Abajo, as indicated by the isogloss that encircles every occurrence of *lumbricia* and *lumbriza* on map 16-13.

Variants of several other variables have restricted distributions that have some association with this general area, which we will refer to as the West Central region. On map 16-14 we have added the isoglosses for 4 additional variables treated previously: 'Trunk' (map 7-11), 'Crumbs' (map 9-2), 'Pancakes' (map 9-3), and 'Socks' (map 5-5). In comparison to the *lumbriza/lumbricia* for 'Earthworm' isogloss, *guayabes* for 'Pancakes' has far fewer mentions (just 14) and extends farther to the east, but most of the cases are in the core of the West Central region. Moreover, there were 4 other persons who mentioned *guayabes* as other than their preferred term, and all 4 are from smack-dab in the middle of the area delineated: 1 from Magdalena, 2 from Monticello, and 1 from Rincón. The distribution of *petaca* for 'Trunk' extends primarily from Albuquerque to the west, but with scattered cases elsewhere that are associated with higher education and direct contact with Mexico, where *petaca* occurs prominently. *Cunques* for 'Crumbs' occurs across the southern half of the NMCOSS area, but it is dominant in the core of the West Central region. Finally, the use of *escarpines* for 'Socks' is rare, but the 7 cases occur exclusively in this subdialect area, as do 4 other mentions as a coequal choice and 1 case of the mixed form *escarcetines* from an elderly man who was ill and had difficulties with pronunciation.

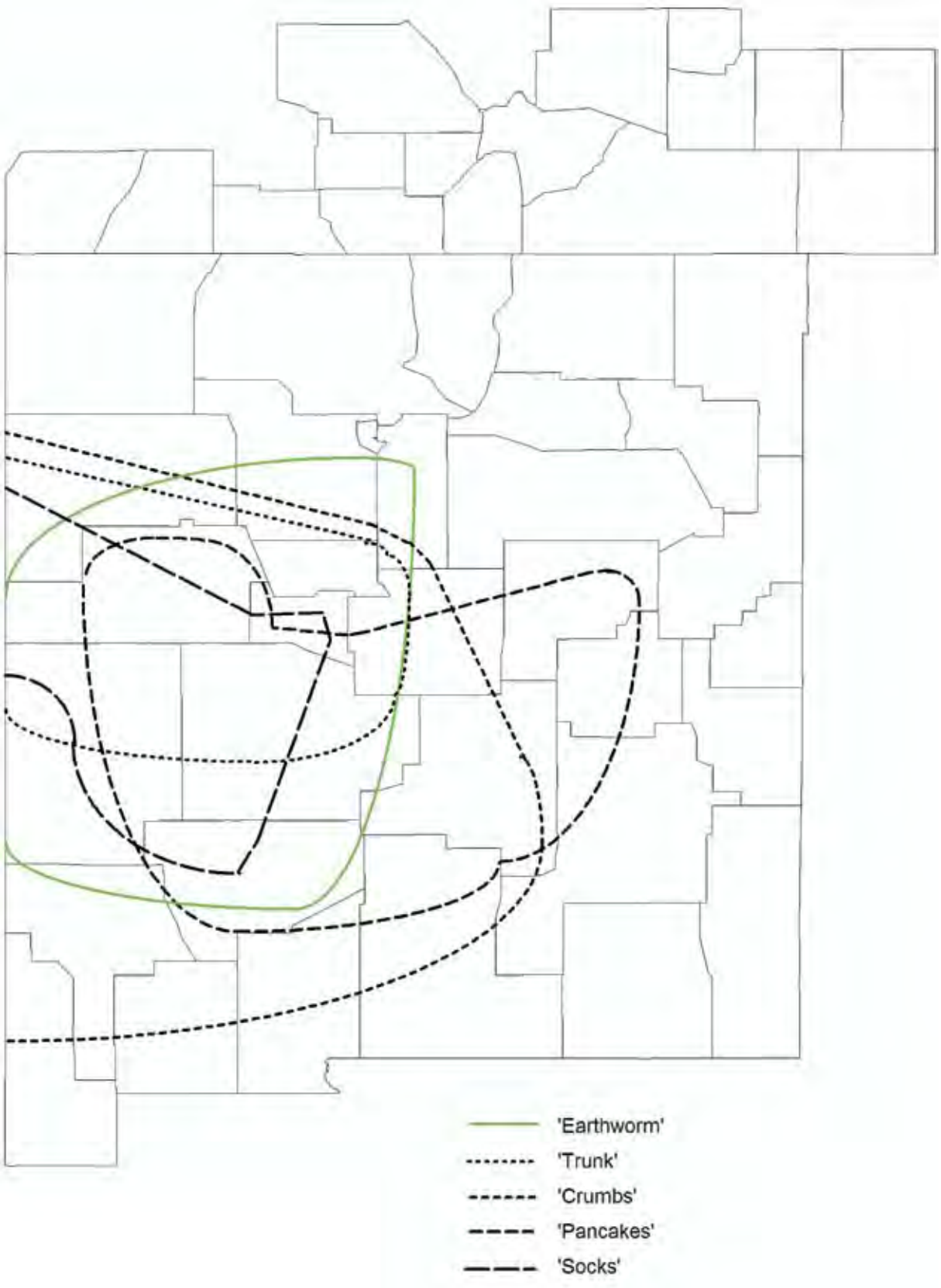
The evidence summed up in map 16-14 points to an area of some linguistic unity, but it doesn't reveal a dialect with sharp boundaries. What we see seems to be the remnants of a dialect. It may be that in earlier times there existed a coherent West Central dialect of Traditional Spanish identifiable by a tighter bundling of isoglosses. But the display on our map makes it apparent that the bundle has begun to suffer serious unraveling.



16-12. Northeast Bundle



16-13. ‘Earthworm’



16-14. West Central Bundle

SUBDIALECTS OF BORDER SPANISH

The impression that may have been gleaned, perhaps subconsciously, from the many maps and extended discussions of this book is that Border Spanish is quite uniform. In contrasting Border Spanish with the much greater variation in Traditional Spanish, this impression is valid and a natural consequence of the more recent formation of Border Spanish. But Hispanics have been present in southern New Mexico since the colonial period, probably since the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 forced the New Mexico colony south to the El Paso–Juárez region. Mines were developed in the vicinity of present-day Silver City (Grant County) beginning "as early as 1790" (Williams 1986, 117). Spanish land grants were made in Sierra County in 1820 and Doña Ana County in 1823 (Williams 1986, 105–6). After the Mexican-American War of 1848, a number of speakers of Traditional Spanish abandoned northern New Mexico to return to Mexican territory below where Las Cruces is located today. Layered on top of these earlier settlements is the majority that derive from modern immigration from Mexico.

So this diversity in the area's cultural history, however slight, can be expected to be manifested in some degree of linguistic variation today. That variation does seem slight, however. The only variation that seems consistent enough to suggest a subdialect boundary concerns the southwestern side of Border Spanish. Let us illustrate first with the words for a traditional woman's leather 'Purse' provided by 320 NMCOSS consultants.

As noted previously, there are 4 principal terms for a man's 'Wallet' (map 16-5), and 3 of those terms are the principal terms for the functional equivalent on the woman's side. *Bolsa* is the most frequently used label in both cases, but the proportions are quite different. It accounts for only 25% of the responses for 'Wallet,' but 64% (204) of the responses for 'Purse.' In second place on the preference list with roughly the same frequency in both cases is *maleta*: 23% for 'Wallet' and 25% (81) for 'Purse.' Balancing the equation is *cartera*, the first choice of 18% for 'Wallet' but only 6% (19) for 'Purse.' Finally, the fourth 'Wallet' term was used by only 2 persons for 'Purse,' 1 *partamonera* and 1 *portamonera*.

Map 16-15 for 'Purse' is similar to map 16-5 in showing the association of *maleta* with the Río Arriba variety of Traditional Spanish and *cartera* with Border Spanish. However, *cartera* for 'Purse' is characteristic of a very limited area of Border Spanish: from Doña Ana County west, as indicated in the isogloss we've added to the map. Is there a Southwest dialect of Border Spanish?

Possibly. The isoglosses for 4 other variables are added to that for 'Purse' on map 16-16. The distributions of *tirador* for 'Slingshot' (see map 5-10) and *craca* for 'Cracker' (map 10-9) are virtually identical to that of *cartera* for 'Purse,' and like *cartera* are absent from the eastern Colorado and Gallup areas of Border Spanish. Similar are the isoglosses we've drawn for 'Throw rug' (map 8-7) and 'Belt' (map 15-12), with *tapete* and *cinto*, respectively, being characteristic of the Southwest dialect. These 2 variants, however, have broader occurrence, but with less density, in the other regions of Border Spanish.

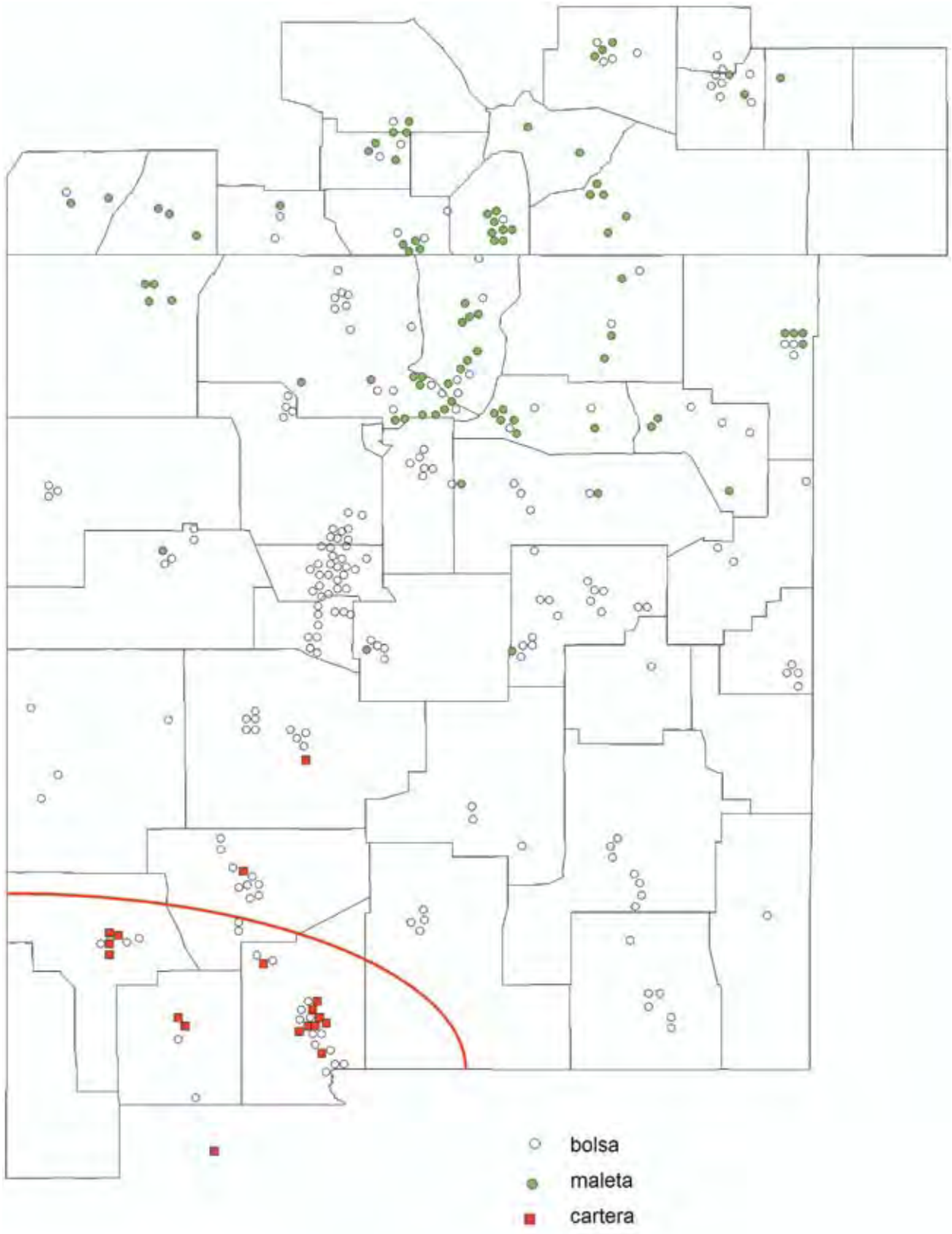
This bundle of isoglosses is sufficient linguistic evidence to endorse the notion of a Southwest subdialect of Border Spanish. And the sociohistorical situation bolsters this conclusion. The area identified by this subdialect is precisely the region that is closest to the Mexican border. Moreover, all of the variants except *craca* that are characteristic of this subdialect are characteristic of Mexican Spanish today. This Southwest subdialect of Border Spanish, then, is a consequence not only of modern immigration but of continuing close contact with Mexico.

There are suggestions of other subdialects of New Mexican Spanish in our data, but the evidence is too limited to take seriously. For example, the distribution of *azadón* on map 15-13 for 'Hoe' hints at a possible Southeast dialect of Border Spanish that overlaps with the more clearly delimited Southwest dialect. The vagueness of the evidence for any other subdialects is further confounded by the turmoil of the transitory period through which New Mexican Spanish is now passing, a topic to which we must now turn at the end of this book.

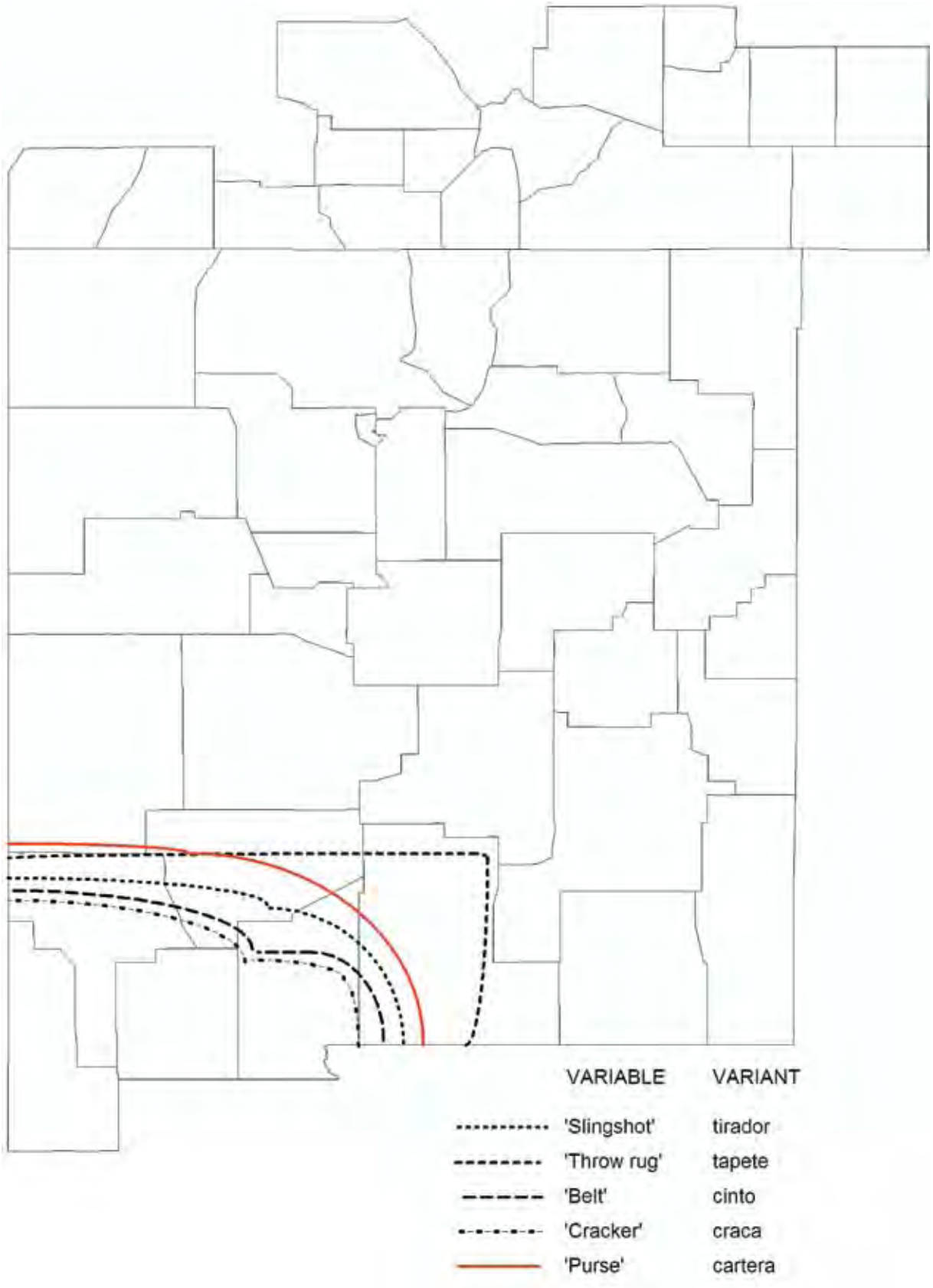
Prospects for the Future

Aurelio Espinosa published a semipopular article just before New Mexico was granted statehood in which he reported that the Traditional Spanish of his research "remains to-day as it was brought here in the XVIIth century, a Spanish linguistic monument, which no influence or power can ever destroy" (1911, 8). He simply could not have imagined the awesome influence and power that would be brought to bear against this dialect in the succeeding decades.

The decades since World War II have been a particularly tumultuous period for New Mexican Spanish, which has suffered powerful influences on one side from English and on the other from Mexican Spanish. The increasingly intimate contact with English has had a substantial impact on the vocabulary of the local Spanish. That is fine.



16-15. ‘Purse’



16-16. Southwest Bundle

That is not a problem. Such change only heightens the distinctiveness of the dialect. The devastating influence of English is manifest in what is called "subtractive bilingualism," the kind of bilingualism that "reflects a society where one language is valued more than the other, where one dominates the other, where one is on the ascendant and the other is waning" (Edwards 1995, 59). It leads to the diminution of skills in Spanish and eventually complete abandonment of the ethnic heritage language.

At the same time that young Hispanics are failing to acquire Spanish, the elderly speakers of New Mexican Spanish are dying off. And as the speakers of Traditional Spanish disappear, they are being replaced, at least to some extent, by immigrants from Mexico, speakers of Mexican Spanish. Thus, for example, the use of the Mexican Spanish *repetir* for 'Belch' increases from just 6% of the Older generation to 29% of the Younger generation. Moreover, the young people who do manage to develop and maintain Spanish fluency are increasingly influenced by standard Spanish as a result of experiences in the Spanish language classroom.

The effect of these two trends—Mexicanization and standardization—is the loss of forms such as *vestido* for 'Suit,' *túnico* for 'Dress,' *ratón volador* for 'Bat,' *rosas* for 'Popcorn,' *dos reales* for 'Quarter,' *frezada* for 'Blanket,' *pariagüe* for 'Umbrella,' and *ganso* and *gallina de la tierra* for 'Turkey'—forms that give such a special flavor to the Traditional Spanish dialect of New Mexico and southern Colorado.

To add a few more logs to the evidential pyre, let's consider first the terms for 'Moth' presented on map 16-17. The universal standard label is *polilla*, and this is the preference of the NMCOSS majority (184 of 328 respondents, 56%). Notice the distribution of this variant in New Mexican Spanish. It obviously has been entrenched in the Traditional Spanish area for centuries.

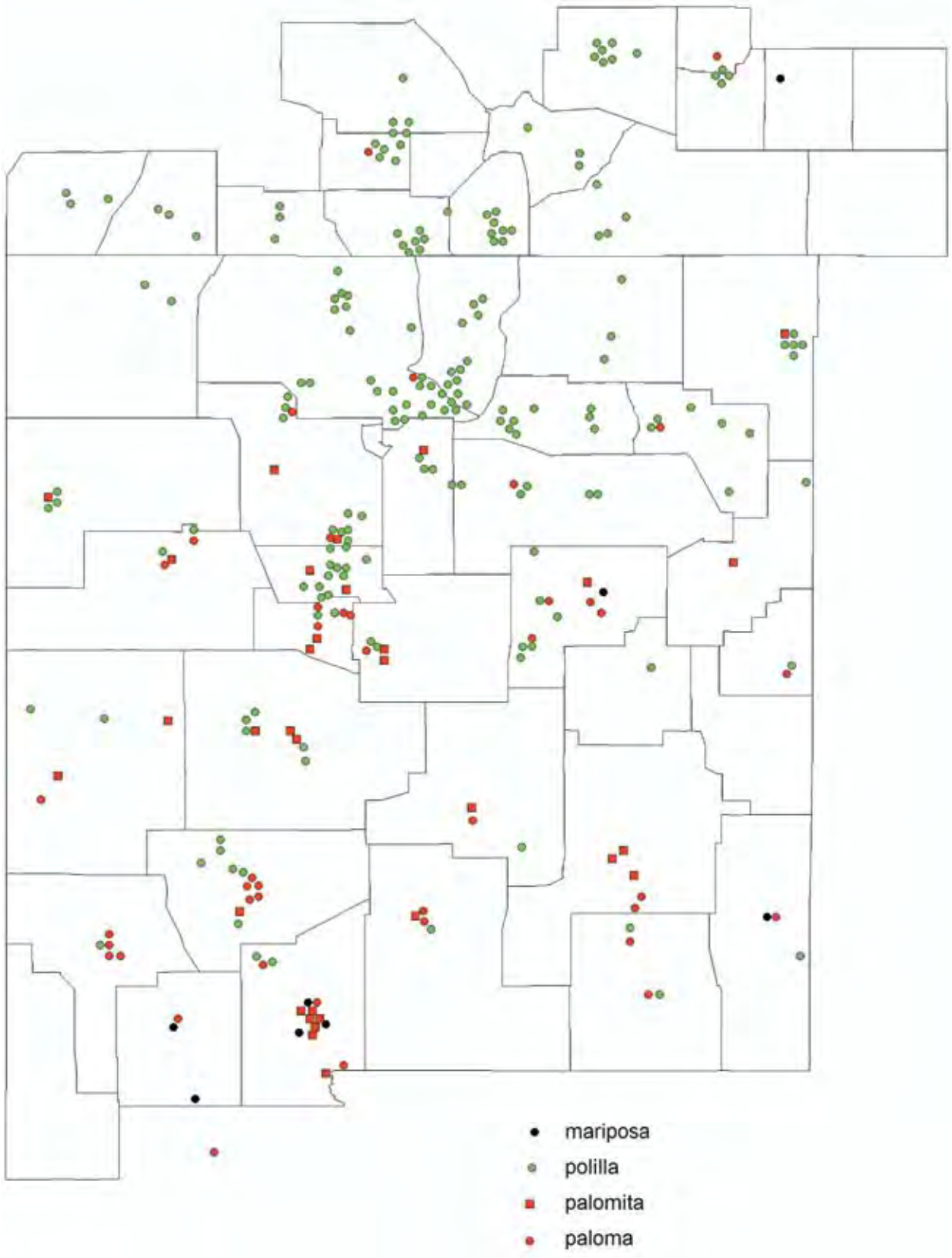
But a universal standard cannot stand up against the pervasive Mexican Spanish influence. The distributions of the other 3 terms for 'Moth' make it obvious that they are imports from Mexico. *Mariposa* is the standard Spanish term for 'Butterfly' (though the compound *mariposa nocturna* is generally accepted as an appropriate term for 'Moth'); only 8 consultants preferred this variant, a very recent immigrant in the Border Spanish area. But the other 2 labels, *paloma* (42 preferences) and its diminutive *palomita* (32 preferences) have spread their wings broadly in southern Border Spanish and deep into the Traditional Spanish territory. The more usual meaning of *paloma*, in New Mexican Spanish and universally, is 'Dove' or 'Pigeon.'

Making the matter still more confusing for New Mexican Spanish speakers is the fact that in Traditional Spanish, *paloma* and *palomita* are often used for reference to a butterfly, not a moth. Overall, 43% of the NMCOSS consultants offered one of these labels for 'Butterfly.' We showed in table 14-17 that the use of standard *mariposa* is associated with education, though it is also strongly characteristic of Border Spanish.

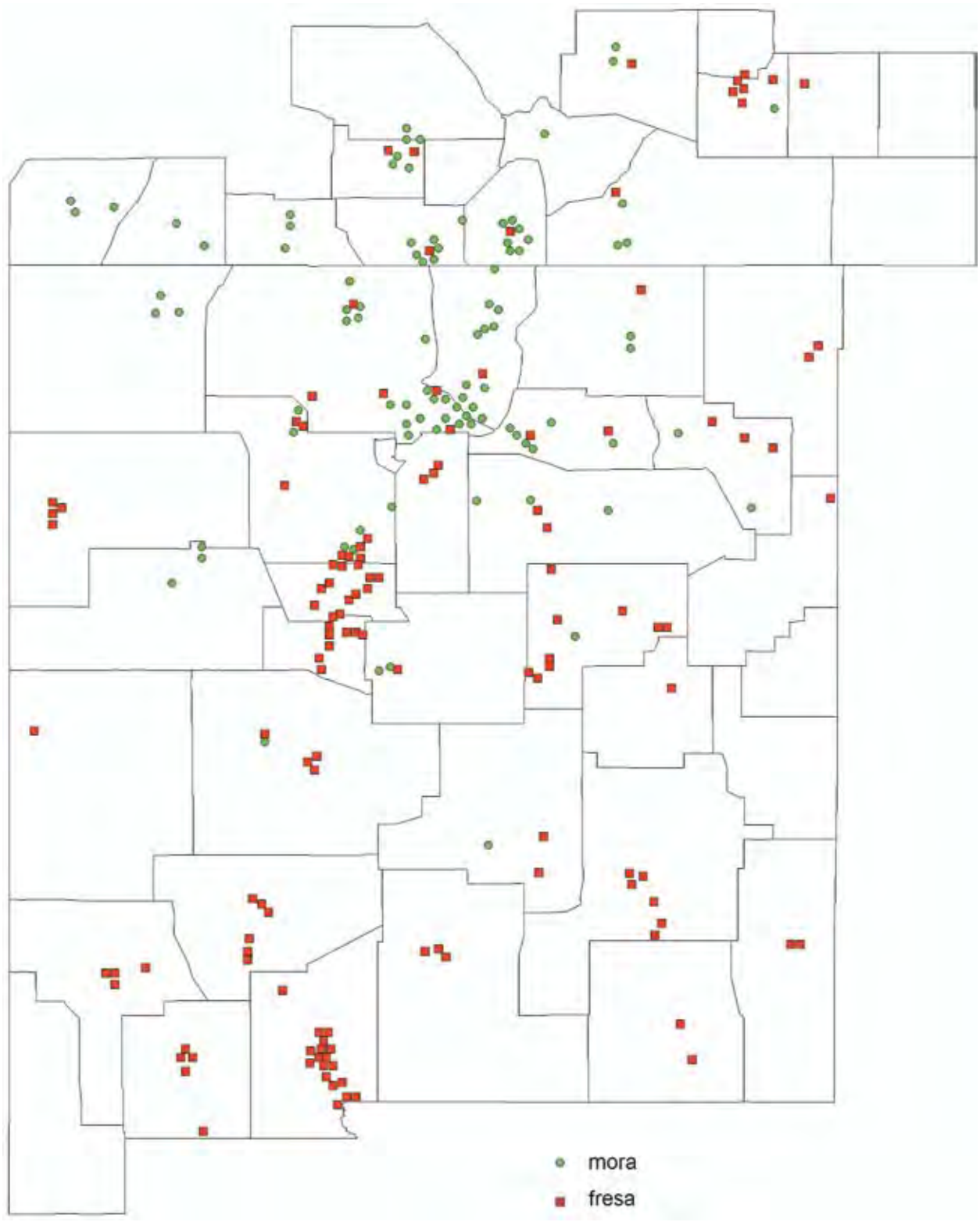
In the case of 'Strawberry,' the Traditional Spanish variant is in still greater danger of being supplanted by the Border Spanish variant that is also the standard variant. A picture of plump, red strawberries elicited the response of standard *fresa* from 130 out of 334 respondents (39%) and *mora* from 96 (29%). What? But isn't *mora* a mulberry or blackberry? Well, yes. It is in New Mexican Spanish too. But as Cobos observes, "In New Mexico and southern Colorado *moras* are berries (mulberries, blackberries, strawberries, etc.)" (2003, 154). L. Trujillo (1983), too, reports that *mora* refers to both mulberries and strawberries. So we might guess that at some point the *mora* term was generalized to include strawberries, which have some superficial resemblance to mulberries and blackberries.

But wait! A secondary meaning for *mora* in the *DRAE* is *fresa silvestre* 'wild strawberry.' In fact, Corominas (1954) tells us that the now standard label *fresa* was adapted from French only when the strawberry began to be cultivated intensively in the seventeenth century. The *CORDE* shows only 2 cases of *fresa* with a strawberry-like meaning in the 1600s and the Davies corpus shows cases appearing only in the 1700s. It seems very likely, then, that the early settlers in New Mexico from the beginning used *mora* to refer to the wild strawberries that grow here. It is of interest to note that among other words for 'Strawberry' are the related terms *morangana*, used in the Canary Islands (Corrales Zumbado, Corbella Días, and Alvarez Martínez 1992), and *morianga*, used in the Isleño Spanish of Louisiana that derives from settlement by Canary Islanders (MacCurdy 1975, 502). Map 16-18 shows that current NMCOSS users of *mora* for 'Strawberry' are speakers of Traditional Spanish from more rural areas.

However, that Traditional Spanish lexical item is now being overwhelmed by the standard *fresa*. One hundred and thirty consultants (39%) prefer this label, and another 9 came close with *fresca* (5 cases), *fresco*, *frese*, and *fresna*. This import from Mexico, with ardent support from classroom Spanish (see table 14-10), rules almost exclusively from the southern border up through Albuquerque and is chipping away at the last strongholds of Traditional Spanish.



16-17. 'Moth'



16-18. ‘Strawberry’

But it's not just Mexican Spanish that is chipping away here. Almost as many consultants as gave a *mora* response (29%) could provide no Spanish word at all (27%): 74 persons responded with English ***strawberry*** and 17 declined to offer any response. We documented previously that the use of *mora* declines sharply among younger speakers (table 12-2) and that diminished levels of Spanish proficiency are associated with the need for a prompt to come up with a label for 'Strawberry' (table 13-14) and with inability to respond to this stimulus (table 13-8). The constantly accelerating shift from Spanish to English in the course of the twentieth century is the truly pernicious force in the demise of Traditional Spanish.

The twin forces of English and Mexican Spanish become even more powerful when the reference is to items having little historicity. Consider, for example, the very common product developed in the last century for the purpose of calming babies, the 'Pacifier.' A label for this new product had to be found. In English the label was created by derivation from verbs representing the soothing function of this device, from *pacify* (> *pacifier*) in the United States and from *comfort* (> *comforter*) in Great Britain. Some of the principal options in Spanish were formed also by derivation. For example, in Mexico (*ALM* mapa 949): from the verb *chupar* 'suck' we find *chupador*, *chupeta*, *chupete*, and *chupón*, and from *mamar* 'nurse, suckle' we find *mamadera*, *mamila*, and *mamón*. But the form that has won out overwhelmingly in all parts of Mexico is *chupón*.

Chupón is also the most frequently cited form in the NMCOSS results, with 95 responses (29%). Map 16-19 reveals, as we should expect, that *chupón* is a feature of Border Spanish. There were also 13 tokens of *chupador*—which the random distribution on the map indicates to be a homegrown and unsuccessful attempt at word coinage—as well as 9 *chupete*, 4 *chupadero*, 3 *chupadora*, 2 *chupero*, and 1 token each of *chupadera*, *chuparrón*, *chupetón*, *chupetera*, *chupilón*, and *chupillo*. While Mexican Spanish has narrowed the *chupa-* forms down to 4, New Mexican Spanish has 12. Speakers of New Mexican Spanish have just as much skill in deriving appropriately formed new words. But the social glue needed to reach agreement on a common form is lacking. The major Spanish language option has been to adopt the solution reached by agreement in Mexico.

But Hispanics in the NMCOSS did, in fact, have another solution, namely, to expand the meaning of the word for the real thing. A total of 60 consultants responded using the word *teta* 'tit,' and map 16-19 demonstrates that this solution is a feature of Traditional Spanish. Of this total, 40 consultants offered the bare *teta* and 4 the diminutive *tetita* while others resorted to compounds: 14 *teta seca* 'dry tit,' 1 *teta de aigre* 'air tit,' and 1 *teta de hule* 'rubber tit.' No such forms are documented in the *ALM*.

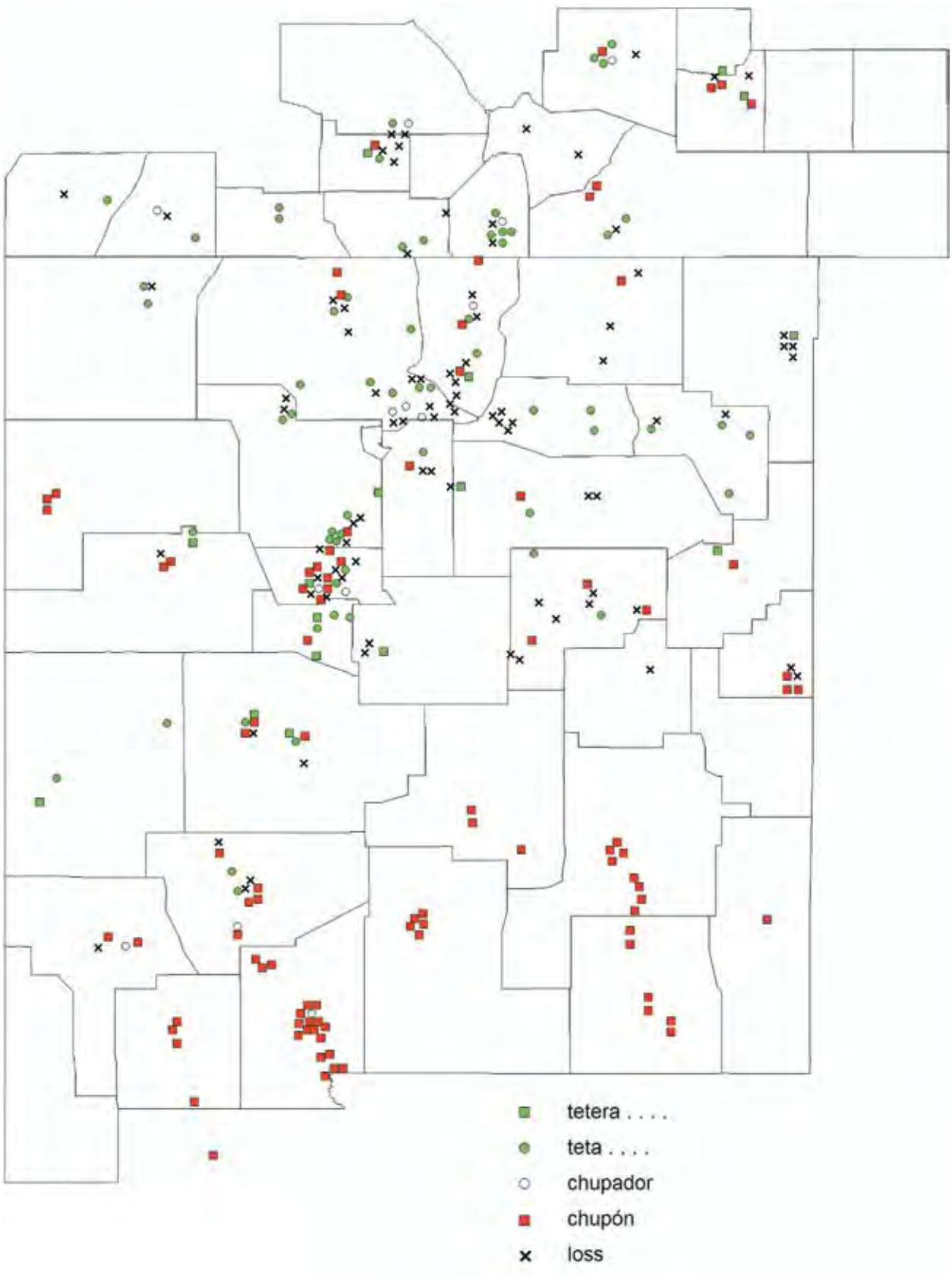
A similar solution is to adopt the related derived form *tetera*, which like *teta* is more commonly used in New Mexican Spanish to label the 'Baby bottle' used to feed a baby. Ranking third as a Spanish language label for 'Pacifier,' it was the choice of only 18 persons, including 1 who gave the diminutive *teterita* and 5 who preferred masculine *tetero*. These speakers are randomly distributed around the Traditional Spanish region.

The final solution, of course, is to provide no Spanish word at all. A total of 89 consultants (27%) made this choice (indicated as "loss" on map 16-9), placing themselves in a dead-heat competition with the 95 who chose the Mexican Spanish option. In this loss category, there were 29 persons who offered no response at all and 60 who gave only an English response, almost always ***pacifier***. In addition, 9 consultants tried to create Spanish words based on the English form (*pacífico*, *pacifante*, *pacificador*, and *pacivador*).

We see again that the ties that once bound speakers of New Mexican Spanish together as a linguistic community have been torn asunder, making them unable to effectively address a new phenomenon linguistically, unable to reach a consensus internally at either the dialect or subdialect level. Into this vacuum English and Mexican Spanish flow easily.

The NMCOSS project has caught an important view of the Spanish language as it exists in New Mexico and southern Colorado today. With that information we have attempted, through this dialect atlas, to bring an understanding to the complexity of variation hidden behind the word "Spanish" (or "*mexicano*") in this region. We celebrate all the dialects spoken in the survey area and would hope to see all of them forge brightly into the future. But that is wishful thinking.

The future of New Mexican Spanish seems clear. The social forces that will shape this future are now set firmly in place. Spanish is no longer consistently transmitted to successive generations. The children and grandchildren of today's Spanish speakers grow up with little or no command of the language. If they do manage to develop Spanish skills through interaction with their peers, it is apt to be colloquial Mexican Spanish because Spanish-speaking peers tend to be immigrants and the children of immigrants, an ever more dominant proportion



16-19. 'Pacifier'

of the young people who claim to be Spanish speaking. Alternatively, exposure to the language tends to be limited to the classroom and perhaps through travel or other contacts with mainstream varieties of Spanish.

Thus, we have every reason to expect that the Traditional Spanish of New Mexico will undergo the dialect extinction that has already befallen the Traditional Spanish of other southwestern states. Within another couple of generations, the unique New Mexican Spanish, to the extent that the language is spoken at all, will have been reabsorbed by its "mother tongue," Mexican Spanish. In brief, it is entirely likely that the archive formed from the language knowledge shared by the 357 consultants to our project will be one of the few manifestations left of Traditional Spanish fifty or a hundred years from now.

APPENDIX

The NMCOSS Consultants

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
1	52	F	Tomé, NM	Romero, Betty
2	56	M	Tomé, NM	Romero, Jacobo
3	52	F	Corrales, NM	Velarde, Delilia P.
4	80	F	Embudo, NM	Archuleta, Josefina
5	63	M	San José, Albuquerque, NM	Apodaca, Anthony Joseph
6	82	M	El Bonito, NM	Gonzales, Canuto
7	82	M	Chamisal, NM	Domínguez Rodríguez, José Amado
8	78	M	La Bajada, NM	García, Tranquilino
9	28	F	Tomé, NM	Romero, Rosemarie
10	88	F	Ensenada, NM	Espinosa, Patrocinia
11	76	M	Magdalena, NM	Pino, Ricardo Amado
12	60	F	Blanco, NM	García, Ruby F.
13	29	M	Aztec, NM	García, Joe P.
14	51	F	La Puente/Tierra Amarilla, NM	
15	39	M	Chamita, NM	
16	36	M	El Cerro, NM	
17	29	F	Albuquerque, NM	
18	38	M	Aztec, NM	Flores, Abel Ernesto
19	29	M	South Valley, Albuquerque, NM	Ulibarrí, Charles Duane
20	82	F	San Cristóbal, NM	Ortega, Elvira A.
21	48	M	San José, Albuquerque, NM	Córdova, Antonio
22	71	M	Wagon Mound, NM	Martínez, Salomón
23	51	F	Deming, NM	Arrey, Tina
24	77	F	Tomé, NM	Martínez, Sophie J.
25	41	F	Llano Quemado, NM	
26	21	M	Santa Fe, NM	Kelly, Pablo A.
27	79	M	Clayton, NM	Vigil, Flugencio
28	51	M	NE Heights, Albuquerque, NM	Montoya, Robert P.
29	27	M	El Valle, NM	Romero L., Franklin
30	55	M	Antoñito, CO	García, José
31	21	F	Las Vegas, NM	
32	34	M	South Valley, Albuquerque, NM	Jaramillo, Joseph M. (José Miguel)

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
33	21	F	Sunland Park, NM	Cervantes, Olga
34	20	F	Tomé, NM	Medrano, Rebecca
35	43	M	La Puente, NM	Trujillo, Mike
36	25	F	Córdova, NM	Montoya, Dessie
37	40	M	Las Quebraditas, NM	Sánchez, David
38	46	M	Antoñito, CO	Velásquez, Ricardo S.
39	23	M	North Valley, Albuquerque, NM	Pérez, Ignacio
40	61	M	Magdalena, NM	Trujillo, Antonio José
41	56	M	Córdova, NM	Córdova, Herminio
42	68	F	NW Valley, Albuquerque, NM	Gutiérrez, Theodora
43	34	M	Pastura, NM	Romero, Bazán José
44	73	F	Armijo, Albuquerque, NM	Martínez, Gertrudes J.
45	40	M	Chamisal, NM	Córdova, Adrian
46	49	M	Center, CO	Martínez, Frank Roberto
47	54	F	Sawmill, Albuquerque, NM	Ramírez, Rita
48	62	F	Sevenmile Plaza, CO	Luján, Josephine
49	34	M	San José, Albuquerque, NM	Lozoya, Mario
50	74	M	San Luis, NM	
51	82	F	Pintada, NM	Ellis, María Concepción "Pearl"
52	52	F	Anthony, NM	Schwartz, Mary Grace
53	39	F	Armijo, Albuquerque, NM	Fernández, Evelyn
54	75	F	Rodey, NM	Córdova, Mónica Silva
55	56	F	Barelas, Albuquerque, NM	
56	70	F	Sevenmile Plaza, CO	Sandoval, María Isabel "Betty"
57	52	F	Atrisco, Albuquerque, NM	
58	56	M	Pueblo, CO	Trujillo, Daniel
59	77	F	Center, CO	Martínez, Lydia
60	86	F	Trinidad, CO	
61	70	M	Trinidad, CO	Sandoval, Joe B.
62	61	M	Durango, CO	Rivas, Amado
63	29	M	Santa Rosa, NM	Maestas, Lawrence
64	69	F	Caballo, NM	
65	43	M	Magdalena, NM	Leyba, Jake
66	78	F	La Mesa de los Chupaina, NM	Tapia, Ida
67	45	F	Española, NM	Aguilar, Lorraine
68	69	F	Manzano, NM	
69	47	F	Mountainair, NM	Campbell, Marie M.
70	58	F	Guadalupe, Albuquerque, NM	Armijo, Rosemary G.
71	71	M	Albuquerque, NM	
72	76	F	Roswell, NM	Trujillo, Aída
73	66	F	Los Padillas, Albuquerque, NM	Silva, Annie García

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
74	35	M	Roy, NM	
75	62	F	Roy, NM	
76	74	F	Cañón de los Yutas, NM	Gonzales, María Jesusita Lovato
77	63	F	Carriso, NM	Sánchez, María Martínez
78	77	F	Nara Visa, NM	Gonzales, Matilda Vigil
79	61	M	Santa Fe, NM	Romero, R. Tom
80	75	F	Wagon Mound, NM	Portillo, Viola M.
81	87	F	Abiquiu, NM	Espinoza, Vicente
82	22	F	Anthony, NM	Hernández, Vicky Longoria
83	55	M	Santa Rosa, NM	
84	38	F	Center, CO	LeBlanc, Luella
85	64	M	Colonias, NM	Maestas, Manuel
86	49	F	Peñasco, NM	
87	51	M	El Güique, NM	Martínez, Ralph
88	45	M	Martínez, Albuquerque, NM	
89	57	F	Las Vegas, NM	
90	38	F	Bueyeros, NM	González de Archuleta, Rebecca
91	44	F	Chamisal, NM	López Frésquez, Annabelle
92	46	M	North Valley, Albuquerque, NM	Sisneros, Richard F.
93	81	F	Maxwell/Ratón, NM	
94	39	M	Santa Fe, NM	Aragón, Maximiliano
95	44	M	La Cueva, NM	Maez, Ricardo A.
96	78	F	Peñasco, NM	Alarid, EutiliaM.
97	51	F	Río Lucio, NM	Griego, Orphelita Gurulé
98	38	M	Santa Fe, NM	Gonzales, Lorenzo
99	62	M	Fort Sumner, NM	Barela, Juan Elías
100	58	F	Trujillo, NM	Roybal, Helen
101	37	F	Algodones, NM	Rodarte, Alicia U.
102	48	M	Chamisal, NM	García, Maximiliano
103	34	F	Española, NM	Márquez, Norma B.
104	19	M	Taos, NM	
105	32	F	Barelas, Albuquerque, NM	
106	42	F	Mountainair, NM	Zamora, Gloria
107	56	M	Trujillo, NM	Esparsen, Albert
108	83	F	Santa Fe, NM	Gonzales Thomas, Anita
109	77	M	Clayton, NM	Gonzales, William Petrolino
110	42	F	Santa Fe, NM	N/A, Jewel
111	73	F	Arroyo Colorado, NM	Luna, Margarita
112	51	M	Central, NM	Luna, Fred R.
113	37	M	Gallup, NM	Bustamante, Herman
114	75	F	Roy, NM	Ulibarrí, Pauline G. Gonzales

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
115	79	M	Manzano, NM	
116	58	F	Manzano, NM	
117	62	F	Bernalillo, NM	Domínguez, Laura
118	59	M	La Loma, NM	Mondragón, Fr. Antonio
119	44	M	Capitán, NM	García, Gene
120	31	M	Las Cruces, NM	Lomas, Nicolás
121	53	F	Magdalena, NM	
122	40	F	Pueblo, CO	Maestas, Sandi
123	52	F	Abiquiu, NM	Esparsen, Mary Julia Carolyn Medina
124	62	F	Sevenmile Plaza, CO	
125	41	M	Silver City, NM	
126	27	M	Las Vegas, NM	Ulibarrí, John
127	48	F	San José, Albuquerque, NM	Candelaria, Jessie M.
128	67	F	Algodones, NM	Escarcida, Angie
129	44	F	Algodones, NM	Cleveland, Martha Isabel Escárcidad
130	22	F	Anthony, NM	N/A, Angélica
131	49	F	Carlsbad, NM	Chacón, Nicolasa V. "Nickie"
132	54	M	Loving, NM	Chacón, Francisco Alemán
133	32	F	Carlsbad, NM	Villa, Dorothy R.
134	33	M	Carlsbad, NM	Pérez, Freddy R.
135	86	F	Carlsbad, NM	
136	65	F	San Francisco de Oro, Mexico	
137	79	F	Silver City, NM	
138	77	M	La Mesa, NM	
139	26	F	Las Cruces, NM	Alarcón, Patricia
140	24	M	Mesilla, NM	
141	42	F	La Mesa, NM	
142	80	F	El Valle, NM	
143	55	F	San Mateo, NM	Barela, Evangelina O. "Vangie"
144	83	M	El Valle, NM	Romero, Epifanio
145	50	M	Pecos, NM	Tanuz, Bill A.
147	66	F	Rodarte, NM	Martínez, Carolina M.
148	60	F	Center, CO	
149	21	F	Las Cruces, NM	Leza, Margarita E.
150	40	F	Wagon Mound, NM	
151	52	F	Chama, NM	
152	29	F	Los Griegos/Duranes, Albq., NM	García, Lisa M.
153	23	F	Las Vegas, NM	García, Lori Lynn
154	41	M	Questa, NM	Ortiz, Lawrence A.
155	44	F	Truth or Consequences, NM	Torres McWilliams, Sylvia
156	73	M	Costilla, NM	De Herrera, Valdemar

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
157	38	F	Cerro, NM	Herrera, Pauline
158	36	F	Del Norte, CO	Félix, Monica
159	93	F	Questa, NM	
160	41	M	Texico, NM	Ortiz, Manuel Guadalupe
161	67	F	Gallup, NM	Esparza, Marina
162	85	M	Alamo, NM	Chávez, José Inez
163	58	F	Capitán, NM	Peralta y Chávez, Dorotea "Dora" Silva
164	70	M	Trinidad, CO	
165	68	M	Avondale, CO	Montour, Joe
166	45	F	Ignacio/Center, CO	LaVold, Bessie
167	67	M	Rocky Ford, CO	Reyes, Henry
169	43	F	Deming, NM	Holguín, Rosie T.
170	26	F	Deming, NM	
171	68	F	Columbus, NM	Casillas, Apolonia
172	34	M	Deming, NM	
173	70	M	La Luz, NM	García, Albert M.
174	78	M	Las Cruces, NM	Apodaca, Juan G.
175	49	F	Las Cruces, NM	Escalante, Victoria O. "Vickie"
176	61	F	Mesilla, NM	Apodaca, Margaret G.
177	51	F	Las Cruces, NM	Gibson, Victoria E.
178	66	M	Mesilla Park, NM	
179	54	M	Tortugas, NM	Nevárez, Roberto S.
180	57	F	Mesilla, NM	Aranda, Frances
181	31	F	Tortugas, NM	
182	52	F	Alamogordo, NM	Shoaf, Lucy Lucero
183	21	F	Alamogordo, NM	Gómez, Alma Angelina Cardiel de
184	61	M	Alamogordo, NM	Meléndrez, Raymond
185	35	F	Truth or Consequences, NM	
186	46	F	Truth or Consequences, NM	Knull, Linda Chávez
187	91	M	Dilia, NM	Aragón, Frank P.
188	60	M	Vaughn, NM	Durán, Arsenio
189	72	F	Vaughn, NM	García, Ernestina
190	71	M	Tucumcari, NM	Abeyta, Louis
191	67	F	Socorro, NM	Tafoya, Odelia C.
192	58	F	Socorro, NM	Peralta, Fidelia Lorraine
193	62	F	Bernalillo, NM	Heine, Sandra
194	64	M	Cortez, CO	Gómez, John H. "Juan"
195	60	F	Durango, CO	
196	69	M	Trujillo, CO	Gallegos, Ben A.
197	78	F	Los Brazos, NM	
198	64	M	Rinconada, NM	Romero, Joe T.

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
199	63	M	Bloomfield, NM	Montoya, Seledón F.
200	55	M	Pagosa Springs, CO	Maestas, Fridolín H. "Floyd"
201	64	F	Pagosa Springs, CO	Dauguaard, Margaret Archuleta
202	21	M	Gallina, NM	Chacón, Freddy Narciso
203	55	M	Dexter, NM	Salas, Orlando
204	74	F	San Antonio, CO	Velásquez, Ester Crucita López
205	86	M	Mogote, CO	Martínez, José Manuel
206	84	F	Antoñito, CO	Alfaro, Estela
207	38	M	San Luis, CO	Salazar, Arnold
208	27	F	Bernalillo, NM	Rinaldi, Michelle
209	23	F	La Jara/Cuba, NM	Crespín, Geraldine
210	88	F	La Ceja, NM	Gonzales, Pablita Archuleta
211	78	M	Chama, CO	Vialpando, Lázaro
212	37	F	Antoñito, CO	Valdez, Frances J.
213	50	F	Saguache, CO	López, Lorraine M. García
214	76	M	Ojo Feliz, NM	Hernández, Felipe
215	75	F	Cleveland, NM	Parsen, Marie Chacón
216	74	M	Old Town, Albuquerque, NM	Durán, Cleto N.
217	83	F	San Mateo, NM	Salazar, Carlota
218	53	M	Grants, NM	Salazar, Ross J.
219	96	F	Chamita, NM	Martínez, Agueda S.
220	23	F	Mora, NM	Branch, Cindy
221	27	M	Cleveland, NM	Maes, Carlos
222	55	F	Mora, NM	
223	55	M	Red Hill, NM	Orona, Frank
224	75	M	Cokedale, CO	
225	72	M	Aguilar, CO	Coca, Francisco
226	22	M	Aguilar, CO	Coca, Adán Miguel
227	55	F	Socorro, NM	Ríos, Telesfora S.
228	76	M	Rincón, NM	Ríos, Feliciano C.
229	63	F	Cheraw, CO	Vásquez, Enriqueta
230	44	M	San Cristóbal, NM	Vigil, Ronnie
231	69	F	Questa, NM	Rael, Rose
232	36	M	Chimayó, NM	Ortiz, Lloyd Aaron
233	71	M	La Junta, CO	Ocañas, Manuel
234	64	F	Valdez, NM	Rael, Cecilia
235	57	F	Gallup, NM	Chávez, Anita
236	90	F	Talpa, NM	Griego, Guadalupe Tafoya
237	45	F	La Junta, CO	
238	45	M	Embudo, NM	Arellano, Juan Estevan
239	67	M	San Antonio, NM	Gonzales, Antonio José, Jr.

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
240	68	M	Armijo, Albuquerque, NM	Sánchez, Orlando E.
241	73	M	Alameda, NM	Gurulé, Epifanio
242	58	F	Mogote, CO	Taylor, Orlinda García
243	38	F	Sargent, CO	Ortega, Shirley M.
244	52	F	Pueblo, CO	
245	73	M	La Valley, CO	Martínez, "Max" (Maclovio)
246	76	F	Las Tablas, NM	
247	19	M	Vaughn, NM	Chávez, Aaron Jeffrey
248	38	M	Del Norte, CO	LeBlanc, Jerry
249	52	M	Las Cruces, NM	Apodaca, Juan D., Jr.
250	88	M	Frisco, NM	Jirón, Abe
252	69	M	Datil, NM	Sánchez, Abrán
253	46	M	Cruzville, NM	Lucero, Pete L.
255	85	F	Pintada, NM	Silva, Viviana Maldonado
256	69	M	Artesia, NM	Roblero, Prudencio Paz
257	49	M	Roswell, NM	Gonzales, Paul H.
258	66	M	Roswell, NM	
259	81	M	Lincoln, NM	
260	80	F	Santa Rosa, NM	Romero, Amalia Maestas
261	73	M	Garfield, NM	Gonzales, Santiago "Jim"
262	69	M	Tinnie, NM	Trujillo, Tony
263	21	F	Dexter, NM	Elías, Anna María
264	47	F	Lake Arthur, NM	Gonzales, Olivia Ramírez
265	54	F	Hagerman, NM	Reid, Olivia Gómez
266	60	F	Clayton, NM	Martínez, Bernice
267	34	F	Clayton, NM	Earle, Frances L. Maynes
268	43	F	Clayton, NM	Craine, Gloria
269	52	M	Clayton, NM	Gonzales, Thomas G.
270	87	M	Mangas, NM	Baca, Eliseo
271	79	M	Alamo, NM	Silva, Noverto
272	95	F	Santa Rosa, NM	Padilla, Julia
273	82	M	Clayton, NM	Montoya, Severo
274	94	F	Bueyeros, NM	
275	70	F	Monticello, NM	González, Vidal T.
276	21	M	Roswell, NM	Jaques, Nieves
277	25	F	Arrey, NM	Cardona, Amanda Bencomo
278	56	F	Truth or Consequences, NM	Ortega, Dolores Aguirre
279	59	M	Bernalillo, NM	Baros, Arturo "Arthur" Marcelino
280	75	F	Lasauses (Los Sauces), CO	Valdez, Olivama
281	38	M	Antoñito, CO	Pacheco, Casimiro F. "Casey"
282	49	F	Cebolla, NM	Medina Maez, Loretta

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
283	67	M	Bernalillo, NM	Rinaldi, Justin B.
284	64	M	San Luis, CO	Pacheco, Rubén
285	41	M	Los Huertes, CO	Manzanares, A. Charles
286	51	F	San Pedro, CO	Sánchez, Rose F.
287	70	M	Las Animas, CO	Saldaña, Silverio
288	46	M	Vaughn, NM	
289	41	F	Vaughn, NM	
290	24	F	Vaughn, NM	Durán, Brenda E.
291	58	M	La Puente, NM	Ulibarrí, Ernesto Ramón
292	27	M	Grants, NM	López, Gary
293	69	M	Gibson, NM	Esparza, John G.
294	60	M	Gallup, NM	Estrada, Howard G.
295	47	F	Socorro, NM	Padilla, Margaret R.
296	41	F	San Rafael, NM	Leyba, Evelyn
297	61	F	San Luis, CO	Vigil, Teresa B.
298	73	F	San Pablo, CO	Medina, Sister Mary Concetta
299	33	F	Chama, CO	Medina, Juanita
300	68	F	Ordway, CO	Córdova, Frances "Quica"
301	73	F	Rocky Ford, CO	Apodaca, Anastacia
302	50	F	Rocky Ford, CO	Maes, Joan
303	18	F	Rocky Ford, CO	Gabriel, Alexandrina
304	51	M	Pueblo, CO	Ortega, José Esteban
305	77	M	Rocky Ford, CO	Masias, Joe P.
306	66	F	Springer, NM	Pacheco, Josephine Gallegos
307	67	F	Ratón, NM	LeDoux, Susana "Susan"
308	83	M	Maxwell, NM	Valerio, Fidel
309	46	M	Ratón, NM	Chávez, Gerald B.
310	81	F	Alameda, NM	Walker, Manuelita Hernández
311	90	M	Dixon, NM	Arellano, Adolfo Sr.
312	25	M	Rocky Ford, CO	Reyes, Lucio
313	85	F	Las Animas, CO	Estrada, Engracia
314	70	F	Pueblo, CO	Rivera, Blasa
315	81	F	Wagon Mound, NM	
316	79	F	Gallina, NM	
317	52	F	Mancos, CO	Martínez, Soledad "Sally" Julianita
318	72	F	Cortez, CO	Martínez, "Lela" (Deleria)
319	61	F	Alamogordo, NM	Maez, Rufina M.
320	81	F	Hobbs, NM	Zapata, María
321	82	M	Amalia, NM	Gallegos, Martín
322	52	M	Cuba, NM	
323	82	M	Las Vegas, NM	Silva, Andrés

INT. #	AGE	SEX	Location	Name (where permission granted)
324	81	F	Watrous, NM	Martínez, Eslinda
325	57	F	Cuba, NM	May, Esther Córdova
326	66	F	Artesia, NM	Acosta, Isabelle
327	36	F	Lovington, NM	Leyva, Belén
328	74	M	Alamogordo, NM	Noriega, Santiago Pérez
329	15	F	Lovington, NM	Leyba, Rosella E.
330	68	M	Truth or Consequences, NM	Tafoya, Pánfilo A.
331	75	F	La Jara, NM	Olivas, Angelita G.
332	18	F	Roswell, NM	Benavides, Sandra
333	84	M	Silver City, NM	Morales, José Tranquilino
334	47	F	Silver City, NM	Terrazas, Rachel G.
335	40	F	Silver City, NM	Quiñones, Isabel Castillo
336	70	F	Truth or Consequences, NM	Chacón, Virginia L.
337	67	M	Silver City, NM	Rivera, Emilio Z.
338	65	M	Santa Rita, NM	Morales, Ygnacio B.
339	49	M	Tucumcari, NM	Gutiérrez, Ezequiel A.
340	36	F	Walsenburg, CO	
341	67	F	Pueblo, CO	Montour, Betty Ann Martínez
342	66	F	Truth or Consequences, NM	Candelaria, Matilde “Tillie”
343	32	F	Aguilar, CO	Coca, Rebecca
344	39	M	Truth or Consequences, NM	Jirón, Charles Elmer
345	88	F	near Gardner, CO	
346	73	M	Walsenburg, CO	Córdova, Adolfo
348	42	M	Tucumcari, NM	Martínez, Juan “Johnny”
349	26	M	Clovis, NM	Córdova, Samuel
350	79	F	Magdalena, NM	
351	47	F	Clovis, NM	Gutiérrez, Belvina
352	37	F	Clovis, NM	
353	60	M	Santa Rosa, NM	Rubio, Antonio A. “Tony”
354	73	F	Clovis, NM	
356	60	M	Chise, NM	Ortega, “Nick” (Nicolás)
357	74	F	Arrey, NM	Chávez, Lucía B.
358	96	F	Monticello, NM	Jirón, Tomasita A. Aragón de
361	18	M	Ledoux, NM	Trujillo, (Joseph) Fidel, Jr.
363	77	F	Belén, NM	Quintana, Precilla A.
364	72	M	Pueblitos, NM	Armijo, Celso
365	51	F	Bosque, NM	Montaño, Claudine
366	54	M	Belén, NM	Sais, Arturo R

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INDEX OF SPANISH WORDS

This index includes only those words cited in the text that are documented in the NMCOSS, including variants that are pronounced as in English and cited in boldface. It does not include, however, proper names and words occurring only in the conversational examples. We also exclude many minor phonological variations as well as all non-systematic distortions and idiosyncratic forms that are discussed in the text with respect to the more typical forms listed herein. Maps are indicated with *M*, tables with *T*.

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